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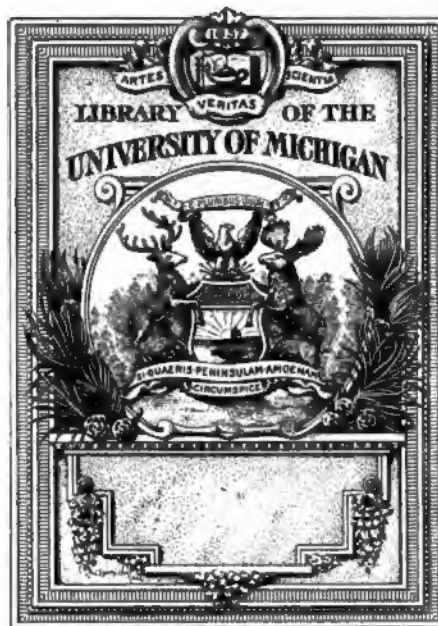
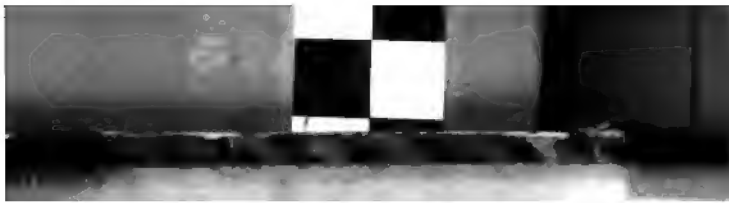
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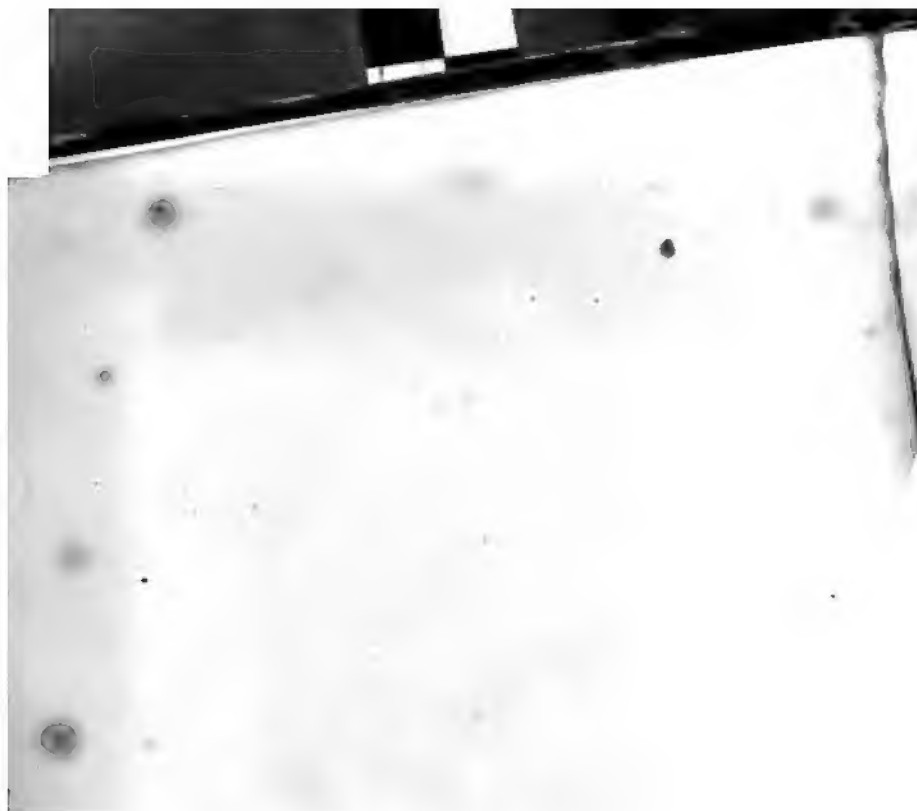
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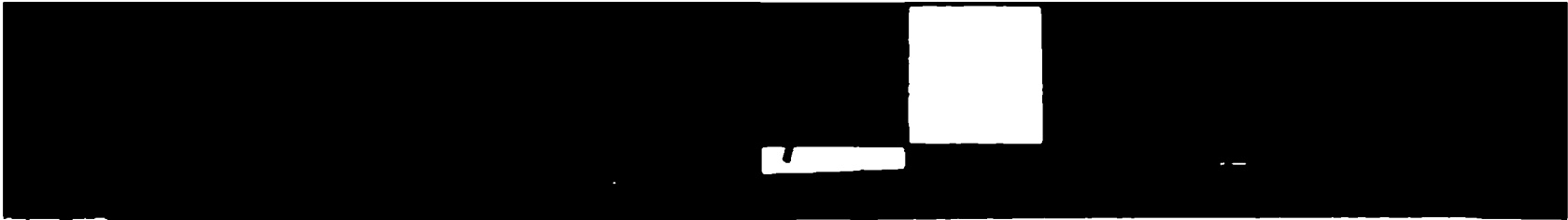
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# THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

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MARCH, 1848.

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ART. I.—*Erinnerungen an Wilhelm von Humboldt.* VON GUSTAV SCHLESIER. Stuttgart: Köhler.

*Reminiscences of William von Humboldt.* By GUSTAVUS SCHLESIER. Stuttgart.

LITERATURE has known a speedy development in Germany, and almost as speedy a decline. Lessing and Klopstock were the first great names. Then followed the graceful Wieland and the serious Herder. Then arose the two great boasts of the German language and nation, the ideal Schiller and the almost-universal Goethe. In the train of these, though partially opposed to them in the literary battles of the day, and ranged under another standard, came the romantic Tieck, the two Schlegels, the mystic Werner, the gloomy Kleist, and last, though not least, the eminently-artistic bard of Austria, Grillparzer. Such names as Müllner, or Kotzebue, or even Körner, cannot be cited in this roll of high degree; nor can we recognize the more modern lyric bards, some of whose earliest creations, however, date from the Augustan age of Germany, as worthy of admission into this category of literary aristocrats. Rückert, though kindly, and sweet, and graceful, has not sufficient power; Freiligrath, though animated, and vigorous, and picturesque, is too deficient in thought; Uhland, though generally pleasing, is too essentially common-place; and neither Karl Simrock, nor Chamisso, nor Gutzkow the dramatist, and still less Herwegh or Lenau, despite their various degrees of merit, can be classed with those master-minds, which wrought together in Germany towards the commencement of the nineteenth century.

It will be seen that we allude mainly to the poets among our Teutonic brethren. But these are also its greatest prose writers, Lessing, Wieland, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, and Tieck, being the classic prosaists of Germany; whilst Frederic von Schlegel has little merit as a bard, and can only live by his *Philosophy of History*, and other kindred works. In novel literature, however, our friends the Germans are not poor. The names most worthy of citation, besides those already given, including Kleist, are Jean Paul, Hoffman, Fouqué, and perhaps Zschocke; for neither Hauff nor Spindler, nor other moderns, can lay claim to

more than a secondary degree of merit. Their historians, including even Johannes von Müller, have not exercised a powerful influence on the national mind; and certainly their philosophers, or pseudo-philosophers, from Kant to Hegel, have not been of much service to German literature.

But to resume. Of all these really great men, (though in writing this, we feel that we are scarcely entitled to honour Augustus von Schlegel with such an appellation, despite his admirable translations,) two alone survive; Tieck, and the author of "Sappho," "The Golden Fleece," and "The Dream a Life," to whom we may possibly on some future occasion devote a special inquiry, one of the most classical of dramatists, severely chaste in design and execution, and yet intensely real, the partially unrecognized, but undoubtedly great, Grillparzer. *He* lives still, and not only lives, but writes: three of his most beautiful dramas have appeared within the last few years; but from various causes, mainly political, which it were too tedious to develop here, they have not attracted that attention, and excited that sympathy, which were due to their intrinsic merits. Grillparzer stands as a giant among a race of dwarfs, apparently more or less incapable to conceive his greatness: he will not yield his homage to all the petty tendencies of the hour; he is not content to swell the vulgar party cry which Gutzkow and his colleagues are shouting at the pitch of their voices; and he is neglected, accordingly, as our own great Southey has too long been among ourselves. Nevertheless, his time will come. But, with this remarkable exception, and that of Tieck, whose last work, "Vittoria Acorombona," has much merit, the great luminaries of Germany now shine only in the reflected glory of those works which have secured their earthly immortality.

We have before us the biography of a man who was the intimate friend, and even counsellor, of both Goethe and Schiller; of William von Humboldt, elder brother of the still living Alexander, author of "Kosmos;" one of the most remarkable thinkers, critics, practical statesmen, and diplomatists of his time, which was that of the great burst of literary genius above alluded to. As critic and thinker he more especially engages our attention: we see in him a contemporary of the greatest German authors, recognized by them as their co-equal; as "ebenbürtig" (the Germans would express it) with themselves. And although the English reader may not pursue the inquiries into the æsthetic value of "the ideal" and "the natural," as philosophically conducted on Kantian and other recondite principles by Humboldt and Schiller, with the same minute attention which German thinkers no doubt bestow on them, nevertheless all who are in any degree interested in German literature cannot but feel pleasure

in entering as it were the workshops of the great artists of a foreign land, penetrating into the recesses of their minds, and tracing their creations to their source; all which they may well do in the perusal of the work before us.

Charles William von Humboldt, generally known by the name of William only, was born on the 22nd of June, 1767, at Potsdam. His father was the Baron von Humboldt, a major in the Prussian army, and gentleman of the bedchamber to the king, generally reputed to be a man of sound sense and superior capacity. An interesting account is given of William's education with his brother Alexander. From the first both brothers, but more especially William, displayed an uncommon degree of ability. Their literary tendencies are clearly indicated in the following interesting passage, which we accordingly render at length.

"It may be safely asserted, that the education of both brothers was at once singularly many-sided and thoroughly solid. For, although both the desire exhibited for universality of knowledge, and the exactness with which inquiries on any special subject were conducted, were natural instincts of the Humboldts, still such instincts require to be developed by education and guidance, favour and opportunity. By the side of this universality, which went so far in the elder brother, William, that he expressed his wish to leave nothing on earth unknown, the eagerness appears the more remarkable, with which either threw himself upon his own special division of labour, Alexander addressing himself to natural science in its widest sense, William to classical antiquity, art, philosophy, and language. Whilst the former was destined to observe external nature under every form, animate and inanimate, in plants, beasts, and men, William forced his way into the innermost sanctuary of mankind, the spirit-world within, and language, its first creation. Though these territories, in which each of them sought his individual home, may appear remote from one another, yet do they approximate in many ways, and possess one common basis. Thus, if we examine William, we shall find in him also the student of external nature, but with this difference, that such study was to him but *the means* of investigating the internal world and its phenomena."

Subsequently we read:—

"He who heard Humboldt on special occasions discourse with his brother, or even with Goethe, would have imagined him to be a naturalist only; and would have been astounded, indeed, to recognize a spirit of a totally opposed order, when he conversed at other times with Goethe, or with Schiller, or with Wolf, the classical scholar."

William von Humboldt appears to have had much that was English in his character, intermingled, however, with a vast amount of Germanism. In his youth, and even throughout life, a certain tendency to sentiment, which is inseparable from all

true greatness, appears to have characterized his heart and soul : but he was habitually cold in semblance, rarely displaying emotion on the most solemn occasions. Thus, when saved from drowning by his friend Stieglitz, he expressed no deep gratitude to his friend, or affection for his distant loved ones ; somewhat to the surprise of Varnhagen, who records the fact, and who would have been better pleased had he "made a scene" of it : to our satisfaction, on the contrary, who believe it to be the natural instinct of all men who feel deeply, to conceal emotions on such occasions beneath a playful exterior, and laugh and joke, as Humboldt did on the evening in question. We are not contending for constant reserve in all the actions of life : there are times at which reserve is totally out of place—when we can console or strengthen others. It is out of place, too, when we would convey to others our perceptions of the good, and great, and beautiful, and teach them to admire and love with us ; and, more particularly, it is wholly out of place when the prayers of the faithful are to be led, or the devotional affections excited, within the house of God. But to resume : this external coldness, with the depth of affection beneath it, which characterized Humboldt, have certainly something English about them ; though, perhaps, we might almost as well say Prussian, or, rather, *Berlinian*.

Few men appear to have combined so many distinctive and almost opposite qualities. "The great susceptibility for the perception of all beauty, which," as Schiller says, "made Humboldt an instinctive critic, in no degree excluded energy and activity from his character : with the utmost sensitiveness of feeling was combined the protective coldness of the understanding ; and with the boldest elevation of thought, he coupled the minutest study of the driest details of science." We cannot wonder that such a man should have been recognized by the very greatest among his countrymen, by a Goethe and Schiller, as their authorized privy-counsellor ; or that his career should be deemed worthy of the closest investigation at the present day. As literary creator, he has not indeed left much behind him ; but he is universally recognized as one of the most valuable of German critics ; as one of the noblest of her statesmen (he was Prussian Minister of Public Instruction for several years) ; as one of the most successful of diplomatists (he represented Prussia at the Congress of Vienna) ; and as one of the very greatest linguists of all times and countries. Our readers therefore will not wonder at our directing their attention to the biography of such a man.

No doubt they will inquire, and with reason, was he a Christian ? For to us, writing in a professedly and distinctly Christian publication, this must ever be the most important of all questions.

We cannot, alas ! answer this question in the affirmative, nor can we altogether negative it. Our readers well know, no doubt, that dogmatic Christianity has been either opposed or strangely disregarded by the majority of German thinkers. Lessing led the attack, and Klopstock was no efficient opponent to Lessing. Wieland, though in his youth a Calvinist, to which fact several of his works bear record, was dissatisfied (as he well might be) with the external coldness and unphilosophical narrowness of his Genevan school, and took refuge in universal scepticism, having, indeed, nothing to turn to but cold and rationalistic Lutheranism, as it then existed, or Romanism, with all its false miracles, and pious frauds, and flagrant superstitions. Goethe followed, and confirmed the antichristian, or at least unchristian tendencies of German literature ; he was too self-satisfied to require religion ; too selfish, too “bequem,” or cosily comfortable, to use his own expression. He has told us in his Auto-biography, that repentance always appeared to him tiresome and useless, since it could not bring back the past. A man who could speak thus was indeed remote from the spirit of Christianity. Even the ideal Schiller had not the courage, or perhaps the power, to stem the tide of infidelity.

We do not find one of these German poets or thinkers grappling with the historical difficulties of the question : they neither ventured to assert that our blessed Lord was an impostor (the only solid ground on which the infidel can stand) ; nor did they contend, with the more modern rationalists and transcendentalists, the German Paulus, the Englishman Carlyle, and the American Emerson, that CHRIST was totally misunderstood by his Apostles ; that they themselves were self-deceived, and imagined they wrought miracles, spoke with tongues, &c., though they did nothing of the kind, eventually dying for a faith which was the phantom of their own fancies ; nor had they taken refuge in the still more monstrous hypothesis of a Strauss, that the whole history of the New Testament was a myth, and that those who wrote it, without any mutual concert or intentional deception, imagined themselves to be simultaneously inspired, and placed on record as facts witnessed by themselves what never had any being, save in their own diseased imaginings. In truth, both Goethe and Schiller had too much good sense to be satisfied with such theories as these ; and as they would not accept historical Christianity, they consequently contented themselves with placing it altogether on one side—with ignoring it, in a word ; no doubt the easiest method to pursue. And thus did Humboldt also act, despite the sound sense, and love for practical reality and positive results, which he was in the habit of displaying on other occasions. His age and country were too much for him.



Let us hear his biographer. As, in his office of Public Instructor, it became his duty to supply the necessary funds, for the state religion, and in many ways influence and control its movements, the question naturally suggested itself, whether he was capacitated for such an office; and thus it is answered in the volume before us, after a very German fashion. "He has learnt little of Humboldt, and has seen little of his writings, who can doubt, whether or no he possessed religious feeling. But it is as certain that his religion always remained at a certain distance from positive Christianity; either because the shell of Christianity" (we suppose its dogmatic teaching) "was offensive to him, or because he feared to lose his spiritual freedom and individuality by yielding himself completely to its influence" (what a small fear!). "In this respect he exactly resembled the men of our great literary era, and though we cannot say that the boundaries of the eighteenth century confined him, we must declare him to have been its constant pupil upon this point. We have this characteristic expression of Humboldt's, 'All true knowledge leads to God.' No one of the philosophical systems of his day, was capable of satisfying his intellectual demands; his natural sense left him remote from all the more modern developments of this science. He was not a mere deist, and certainly not a pantheist." "His belief in the personality of the godhead, in a guiding Providence, and an individual immortality, was deeply grounded in him: and was connected, after a peculiar fashion, in part with the ancient dogma of fate, in part with such theosophic and historic-philosophical views, as have been prevalent since the earliest days among Indians, Greeks, and Germans. But he was not anxious to prove every thing, which he in faith conceived, and gladly fled with his most sacred treasures, into the realms of poetry, where nothing can appear too wonderful." (We translate freely here, the original being very awkwardly expressed.) Once more: "His attitude towards dogmatic religion was coldly reserved, but not inimical. He shunned too close approach to it, as though he feared to desecrate the Holy. And where he could not avoid it, he approached it as something positive, having actual existence, on which we all rest, avoiding closer inquiry."

We think that it will be sufficiently obvious to the thoughtful reader, from these remarks, that Humboldt, if he was indeed what he is here represented as being, would in all probability as an Englishman, have strenuously maintained that dogmatic Christianity which we not only ourselves profess, but of which we are at a loss to understand the rejection, by any man possessed of sound sense and integrity of will, devoting his attention to the subject. The truth is, that the absence of civil liberty in Germany was the

primary source of freethinking in theology. Human nature will have some subject for inquiry, for cavil, for possible negation. If politics, the natural food, be denied, religion must be assailed in its place; more especially if literary criticism, as in Lessing's writings, and German literature generally, be rather affirmative than negative. Men questioned the propriety of Divine laws, because they were not allowed to complain of human institutions, and being tongue-tied as to the errors of ministers and kings, they contented themselves with assaults on saints, and angels, and their God. Let Germany receive the representative constitution to which she is justly entitled, and the critical negation and unavoidable "opposition" of mankind will be directed to another and a safer channel. Men will have other things to cavil at besides texts of Scripture. The grandeur, and beauty, and unity of the Christian scheme will be recognized, and all minor objections will be felt unavailable, as opposed to the irresistible internal evidence of truth. Humboldt, however, believing in a personal God, a guiding Providence, and an individual immortality, had secured three of the great verities which Christianity has succeeded in impressing on the convictions of almost all who have come within her sphere; he was, too, a self-sacrificing friend, and one of the best of sons, of husbands, and of fathers. He did not think, with that epitome of absurdity and conceit, Emerson, (the praises of whom in Blackwood's Magazine are disgraceful to that periodical,) that prayer, as a means to effect a private end, is theft and meanness; *supposing* (presupposing?) *dualism, and not unity in nature and consciousness:* that is, supposing God to be *above* man, and not to *be* man; he did not assert, with this self-satisfied scribbler, that "as soon as man is at one with God he will not beg;" that "men's prayers are a disease of the will, as are their creeds a disease of the intellect."—And here we must be permitted to ejaculate, what a compound of selfishness and villanous conceit this Emerson must be!—On the contrary, William von Burgsdorf tells us of his friend Humboldt, that when at Weimar, enjoying the society of Schiller, with his wife and children, but anxious for his mother's health, who was suffering from a severe attack which ended in death at Berlin, "he rarely retired for the night without first praying for his beloved mother." Thus, again, on his deathbed he said to those around him, his children and others, after a period of intense suffering, "Think often of me, but ever gladly. I have been happy, very happy: yesterday, too, was a beautiful day for me, in your love. I shall soon be with your mother, shall soon understand the ways of Providence."

But we do not strive to make Humboldt other than he was:

we take him as the genial thinker and philosopher, almost unconsciously imbued with much of the spirit of Christianity, with a loving heart and a natural reverence for his God; but wanting that patience for the shortcomings and intellectual weaknesses of his fellow men, which he might have attained in a clearer perception of his own sinfulness before his God. We have now said enough on this subject, and can turn our attention to other things, though want of time and space will compel us to be somewhat hasty in our remarks.

Despite the external coldness, which probably contributed in some degree to extract from Talleyrand the assertion,—“*que c'était un des hommes d'état dont l'Europe de mon temps n'en a pas compté trois ou quatre,*” Humboldt remained an enthusiast ever, for the great, the beautiful, and the true. In his last letter to Schiller he writes, “Be convinced, my dear friend, that my interest, my tendencies, can never change. My measure for things remains unalterable: *ideas* are with me supreme. For these I have always lived, to these I shall ever remain faithful; and had I a circle of operation which included the virtual empire of Europe (like Bonaparte's), I should still regard it as a mere inferior means to a higher end; and such is the faith of my soul.” Such a man, whose words and actions were always self-consistent, we cannot but respect, and almost love.

Our readers may ask for some one sample, however brief, of Humboldt's æsthetic criticism, which should justify the praises of a Goethe and a Schiller. We will quote a few lines from an essay published in 1791, which appear to us at once suggestive and correct.

“Poetry,” he says, “is, in one point of view, the most perfect of all the fine arts: but in another, it is the weakest. While it represents its objects with less reality and animation than painting or sculpture, it cannot appeal to the feelings with the power of music. But these defects are soon forgotten; because poetry, independent of its universality, which has been treated on above, steps as it were nearest to the true man in man, interposes the least shadow betwixt *the thought* and its expression.”

Again, he says,

“The Beautiful is a power; true Taste alone can gather all the tones of being into one entrancing harmony. Taste yields an internal calm and unity to all our sensations, physical, moral, and spiritual. Where Taste is wanting, desire is coarse and savage: Science without it may be deep and even sound, but never fruitful in its application. All spiritual perceptions, all treasures of knowledge, are vain without Taste, without the Beautiful: even moral nobility and strength are rough and displeasing, and void of power to feel or bless.”

We should devote some paragraphs at least to the political opinions of such a statesman as Humboldt, particularly at the present moment, when the first principles of all government are at stake, and an European war of democratic propagandism is but too likely to ensue. These opinions are in some respects vague, Humboldt appears to have been altogether opposed to a so called pure or absolute democracy, and to have tended decidedly towards the system of constitutional monarchy; though he saw some advantages in absolute monarchy, which could not be realized under other systems. He was a strenuous advocate for individual liberty, thinking this of more import, than any power residing in the mass or community; but this liberty included so much in his eyes as to be almost equivalent to licence. The state, he thought, had nothing to do with morality, in as far as the sexual relations were concerned, or with religion. Marriage should be a private contract, to be kept or broken at the will of the contractors. State education, under any form, was undesirable, as involving a slavish uniformity of mind on the part of the instructed, who would be taught to be citizens and not men.

We need scarcely say in how far these views are opposed to our own. We hold that the nation or community, or the state as the nation's political embodiment, has a similar right with every individual to distinguish right from wrong for itself, in morals, and also in religion. That is, we think it qualified to recognize marriage as holy and binding, Christianity as truth, and the Church as the Church. With regard to education, we do not believe the fears of the Prussian statesman to be altogether groundless. Yet no state-education, no education at least based on religion, can reduce all children to the same flat level. Mind will always assert its prerogative. We would have whatever religious instruction is afforded in national schools based on that religion which is nationally recognized and established. Children, whose parents wished them to obtain other religious teaching, might retire after the hours of general instruction, and seek it privately elsewhere. We are indeed convinced that any state, not animated by the living spirit of Christianity, would make machines of those on whom it exercised too direct an influence; and thus far we agree with the hero of the work before us.

Despite some crotchets, however, we recognize much sound sense in Humboldt's political philosophy. Thus he demanded, as the editor of this biography says, "Partition of the legislative power betwixt the executive and the people; the utmost possible publicity for all government proceedings; finally, control over the execution of the law possessed by the subject;" involving, we presume, our English trial by jury, and system of magistracy.

Schlesier, our author, remarks: "The principle of the partition of legislative power consists in *this*, that no legal or constitutional change can be effected by either branch alone. This is the theory of counteraction, which daily gains ground in Germany, and will soon obtain supremacy." We are very glad to hear it, for it is the only rational political theory we are acquainted with. However, Mr. Schlesier informs us, *à propos* of another German statesman's praises of the British constitution, as realizing this division of power, that Humboldt could not possibly admire, or, at least approve of, the British system. Why, we are left to conjecture; but, we presume, because our hereditary aristocracy, the peerage, is displeasing to our German friend. He does not see that this affords an additional and, indeed, indispensable security to the balance of power. For that balance cannot be at all maintained, when, as in the case above assumed, the people and the executive are the two only agents of power. We have seen an experiment of this nature tried in France for the last thirty years, and must be by this time, after two revolutions, convinced, that a constitutional monarchy cannot exist without a real and not nominal, a powerful and yet popular, aristocracy. This we have, and have long had, in England; and because we have it, our constitution still exists. The late monarch of France strove to make bribery and corruption, with a very restricted right of franchise, supply the place of an aristocracy. We need not say in how far he has failed.

And now abandoning the stormy field of politics, let us linger for a few moments in the bower of the muses. There is matter for a long and careful essay on the literary relations of William von Humboldt with Schiller and Goethe. Schiller, it should be observed, was his especial friend and favourite. Perhaps, indeed, he admired Goethe most, but he appears to have sympathized far more keenly with Schiller. Let us content ourselves for to-day with a remarkable extract from a letter addressed by Humboldt to Schiller, in which his literary confession of faith will be found worthy of the reader's attention. "The imagination of the Greeks," says he, "was ever subject to the influences of Nature: thence its wondrous calm and clearness; thence, also, from its confinement within the boundaries of the world of sense, its unspirituality, which, contrasted with the most thoughtful productions of the moderns, seems almost poverty. In the moderns this clear response to the external world, this susceptibility to the influences of Nature, will not be discovered; the spiritual intention, taking various directions, is every where manifest. Thence their greater depth of meaning; but also their dissimilarity amongst themselves, national and other indirect causes existing for these various ten-

dencies. Thus, both Italians and English are characterized by poetical imagination, which is gay and sensual in the former, deeper, and nearer allied with feeling, in the latter. In the Germans intellectual intention and true sentiment are prominent: Goethe is especially remarkable in the latter respect, more particularly in his plays, *Egmont*, *Faust*, and *Tasso*, which are neither Greek nor English, but wholly and solely original. In you, my dear friend, the intellectual intention is most visible, but this by no means excludes other qualities." In another place he greets Schiller, for his combination of the spiritual and intellectual with the natural, as "the most modern of all modern bards." There is truth in these remarks, though the German critic must be owned to have claimed, with a perhaps pardonable partiality, the lion's share for his own countrymen. But we also should say, that on the whole, English poetry was more characterized by poetic imagination than any other quality; Spanish by richness and copiousness; Italian by fancy; French by invention, taste, and finish; German by intellectual intention, and feeling; though we are not willing to abandon this latter quality to any foreign nation, remembering our own stores of bardic wealth. And here we may be allowed to remark, that we distinctively claim supremacy for our own poetry, as also for our literature generally, over that of any other country. Every nation, even if national vanity suggested the assertion of its own primacy, would place us second in the roll of degree; nor can we conceive how the Germans even can venture to oppose the few great names which they may muster, to our long series of glorious bardic memories.

Of Humboldt's long and valuable *Essay on Poetry and its Principles*, in connexion with Goethe's exquisite "*Hermann and Dorothea*," we can merely say that it is well worthy of the perusal of all students of German literature; and Schiller's admirable reply, in which he maintains the superiority of the creative artist to the critic, who can never thoroughly express his own sensations of delight, and who, with all his writing, never touches the essence, the central core of an inspired creation, must also be dismissed by us with a brief general encomium. We must pause, however, to protest against the somewhat flippant comments of our author, Schlesier, on the later productions of Goethe, whether in poetry or prose, which he declares to be altogether valueless. We should have thought that Goethe's own crushing blows on the little critics who snapped around him in his lifetime, would have silenced such tiresome impertinence for ever. The truth is, that Goethe's prose was noble to the last, though somewhat stiff; that his second part of *Faust*, published the year before his death, was replete with magnificent poetry; and that his oriental series of

lyrics, the so-called "West Eastern Divan," the fruit of his latter years, so far from being an utter failure, is characterized by an almost miraculous freshness of thought, and feeling, and truly Goethian beauty. Writers like Mr. Schlesier should beware of negative criticism in such cases, by which they can only make themselves ridiculous. Nevertheless, we cannot withhold from Mr. Schlesier the general meed of impartiality, veracity, painstaking care, and no small degree of talent. He has conferred a benefit on the literary world, and it would be ungrateful in us not to tender him our thanks for the pleasure and instruction his work has afforded us.

We shall not follow William von Humboldt through his long and honourable career, having already exceeded the space which we had allotted to our labours. One remark let us be allowed to make in conclusion. William von Humboldt is the realization of a noble German character: he is the type of what thousands may become under the influence of that constitutional liberty, the full enjoyment of which should not be delayed another hour. We know not whether these pages will meet the eye of the present Prussian monarch, but here do we warn him that the hour for doubt and hesitation has passed: that if he would not abandon Germany to the almost immediate triumph of democracy, he must deprive the vast majority of the titled class in his country of their titular nobility, yielding them some appellation corresponding to our English esquire in its stead, and, further, form a chamber of peers from the mediatized princes, associated with some of the richest men in the country; the eldest son of each of whom should alone inherit the peerage. Then, having thus popularized the nobility, by an act of absolute but indispensable power, let him share the right of legislation with his parliament and people.

ART. II.—1. *Substance of Lectures delivered in the Churches.* By HENRY DRUMMOND. London, 1847.

2. *A Discourse on the Office of Apostle.* London, 1848.

3. *The Liturgy and other Divine Offices of the Church.* No date.

FUTURE Church historians—if the world last long enough—may possibly be as much puzzled by the rival developments of Newman and Newman-street in the nineteenth, as former Church historians have been by the rival schisms of Novatus and Novatian in the third century. In both cases, too, there happens to be innovation in the name as well as in the thing; but the credit of that pun belongs to fate; all we have to do with it, is to point it out. Of old Carthage and Rome, of late Oxford and London, have furnished their contingents of unsoundness in the faith; and of late, as of old, the similarity, not of name only, but of error, in divergent lines of separation, is sufficiently strong to induce in the minds of distant observers a danger of confusion, and to suggest the propriety of adhering to the most tangible point of difference, that of locality, by distinguishing, as formerly between African and Roman Novatians, so now between Oxford and London Newmanites.

Having thrown out this hint for the benefit of the writer of some future “Natural History of Heresy and Schism,”—an exceedingly curious and instructive book, we venture to predict, if ever it should be written,—we now turn into the straight path of our present duty, by placing within the focus of the hydro-oxygen microscope of truth the strange theological *infusoria*, the best description of whose whereabouts is,—*da veniam, lector,—turning out*, not of Oxford, but of Oxford-street. They are, as is mostly the case with animalcules, the offspring of troubled waters. It was during that heavy gale of European politics, which

“*maria omnia cœlo  
miscuit,*”—

at the period, when in this country Popery achieved its first victory over the religious feelings of the people, the good sense of the cabinet, and the conscience of the king,—when in France a



mighty revolutionary wave deposited on the rock of power an ambitious prince, whom another and mightier wave has just swept down again and washed upon the shore of "perfidious," yet ever hospitable Albion,—then it was, that one of the most powerful minds that ever descended from the bleak hills of the lawless north into the cheery levels of the tamer south, prepared, with the rich compost of his imaginative thoughts and racy rantings, the mushroom-bed justly designated by the addition of an *ism* to his patronymic. A veritable son of Boreas was he,—the wildness and obliquity of his mental vision strangely and strikingly portrayed in the cast of his outer eye and countenance;—a giant among dwarfs he stood among the men of his generation, a Hercules among the pigmies of his kirk;—a man whom none that ever knew him ever could forget,—whom none ever can remember without reverence and love, without a tear of pity and a smile of ineffable reminiscence. In the very height of his too conscious strength one came upon him stronger than himself, and overcame him; the defeat was registered on high, and the decree went forth: "He that gathereth not with me, scattereth."

Such was the origin of the sect which seems destined in these latter days of the Christian dispensation to fill the place occupied in its first age, after the time of the Apostles, by the Montanists. The parallel is striking in more than one respect, as the sequel will show; and, among others, in the very *personnel* of the chief actors. Of the modern *Montanus*, the man from the northern hills, we have already spoken; whose snare was, like that of his prototype, "love of eminence," whereby, as the ancient author quoted by Eusebius affirms of the latter, "he gave place to the devil".<sup>1</sup> To say nothing of the Priscillas and Maximillas which this modern Montanism has in common with the Cataphrygian heresy, no one that has taken the trouble of perusing the work No. 1, at the head of this article, will refuse to acknowledge that it has also found its Tertullian. For if it must be admitted that the modern Tertullian is not altogether as well-informed a man as his African original, it cannot be denied on the other hand that he is more than his equal in saturnine humour, in terseness and abruptness of style, in quaintness and occasional coarseness of thought, and in that curious and sometimes frivolous play of the imagination which not only sees in every thing a type and a *sacramentum*, but builds upon the most fanciful analogies and interpretations the ponderous structures of a theology, as deficient in soundness as it is abounding in ingenuity. But above all, that

<sup>1</sup> Ἐν ἐκδορῇ ψυχῆς ἀντὶ φιλοπροσώτου λόγου παροδὸν εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀντικείμενον. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. v. c. 16.

which is the chief characteristic of Tertullian's Montanist compositions, the sovereign contempt which he deals to those who in his vocabulary rejoice in the appellation of *Psychics*, as distinguished from those that have the Spirit, is admirably reproduced by the oracle of the modern Montanist sect. "The knowledge and defence of Paraclete," says Tertullian, adverting to the difference between himself and the orthodox Church, "separated us subsequently from the Psychics<sup>2</sup>." "There is," says Mr. Drummond (p. 342), in speaking of every denomination of Christians, except his own sect, "an universal despising of the Holy Ghost as the Spirit of the body of Christ;" and this he accounts (p. 341) one of the points on which "all Christendom is equally infidel," so that in this respect "there is no essential difference in error between Roman and Protestant." The principle on which the whole work is composed, namely, that all the world is wrong, and no one knows or understands it, except Mr. Drummond, and those who have the advantage of his instruction, is laid down at the outset with a distinctness which does more credit to the candour than to the modesty of the writer.

"Whoever speaks, either upon religious or political subjects, must espouse the cause of one sect or another, unless he is prepared to submit to be charged with inconsistency. A partisan cannot afford to be just towards a rival party, without becoming liable to an accusation of treachery. *The Sovereign alone*, because he is *above all* political factions, can avail himself of the powers of all, for the purposes to which each is severally competent; and, *for the same reason*, can *the true Catholic alone* look upon Romanist and Protestant, High Church and Low Church disputants, according to their real values, and award to each the merit and the blame they deserve."—*Drummond, Substance of Lectures*, p. 1.

We will do Mr. Drummond the justice to say, that from a due regard, no doubt, to the benefit of those who are the melancholy theme of his discourse, and remembering how much more salutary censure is to most men than praise, he has been as chary of the latter as he is lavish of the former. A cynical discursive humour runs all through the book, which, if you are above getting angry, is rather entertaining than otherwise. If we had met with the volume without its title-page, and we had been asked to write one for it, without knowing any thing about the authorship, we should undoubtedly have written: "Mephistopheles his Walk through the Church Militant;" and possibly we might not have been far out. As it is, we would venture to suggest to Mr.

<sup>2</sup> *Nos postea agnitio Paracleti, atque defensio, disjunxit a Psychicis.* Tertull. adv. Prax. c. 1.

Drummond, that, in a future edition, the title should be altered, as thus: "Substance of Lectures fired off at the Churches;" for we have met with little in them that might serve for edification to those that are "within," while there is more than enough of castigation for "them that are without." We have some respect for a preacher who will take the bull of iniquity by the horns, and tell a sufficiency of unpalatable home truths concerning their own Church to his audience; but to descant upon the stupidity and the deadness of every other communion, upon an implied understanding that those whom he addresses have risen superior to all these defects and shortcomings, is to our apprehension not very profitable, though it is the most approved system of sectarian preaching. Nevertheless, let us not be ungrateful; *fas est et ab hoste doceri*. Much as we dislike the spirit of Mr. Drummond's book, and sorry as we should be to rely on such food for our edification, there are many things in his volume which are exceedingly true, and vastly well put; and for all that we have said, we are ready to admit this further point of resemblance between the two Tertullians, him of Carthage and him of Newman-street, that, as of the former old Cyprian used to say, "*Da magistrum*," so the pages of the latter might furnish profitable "aids to reflection" even to a bishop.

There is another point of view, however, in which the book of Mr. Drummond is more instructive than he himself intended. When we had a large octavo volume brought under our notice, bearing the title, "Substance of Lectures delivered in the Churches," from the pen of him who, in those "Churches," occupies the high position of an "apostle," and more than an apostle, "the pillar of the apostles," we naturally supposed that it would contain a full development, if not of their discipline and worship, at least of their faith; and with that view we procured and perused it. But in this, as in many other respects, the "apostleship" of Newman-street bears witness against itself as an exceedingly bad imitation; and no mistake could be more grievous than that of supposing, as we confess we did in our simplicity, that in the pages of Mr. Drummond is to be found, after the manner of other "apostolic" writings, a key to the positive tenets of his "Church." If we except the few pages containing in twenty articles the *minimum* of faith which we are told must be common to all bodies of Christians "in union with the one Catholic Church," with bracketed glosses annexed to the several articles, and elsewhere an occasional allusion to certain "visions and revelations," the purport of which is not, however, suffered to transpire, or an allegorical delineation of the character of "the fourfold ministry," of all which more hereafter,—there is

literally nothing in Mr. Drummond's book to enlighten the reader as to the nature of Irvingism. This is the more surprising, as the Churches over which he presides are, in his opinion (p. 70), "places of refuge provided for the faithful,—who, like Lot of old, are dwelling in the mystic Sodom,"—during the impending destruction of all "the false systems," that is, of all the Churches and other Christian communions which were in the world before the rise of this modern Montanism.

"These Churches," we read in another place, "are necessarily without the oil, and never can have it; the cisterns, the pipes, and the vessels are all equally empty. Those Churches which hold the true hope, are still no better than unwise virgins, and must speedily *go to them who have the oil to sell*, or share their predicted fate. Now is the time of the end, when all these sayings of our Lord are fulfilled; now is the time for the lesson to be learned from the parable of the fig-tree,—a good tree, with healthy leaves, and in otherwise vigorous health, perhaps unusually productive of wood and leaves, but lacking the peculiar thing that was needed at the time. In the last days, when Christendom is rent into a thousand schisms, can be seen the union of all the different forms of outward Christianity, hitherto discordant, and still waging upon each other war to the knife, uniting, as in the eighty-third Psalm, against *the single thing which God is doing*, as a climax to all his former works."—*Substance of Lectures*, pp. 108, 109.

The abstract truth of the proposition that such will be the aspect of Christendom in the last days, we are, of course, far from denying; seeing it is written, "When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" What we call in question is, the assumption that the sect of which Mr. Drummond is "the pillar," is "the single thing which God is doing;" and although we can discern it to be a "climax," we have serious doubts of its being "the climax to all God's former works." We look in vain for any thing like evidence that the sect in Newman-street is "the stone cut out without hands," which shall break to pieces every Church and every other Christian communion: as Mr. Drummond has himself exhibited it, it is rather an unshapely pillar cut out, if no worse, by the hands of man, and raised aloft on the top of a heap of rubbish which he has raked together from all the Churches and sects of Christendom. It is rather an inauspicious way, for a system claiming to be the result of immediate revelation from heaven, to endeavour to establish its credit in the world, not by credentials in which the writing of the finger of God may be clearly discerned, such as the true Apostles of Christ adduced and appealed to as the warrant and evidence of their

<sup>a</sup> Luke xviii. 8.

mission, but by preferring charges, some true, some exaggerated, some utterly false, against every communion, being, or claiming to be, the congregation of Christ's people, on the face of the earth, and thereupon to argue,—“because you are all stale and unprofitable, therefore we are necessary; your systems are all false and rotten, therefore ours is the true system.” What other or fitter answer is there to such logic and theology, but that of the patriarch of old: “No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you. But I have understanding as well as you; I am not inferior to you; yea, who knoweth not such things as these?”

It is a pity, truly, that instead of hugging themselves as those which alone “have the oil to *sell*,”—which, by the way, the wise virgins refused to do when applied to by the foolish ones,—in the obscure seclusion of Newman-street, these deluded men and women,—well-meaning and earnest Christians many of them, we verily believe,—should not rather go forth among the members of that Church from which they have separated themselves, though they profess still to belong to it, and which they imagine to be plunged in such heathen darkness; because, if they did so, they might have some chance of learning, that the important truths which they fancy they are exclusively holding and setting forth, such as the reality of the Holy Ghost's indwelling in the Church, and the probable nearness of the second Advent, are preached and received by not a few among those whom they despise. They might then possibly come to understand what they are evidently ignorant of, that the option of rejecting those truths, or joining the sect in Newman-street, is by no means the only alternative left to a Christian man; that it is quite as possible, and a great deal more profitable, to hold those truths, and to proclaim them, in charity, humility, and sobriety, than to do so, Montanist fashion, in delusion, in spiritual pride, and separation.

In the absence of any truth distinguishing his communion from the existing Churches of Christ, and of any credentials distinguishing his followers from other fanatics or impostors which have risen up in the Church again and again with similar pretensions, it is vain for Mr. Drummond to expect that the mere *petitio principii* on his part, that his sect is the body of the elect to be gathered in the last days, and separated from the dross and refuse of universal Christendom, will be taken by serious and sober-minded Christians as a demonstration of the truth of the high mission to which he lays claim as “the pillar of the apostles” of a new dispensation: his declaration that, as men of old, “in

rejecting the brazen serpent, rejected God," so now "in rejecting apostles," that is, Messrs. Drummond, Cardale, and consorts, "they reject the Holy Ghost," is a *brutum fulmen*, fit only to frighten those that are "weak in the faith," and to ensnare them in their "doubtful," and more than doubtful, "disputations." It were well, however, if the absence of any distinguishing truth, and of any credentials like those with which God has ever furnished his true apostles and prophets, were all the objection that lies against the sect in Newman-street. Unfortunately for them, there is not only the absence of distinguishing truth, but the presence of positive error; not only the want of credentials, but the lying pretence of such credentials; making it but too evident to the eye of spiritual discernment, that if there is, as they themselves allege, and as it seems difficult to deny, a supernatural work at the bottom of their system, it is no other than the snare of the devil, "transformed into an angel of light," and heralded to the world by "false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ."

In saying this we desire to be understood as recording a deliberate conclusion arrived at upon satisfactory evidence; for we should hold it altogether inadmissible, especially on so solemn a subject, to quote a word of holy Scripture loosely, in the way of a rhetorical figure. We are unable, it is true, to speak from personal knowledge or experience; having,—on this very ground, that we had reason to believe the power manifested in the sect to be not a mere delusion of the human mind, but a supernatural and evil influence,—cautiously abstained from coming personally within the reach of those utterances; great as the temptation was to "come and see," especially at the first rise of the manifestations, when more than one unwary inquirer paid dearly for his pious curiosity. Among those who thus fell, for a time at least, under the power of the delusion, was Mr. Robert Baxter, the author of two pamphlets now lying before us, the date of which carries us back to the early days of Irvingism. The first of these, published in 1833, is entitled "Narrative of Facts, characterizing the Supernatural Manifestations in members of Mr. Irving's congregation, and other individuals, in England and Scotland, and formerly in the writer himself." The other pamphlet of Mr. Baxter, of which we have the second edition published in 1836, bears the title, "Irvingism, in its Rise, Progress, and present State." The subject of both is, as their titles indicate, substantially the same; but the former treats chiefly of the writer's own history while connected with the sect; the latter of the history, generally, of

the sect itself. A brief summary of the contents of both, with occasional extracts, will enable our readers to judge for themselves of the nature of the evidence upon which our conclusion, expressed above, is founded, and prepare the way for a more correct appreciation of the sect, as it is exhibited in its recent publications enumerated at the head of this article.

The utterances, it appears from Mr. Baxter's "*Irvingism*," began at Port Glasgow; their manner was "novel and appalling;" their matter was partly in plain English, on topics of prophecy; partly unintelligible, consisting of sounds which after many fruitless attempts to trace them in any known language, are now admitted to be different from any language spoken on the earth. The persons first gifted with the utterances were two brothers and several ladies, one of whom imported them into Mr. Irving's church in London, which was at that time the "National Scotch Church" in Regent-square. Mr. Irving, who looked upon his own congregation, tainted already by the unsound views he had propounded on the peccability of Christ's nature and the perfectibility of man, as upon a city on a hill in the midst of the darkness of surrounding Christendom, was not slow in acknowledging the utterances of his visiter from Port Glasgow as the fruits of a miraculous spiritual gift. After the female prophet from Glasgow had for some time associated with Mr. Irving's congregation, the infection spread, and three ladies began to "speak in the Spirit;" one of whom, however, after having been for months received as a prophetess, and her spiritual gifts fully recognized by the other prophets and prophetesses, acknowledged that she had on several occasions been "feigning utterances," and was accordingly declared "a false prophetess." Hitherto no man had spoken as yet in this supernatural utterance in London; but it seems that "some movings towards utterance appeared" in a Mr. Taplin, and two of the prophetesses having been "much exercised in prayer that he might be made to speak," he accordingly "did speak in power in a tongue" (*i. e.* the unintelligible utterance) "and in English;" the former part of his utterance being afterwards "paraphrased" by one of the prophetesses.

All this took place at "private prayer meetings;" but Mr. Taplin followed up his private utterance by another at a public prayer meeting, again in what is technically termed by the sect "a tongue," and in English, in which language he ejaculated: "The Lord is at hand,—prepare to meet Him. The judgments are coming—judgments are around Him." The next step was

\* Baxter, *Narrative of Facts*, pp. 93—96.

the exhibition of the utterances in the public Sunday congregation.

“It was at this time even the opinion of Mr. Irving and his personal friends, that these utterances, although of the Spirit of God, should not be allowed in the congregation when assembled for Divine service on the Lord’s day. It was their judgment that it would be contrary to order and discipline. Some weeks elapsed after the utterances were permitted in the public prayer meetings, before they were heard in the Sunday congregation. On Sunday, the 16th of October, however, in the midst of the Morning Service, Miss H’.” (the same who was afterwards pronounced a false prophetess) “was, as she expressed it, visited with such a power of the Spirit, that, unable to restrain her utterance, and yet unwilling to interrupt the service, she hastened from the body of the Church into the vestry, and there, in the hearing of the congregation, broke forth in an utterance, ‘How dare ye to suppress the voice of the Lord;’ and went on to set forth that these utterances, being the voice of the Lord, ought to be permitted in the congregation. Miss E. C., who followed her, also spoke in an utterance, saying the Spirit had been quenched and grieved by such prohibition, and warning them not to hinder it; for the Lord’s voice ought to be heard in the Church. In the evening of the same day, Mr. Taplin spoke in a tongue in the congregation, and afterwards in English, ‘Do you fly from the voice of God, when He is in the midst of you; where will ye flee in the day of judgment?’

“Thus were the utterances gradually introduced through Mr. Irving’s congregation in London. They were often, in an extraordinary power of voice, accompanied by a most unnatural expression of countenance. It was on one occasion suggested by Mr. \* \* \*” (subsequently one of the “apostles”), “soon after they were heard in the Sunday congregation, that those who spoke should endeavour to restrain its loudness. But he was immediately rebuked by an utterance from Miss H.” (the false prophetess), “‘Do you know what it is to have the word of God as a fire in your bones?’ and going on to say it could not be restrained; which utterance was immediately confirmed by another from Miss E. C. ‘It is so; it is so.’ No further attempt was made to restrain them; but they continued with full permission to exercise their powers in the Sunday congregation. These utterances, from the period of their full recognition, took, as might be expected, the entire control. Mr. Irving, and the congregation which remained with him, bowed to them as the voice of God; and under the progress of these utterances the system of Irvingism has been fashioned.”—*Baxter’s Irvingism, &c.* pp. 18, 19.

Here, then, at the very threshold of this new “dispensation of the Spirit” we have the undeniable and remarkable fact that

† The names are given at full length in Mr. Baxter’s second pamphlet.



the chief agent in causing these utterances to be produced in the public congregation, and in preventing any restraint from being imposed upon them, was one subsequently convicted and rejected as a "false prophetess," upon her own confession, and by the verdict of her sister-prophetesses, who "in power, pronounced that *the whole work in her was of the flesh, and not of the Lord*" (Narrative, p. 94); and the equally undeniable and remarkable fact, that the utterances of those who to this day lay claim to the spirit of true prophecy, accorded with the utterances of the "false prophetess," and set upon them the seal of confirmation. The same striking fact recurs in the case of Mr. Baxter himself, who was for several months reckoned a chief prophet among them, whose utterances were in perfect agreement with those of the other prophets and prophetesses, and who subsequently withdrew from the sect, and unequivocally declared the whole work to be of Satan; and that not upon being convicted as a false prophet like Miss H., but in consequence of the conviction spontaneously produced in his mind, by repeated failures of the prophecies, and by the false doctrine to which the utterances gave witness, that the work was not of God but of the devil.

Before we enter more fully into the account which Mr. Baxter gives of his own experience while under the delusion, it will not be uninteresting to compare with the facts above stated the account of a similar delusion which made its appearance in London at the beginning of the last century, and was of sufficient importance at the time, to call forth a violent attack upon it in William Whiston's Boyle Lectures. The library of Sion College contains five volumes of "Papers relating to the late false prophets, commonly called French<sup>a</sup> prophets;" and a full account of the rise and progress of the sect, of the corruptions into which it fell, and of its consequent downfall, was composed by Dr. Hughson<sup>b</sup>, as late as the year 1814, chiefly from a book published at the time by one of the prophets themselves<sup>c</sup>, whose eyes, like those of Mr. Baxter, were opened to the delusive character of the work. The purport of the prophecy of these "French prophets" was, as in the present instance, the imme-

<sup>a</sup> They are called "French" prophets, because the delusion was set on foot here by three Camisards, who, by laying on of hands, communicated "the power" by which they spoke, to others in this country.

<sup>b</sup> The title of this curious tract is: "A copious Account of the French and English prophets, who infested London during 1707 and the following years; the exhibition of some of them in the pillory, and a complete exposure of their infamous practices. By D. Hughson, LL.D., Editor of the History of London and other works. London, 1814."

<sup>c</sup> Under the title, "A Brand Snatched from the Burning; exemplified in the unparalleled case of Samuel Keimer." The writer afterwards turned Quaker.

diate approach of the second Advent. In a long apologetic manifesto, on the character of "the spirit," published by the prophets themselves against the attacks of "divines and others," many of whom did "own them to be actuated by a superior spirit," but declared that spirit to be "the spirit of the devil," the following curious passage occurs:—

"This spirit prepares and adorns the bride against the coming of the bridegroom. Without such a presence, and the extraordinary gifts and powers of the Spirit of God, neither the spreading and full establishing of the Gospel, nor the promised union of all nations into one faith and one law, nor the fulness of God's kingdom can ever be expected to be brought about. Its presence and immediate operations and gifts are necessary for the beginning of the conversion of man to God and His Christ. And now, when the harvest remains yet to be made (for what has been done hitherto is but an earnest), and when Christendom itself is deplorably hardened, misled, and divided, its immediate concurrence and manifestations are not less necessary, but rather more."—*Hughson's Copious Account*, p. 11.

Here we have the same demonstration of the *necessity* of this new dispensation, and on the same ground, the miserable state of Christendom, which we have already noticed in Mr. Drummond's book. The manner in which "the spirit" acted, was by violent and involuntary agitations with a loud roaring voice. "They are," says the manifesto (p. 5), "sometimes such as cannot at all be imitated; no, not by the persons themselves, out of inspiration." Keimer describes them (p. 18), as "very violent and strange agitations or shakings of the body," accompanied by "loud and terrifying hiccups and throbs;" in another place (p. 20), where he relates one of the inspiration scenes, he states that "between every two or three words speaking," the party under the influence of the power "cried, 'Hoh! hoh! hoh! hoh! O—h! o—h! o—h!'" as if he were taking his last gasp;" and upon one occasion (p. 60) he mentions that "a prophetess roared out in so hideous a manner 'The devil! the devil! the devil!'" that it terrified the believers themselves."

The parties that were caught in the snare of this delusion, were (p. 19) "generally persons that had made a serious profession of religion under the various denominations;" men who (p. 39) "in the sincerity of their hearts, were seeking the way to Sion, but through ignorance were enticed and prevailed upon by the voice of the deluder;" several of them "being men of distinguished sense and judgment in natural things, as well as substance." In the catalogue of the principal characters (pp. 77—81) appended to the narrative, are mentioned the names of Sir Richard

Bulkely, Lady Jane Forbes, a Mr. Everard, who was Envoy from the British Court to France, and various other persons of a respectable condition in life, as lawyers, physicians, merchants, &c. There was also among them a clergyman of the name of Foster, a prebendary of Sarum, who publicly in the pulpit professed his belief in the manifestations, in consequence of which he was suspended for six months by Bishop Burnet. Among the prophetesses one Anne Topham was chiefly conspicuous, who went by the *sobriquet* "the bishop," on account of "the orders for meetings and missions coming so often through her mouth;" notwithstanding which she was subsequently turned out of the sect.

The gross fleshly sins into which the prophets at last fell, and that under the express direction of "the spirit," finally revealed the real origin and character of their inspiration; but long before this took place, there were indications that it was a lying spirit that spoke in them, quite sufficient to have undeceived the "believers," but for the extraordinary subtilty of the spirit in turning aside difficulties, and devising evasive pleas, and the still more extraordinary blindness by which the minds of its deluded followers were overcast. The most definite and explicit prophecies ended in failure and disappointment; and the occasional strangeness of the commands given by "the spirit," created much perplexity, and excited suspicions, more than once. But they had been taught by the spirit (p. 67) that "true saving faith consisted in an implicit belief in, and strict obedience to whatsoever that spirit commanded, without consulting their reason, or having regard to the commands of God as revealed in Scripture;" and when, upon one occasion (p. 58), one of the prophetesses was unwilling to go, at the bidding of the spirit, and pronounce a sick man whole, because she had been so often disappointed, "the spirit, through her own mouth, severely reproved and threatened her." As she still resisted, "the spirit" came upon one of the prophets very violently, and "terribly reproved and threatened her for her disobedience, commanding her still to obey, which she, with the greatest reluctance possible, at last did, by going to the sick man, under violent agitations, and pronouncing him whole." The sick man, however, died shortly after; as another of the sect, Dr. Emea, had done before under similar circumstances. On many other occasions, detailed by Keimer, the most explicit prophecies came to nothing when the time fixed for their fulfilment arrived; yet the delusion retained its hold upon the members of the sect.

"Though in every thing we found ourselves disappointed," Keimer continues, "yet so deeply rooted were we in this delusion, that all the

reason, solid arguments, and plain Scriptures that were brought by our friends, to convince us of our grand mistake, proved ineffectual."—*Hughson's Copious Account*, pp. 47, 48.

And again, further on :

"The many failures which had come from the mouths of the inspired, and many of a public nature, began to give some people a little uneasiness, fearing they were not of God. Upon which, Nicholas Facio, a great mathematician, a member of the Royal Society, and one, as it is said, who understands well to speak and write fifty-two languages, writes a very cunning and subtile exposition on the 22nd verse of the 18th chapter of Deuteronomy, viz. 'When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously: thou shalt not be afraid of him.' This exposition was so cunningly made, that I now verily believe, had twenty Jesuits joined together to consult, they could not have given a more clever turn to overthrow the meaning of so clear a text, as this Facio did. His exposition was handed about amongst believers, and, I think, not without its intended success."—*Hughson's Copious Account*, pp. 49, 50.

We now turn to the description which Mr. Baxter gives of that power of which he was, for a time, the subject, and of the circumstances by which he was afterwards led to the conclusion, that the spirit which spake in him was a lying spirit. His attention, it appears, had been directed to the question of spiritual gifts; and he had been led to think favourably of the manifestations which had recently commenced in London, before he came into personal contact with any of the parties. The following is his own account of his first attendance at one of the private prayer meetings at which, at that period, none but the gifted persons, or persons anxious to obtain the gift, were permitted to be present.

"Having obtained an introduction, I attended; my mind fully convinced that the power was of God, and prepared, as such, to listen to the utterances. After one or two brethren had read and prayed, Mr. T— (Taplin) was made to speak two or three words very distinctly, and with an energy and depth of tone which seemed to me extraordinary, and it fell upon me as a supernatural utterance, which I ascribed to the power of God; the words were in a tongue I did not understand. In a few minutes Miss E. C. broke out in an utterance in English, which, as to matter and manner, and the influence it had upon me, I at once bowed to as the utterance of the Spirit of God. Those who have heard the powerful and commanding utterance need no description; but they who have not, may conceive, what an unnatural and unaccustomed tone of voice, an intense and riveting power of expression—with the declaration of a cutting rebuke to all who were present, and applicable to my own state of mind in particular—would effect upon me, and upon the others who were come together, expecting to hear the voice of the Spirit

of God. In the midst of the feeling of awe and reverence which this produced, I was myself seized upon by the power; and in much struggling against it, was made to cry out, and myself to give forth a confession of my own sin in the matter for which we were rebuked; and afterwards to utter a prophecy that the messengers of the Lord should go forth, publishing to the ends of the earth in the mighty power of God, the testimony of the near coming of the Lord Jesus. The rebuke had been for not declaring the near coming of Jesus; and I was smitten in conscience, having many times refrained from speaking of it to the people, under a fear they might stumble over it, and be offended."—*Baxter's Narrative*, pp. 4, 5.

The last allusion to what Mr. Baxter conceived to be his sin in this matter, refers to his practice of privately teaching the poor in the parish in which he resided. With regard to the testimony borne by the utterance to the Lord Jesus, it should not be forgotten, that the devils were among the first to bear witness to the Lord at His first coming<sup>2</sup>, and that one of the most explicit testimonies to the truth of the Gospel was that of the damsel at Philippi, who was possessed with a spirit of divination<sup>3</sup>. But to return to Mr. Baxter, and the effect which "the power" produced upon him. Speaking of a subsequent occasion, he says,

"Suddenly the power came down upon me, and I found myself lifted up in soul to God, my wandering thoughts at once riveted, and calmness of mind given me. By a constraint I cannot describe, I was made to speak—at the same time shrinking from utterances, and yet rejoicing in it. The utterance was a prayer that the Lord would have mercy upon me and deliver me from fleshly weakness, and would graciously bestow upon me the gifts of His Spirit, 'the gift of wisdom, the gift of knowledge, the gift of faith, the working of miracles, the gifts of healing, the gift of prophecy, the gift of tongues, and the interpretation of tongues; and that he would open my mouth and give me strength to declare his glory.' This prayer, short almost as I have now penned it, was forced from me by the constraint of the power which acted upon me; and the utterance was so loud, that I put my handkerchief to my mouth to stop the sound that I might not alarm the house. When I had reached the last word I have written, the power died off me, and I was left just as before, save in amazement at what had passed, and filled, as it seemed to me, with thankfulness to God for His great love so manifested to me. With the power there came upon me a strong conviction—'This is the Spirit of God; what you are now praying is of the Spirit of God, and must, therefore, be the mind of God; and what you are asking, will surely be given to you.' This conviction—strong as it was at the moment—was never shaken, until the whole work fell to pieces. But from that day I acted in the full assurance that in God's

<sup>2</sup> Mark iii. 11. Luke iv. 34, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Acts xvi. 16—18.

own good time all these gifts would be bestowed upon me."—*Baxter's Narrative*, pp. 8, 9.

In this conviction Mr. Baxter was confirmed by the testimony of the other prophets and prophetesses, not only by the agreement of their utterance with his own on many occasions, but by the voice of prophecy in them, pointing him out as one of the chiefest instruments of the Lord in this new dispensation. To mention but one instance which occurred immediately after a most painful scene, of which a casual visiter was the object :

"As I passed Mrs. C." (one of the prophetesses) "I took her hand to shake hands with her, when the power came upon her, and, holding my hand, she addressed me before all the company; beginning, by setting out Jesus Christ, and proceeding, as the prophet of Christ, to declare that Jesus had sent His angel, and touched my lips with a living coal not many days past; that the word of the Lord proceeded from my lips, and I was a prophet, and more than a prophet, for I should speak with authority; that I was a chosen stone in the temple of the Lord; but warning the people not to rest in the vessel, for though I was a chief stone, yet I was not *the* chief corner-stone."—*Baxter's Narrative*, p. 73.

While a personal belief in the power from which these utterances proceeded, was thus insinuated into the mind through the subtlest of all the channels of mischief, spiritual pride, and love of distinction, failures which must, we should have thought, have removed the delusion at once, and drawn attention to its real character, were of constant occurrence. The following may serve as a specimen :

"After breakfast, when sitting with Mr. Irving, Mr. P., and a few others, Mr. Irving remarked that Mr. T., when in the Court of Chancery, had found the power mightily upon him, but never a distinct impulse to utterance. Whilst he was speaking on it, I was made in power to declare, 'There go I, and thence to the prison-house.' This was followed by a prophecy setting forth the darkness of the visible church, referring to the king as the head of the Church of England, and to the chancellor as the keeper of the conscience of the king. That a testimony should that day be borne before him which should make the nation tremble at what was coming to pass. That I was to go and bear this testimony, and for the testimony should be cast into prison. That the abomination of desolation would be set up in the land, and Satan sit in the high places of the Church, showing himself to be God. That the world had now the possession of the visible church, but for the purity of doctrine of the Church of England, she, as the last portion of the visible church, had been accounted holy by the Lord; but she had gone on in worldly cares, and was now so provoking the Lord, and by worldly-mindedness so quenching the Spirit of God, that

God had cast her off. That it was necessary a spiritual minister should bear testimony before the conscience-keeper of the head of this church, and then the abomination of desolation would be set up, and every man must flee to the mountains. Much was added of the judgments of God in the midst of the land. The power upon me was overwhelming. I gave all present a solemn benediction, as though I was departing altogether from among them, and forbidding Mr. Irving, who rose to speak to me as I was going, I went out under the constraint of the power, and shaped my way to the court of the chancellor, to bear the testimony to which I was commanded.

"As I went on towards the court, the sufferings and trials I underwent were almost beyond endurance. Might it not be a delusion? Ought I not to consider my own character in the sight of the world, which would be forfeited by such an act; and the ruin of all worldly prospects, which would ensue from it, and from my imprisonment? These and a thousand more subtle and trying suggestions were cast in upon me; but confident that the power speaking in me was of God, it seemed my duty to obey at every sacrifice; and without counting the cost, I gave myself up to God to do with me and use me as He should see fit. In this mind I went on, expecting, as I entered the court of the chancellor, the power would come upon me, and I should be made to bear testimony before him. I knew not what I was to say, but supposed, that, as on all other occasions, the subject and utterance would be together given. When I entered, no power came on me. I stood in the court before the chancellor for three or four hours, momentarily expecting the power to come upon me, and as the time lengthened, more and more perplexed at its absence. I was tempted to speak in my own strength without the power; but I judged this would not be faithful to the word spoken, as my testimony would not have been in the Spirit. After waiting this time I came out of court, convinced there was nothing for me to say.

"The mental conflict was most painful. I left the court under the conviction I had been deluded. If I were deluded, how was it with the others who spoke in the power, one of whom had borne direct testimony to my utterance being of God; and the others of whom had received me, and heard me, and spoken in power with me, as one of them? Here, however, I failed; I adjudged myself deceived, but I had not sufficient proof, as I thought, to sit in judgment upon them. I thought I had stumbled, but I dared not condemn them. I went at once to Mr. Irving, who, anxious as to the issue of my mission, welcomed me as delivered from prison. I said to him, 'We are snared—we are deceived; I had no message before the chancellor.' He inquired particulars, but could give no solution. He said, 'We must wait. You certainly have received the gift; and the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.' We set ourselves to search whether in any thing I had mistaken the directions of the power, but could not discover it. I observed to him, 'If the work in me is of the enemy, what will you say of the rest who have so joined me, and borne

witness of me?' 'True,' said he, 'but their's has been tried in every way.' He then mentioned the trials. . . .

"Deeply was I troubled and perplexed, and much was I humbled before God. But my eyes not being opened fully to see that the whole work must stand or fall together; and not being instructed, as I have since most painfully been, of the subtlety and cunning craftiness of the enemy; my prayers were yet made in a confidence that a work of God was in the midst of us, and my doubts were of my own individual gift. In the morning I attended the prayer-meeting, though so much burdened as not to be able to lift up my heart among them. An utterance came from Miss E. C.; 'It is discernment—it is discernment ye lack: seek ye for it—seek ye for it;' and going on in the same strain, setting forth the love and faithfulness of God. I believe she knew nothing of the issue of the visit to the chancellor; but, be that as it may, the message impressed me as though it applied to my case, and I was led to think lack of discernment would be found to have occasioned my stumbling. However, my heaviness was not removed until after the meeting, when, at breakfast, the subject was alluded to, and the text in Jeremiah was quoted—where it is said, 'Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived. Then said I, I will not speak the word of the Lord any more; but the word of the Lord was unto me as a fire in my bones.' When I had read this, and was thinking upon it, the power came upon me, and I was made to say, 'The word of the Lord is as fire, and if ye, O vessel! who speak, refuse to obey the word, ye shall utterly perish—ye have obeyed the word of the Lord—ye went to the place of testimony—the Spirit was quenched before the conscience of the King—ye, a spiritual minister, have borne witness there; and were ye not cast into prison? has not the dark dungeon been your prison-house since ye came from the place of testimony? Ye lack discernment:—ye must read the word spiritually—the abomination of desolation is set up—the Spirit of God is quenched in all the churches of the land; and now the mystical Man of Sin is enthroned, and sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.'—Then followed a command to flee to the mountains—to come out of Babylon and be separate; and much more concerning the Lord's work and the duty of His people.—This acted like electricity. I thought, and those who had heard the message of the former morning thought with me, that read spiritually, in which way I ought to have read it, the message concerning the chancellor had been fulfilled by my silent testimony, and my subsequent darkness and bondage. My satisfaction was complete: the explanation seemed then to me quite satisfactory; though now, I confess, it seems to me but a deep subtlety for explaining away a manifest failure of the word."—*Baxter's Narrative*, pp. 24—28.

It is almost incredible that so shallow a subterfuge should have availed to silence the doubts of a rational mind; nor can it be accounted for on any other principle than that assigned by Mr.



Baxter himself, namely, that "if we put ourselves under the power of the enemy, by giving heed to seducing spirits," the result is, that "our eyes are blinded, and our minds darkened by him, until we are both blind and foolish beyond belief." Another and most startling instance of the power of the delusion is thus related:

"At the close of the meeting, a scene occurred which baffles all description, and on which, whenever I now think, the deepest feelings of horror and shame creep over me. Mrs. C. was made, after our exposition was concluded, to cry out in a most piercing utterance, that there was some one in the midst of us who was provoking the Lord by jealousy, envy, and hard thoughts of His servants the prophets. Regarding this, as we all did, as the Spirit of God, every one was cast back in examination of his own thoughts; and, as the gift of prophecy was a general object of desire, many tender consciences converted their admiration of, and longing after, the gift, into an envy and provocation. A feeling of dismay seemed to run through the company, but no one answered. The accusation was reiterated, with a demand that the person should step forward, and confess. Many present, one after another, came forward, and, confessing some sin, inquired if they were any of them the culprit. None of these, however, were recognized as such. The cry again went forth, and my voice was mingled with Mrs. C.'s, declaring the person who was meant was conscious of it. The agony expressed on many countenances was intense; one man was so overcome, that his head fell on the chair, as though he were paralyzed, uttering an unnatural moaning cry, which showed the intensity of his mental agony. I was made in power to pray the Lord to discover the offender, and ease the consciences of His children. But after some time spent in this state, seeing the person was not found, we prepared to go home."—*Baxter's Narrative*, pp. 72, 73.

Then followed the scene already referred to<sup>4</sup>, in which Mr. Baxter was acknowledged by the prophetess who had first given utterance to the denunciation, as "a chief stone," though "not ~~the~~ chief corner-stone." After relating the substance of her prophecy concerning him, Mr. Baxter thus resumes the narrative of the circumstances connected with the denunciation.

"When she had concluded, I turned round to Mr. Irving, intending to ask all present to kneel down to pray, when Mr. Irving silently pointed to a person who stood by, and looking to him I saw a power resting upon him, and he struggling to give utterance. I paused, and when utterance broke from him, instead of articulate words, nothing but muttering followed, and with this an expression of countenance most revolting. Lifting up a prayer to God to judge His own cause, and preserve us from judging unjustly of a brother; almost at the same

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 27.

moment an utterance broke from Mrs. C., and from myself; 'It is an evil spirit.' A thrill of horror passed through the company, and presently an utterance came from Mrs. C.—'Rebuke the unclean spirit, and command him to enter no more into him.' The power came upon me, and I said, 'In the name of Jesus, I adjure thee, thou foul spirit, to come out of the man, and enter no more into him.' The man, however, continued muttering and speaking nonsense. Again the command came from Mrs. C., and the power upon me, and I used the same words over him again. Lady ——, who was present, and had before once or twice spoken in the power, under an impulse of the power, rose up, and stretching her hands towards me, cried out in power, 'Greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world;' and repeating this several times, sank down on the floor. We all paused. The muttering and disgusting utterances continued. Mr. Irving suggested, 'This kind goeth not forth but with prayer and fasting.' We were, however, confounded, and the only explication I could suggest, was, that the word of God had gone forth for the expulsion of the evil spirit, and we must rest in faith, that in due time the effect would follow, and the man be delivered."—*Baxter's Narrative*, p. 74.

It is hardly necessary to point out what must at once suggest itself to every reflecting mind, that however satisfactory the explanation attempted by Mr. Irving might have been, if parties usually endowed with the power of casting out evil spirits, had of *their own mere motion* endeavoured to exercise that power in any particular case, and had been unsuccessful, it is wholly insufficient to account for the failure, when the attempt to cast out what had been declared by the voice of this supernatural utterance to be "an evil spirit," was made by the express command of the same supernatural utterance speaking through one person, and in the power of that utterance speaking through another; and not only so, but when both the command and the attempt were repeated, and still it continued a failure. A curious contrast to this abortive exorcism is furnished by a case of successful exorcism used against this "power" itself, which, though not connected with Mr. Baxter's personal narrative, is yet related by him, as throwing great light upon the whole subject:

"In the latter end of the past year [*i.e.* 1832], two children of a pious and exemplary clergyman in Gloucestershire, had been made to speak by a supernatural power. They were twins, a boy and a girl, and only eight or nine years of age; children in whom nothing of a religious turn had been remarked. Their parents were, unfortunately, led to seek after the manifestations, believing them to be of the Spirit of God. From the time the mouths of the children were opened, their conduct seemed so much changed, that they appeared most religious and devoted children. Their utterance was most astounding; beginning in the setting

forth of Jesus, and calling to self-abasement before His cross; and proceeding with such recital of Scripture, and such power of argument and exhortation, as might be said to surpass many able ministers, and certainly quite out of the compass of children of their age and understanding. Having, by this demonstration of power, of truth and holiness, gained the confidence of their parents and friends, they were carried on to deliver prophecies of things which were coming to pass—then uttering commands to their parents and friends, and sending them here and there—denouncing the judgments of God upon the church and world, and setting a day for a particular manifestation of judgment.—Shortly things were spoken by them which seemed to their parents contrary to Scripture, and they were startled by an utterance forbidding to marry. This was so plainly the work of a false spirit, that their parents and friends were greatly distressed; and, though much awed by the influence which the power had obtained over them, they remembered they had forgotten the command, ‘Try the spirits;’ and they wished to try the spirit in the children by the Scripture test. They accordingly called the boy, and told him their doubts, and that they must try the spirit. The boy seemed to be much wrought upon by the power, and in the supernatural utterance said, ‘Ye may try the spirits in men, but ye may not try the spirits in children. Ye will surely be punished.’ They, however, persisted; though the father was so much agitated, as not to be able to do it; yet the curate addressed the spirit in the child, and demanded, in the words of Scripture, a confession that Christ was come in the flesh. Paleness and agitation increased over the child, till an utterance broke from him, ‘I will never confess it.’ They were thus satisfied that it was an evil power which spoke in him, and the curate went on to say, ‘I command thee, thou false spirit, in the name of Jesus, to come out of the child.’ As the child afterwards described his feelings, he felt as though a coldness were removed from his heart, and passed away from him. They told the child, if he felt the power coming on him again, to resist it, and several times he did so. Once, some time afterwards, from his mistaking something his parents had said to him, to be a direction to yield to the power, if it should again come on him, he did yield to it, and spoke supernaturally as before; but being corrected, and thenceforth resisting the power whenever it came upon him, he was entirely freed from it. This narrative, which I first saw in print, has been confirmed to me by one who was an eye and ear witness of the whole. If any one should be inclined to doubt whether any supernatural agency has been manifested in the adults, and should be led to think excitement, coupled with a fervid imagination, is sufficient to account for all that has occurred in them; he will yet be compelled to acknowledge, that in these children, at least, neither excitement nor imagination can account for it.”—*Baxter’s Narrative*, pp. 97, 98.

To Mr. Baxter’s voucher for the truth of this story, on the evidence of an eye and ear witness, we can add our own testimony;

having had the whole transaction, with many more circumstances of detail, communicated to us by a clergyman who was personally acquainted with both the father of the children, and with his curate, and had received his information from their own lips.

From these illustrations of the character of the supernatural power by which the Irvingite sect is held captive, we now turn to those particular points which led Mr. Baxter to the conclusion that the whole work was of Satan, and which are at the same time of considerable importance in determining the present character and position of the sect. These points refer partly to doctrine, and partly to Church order; in both which considerable innovations were brought in under the influence of "the utterances." With regard to doctrine, the principal point is the erroneous view taken by Mr. Irving of the flesh of our blessed Lord, a view which of itself is sufficient to show, that the spirit from which these utterances proceed, is not of God. The nature of the error itself, and the extent to which the character of the utterance, and consequently that of the whole sect, are involved in it, will be best gathered from Mr. Baxter's account of what took place between him and Mr. Irving on the subject. Mr. Baxter, who was at that time in the country, had, it seems, had his doubts as to Mr. Irving's soundness, in consequence of which he was moved to write to him "in power." Before Mr. Irving had time to answer, Mr. Baxter had two passages in Mr. Irving's book on the Human Nature of Christ pointed out to him by a clergyman, a friend of his, which could leave no doubt as to what Mr. Irving really taught. The passages were as follows:

"And in the face of all these certainties, if a man will say that His (Christ's) flesh was not *sinful flesh as ours is*, with *the same dispositions*, and *propensities*, and wants, and afflictions, then, I say, *God hath sent that man strong delusions that he should believe a lie.*" ("Human Nature, &c. p. 23.")—*Baxter's Narrative*, p. 101.

"Now if there had not been in Christ's nature *appetites*, *ambitions*, and *spiritual darkenings*, how, I ask, could the devil have addressed these several temptations to his will?" ("Human Nature, p. 24.")—*Baxter's Narrative*, p. 101.

The reading of these passages drew from Mr. Baxter, in the presence of his friend, "an utterance in power" to this effect, "He has erred, he has erred." Confirmed by this utterance in his own view of the holiness of Christ's human nature, Mr. Baxter, after some further investigation of Mr. Irving's writings, which discovered to him his further unsoundness in regard to the holiness of believers, addressed to Mr. Irving a second letter.

"In much heaviness, I sat down to write to Mr. Irving, stating fully his error in conceiving the law of sin to be in the flesh of Jesus;

and stating also what I conceived to be the truth concerning our holiness. That as by faith accepted in Christ and clothed in His righteousness, so we are in the sight of the Father holy and without blame. But whilst in the flesh, the law of sin remains even in them who are regenerate, and the flesh lusteth against the Spirit. And though our mark and aim should be, to 'be perfect even as our Father is perfect;' yet that we all come short of perfect holiness in the flesh, and are unprofitable servants.—As Mr. Irving regarded me destined to the apostolic office, and set for the instruction of his Church, I had great confidence that he would receive this, and would be led to retract and abandon his errors, and thus remove a great stumbling-block from his door."—*Baxter's Narrative*, p. 102.

The result was, after a few days, a letter from Mr. Irving, which Mr. Baxter gives in full, on the ground that it was mainly instrumental in opening his eyes to the delusion by which he and others were bound, and which, as an authentic document, not only of the tenets of the sect, but of the fact that the alleged inspiration of the sect bears testimony to those tenets, we think it useful to place permanently on record:

"London, 21st April, 1832.

"My dear Brother,—Read this letter with your eye on God.—We have great need, especially the spiritual amongst us, to walk humbly with the Lord. Your first letter, containing the utterance of the Spirit, without any expression of his intention in sending it to me, led me very deeply to ponder the subject of our Lord's flesh, and to cry upon the Lord to examine me; and to the same exercise of soul had I been drawn by the utterance of the Spirit, and the experience of the spiritual of my flock in these days past. These things put me into a fit condition for receiving the full impression of your last letter, which arrived last night, after I had preached a sermon on the Holy Generation of the Flesh of Christ. This I had done, in order to express anew, before my people, with all caution and consideration, what I firmly believe to be the truth; and to guard them against the effect of any rash and unguarded expressions which I might at any time have used. All night long, my soul, sleeping and waking, was exercised upon the subject of your last letter. And it being wonderfully ordered in God's providence, that Mrs. C. should be in town for a day or two; and that Miss E. C., though desirous to go home before breakfast, was so burdened as not to be able to go: these two prophetesses of the Lord, who have been His mouth of wisdom and of warning to me and my church in all perplexities; I called along with my wife, who had read your letter and read it to me, and having spread the whole matter before the Lord, and twice besought His presence, we proceeded to read your letters in order.—Upon your first letter, there was no utterance of the Spirit, nor expression of any kind amongst us, but that of assent.—When we had read the two first pages of the second, wherein you reason upon the words of the Spirit, 'He has erred, he has erred,' given

to you upon two sentences of my book ; and bring forward your views of our Lord's flesh, and of the believer's holiness, in contra-distinction from mine—we paused ; and seeing there was so manifest a discrepancy between us, I solemnly besought the Lord that He would speak His own mind in the matter. Instantly the Spirit came upon Miss E. C., and after speaking in a very grieved tone and spirit in a tongue, she was made to declare many words which I will not take upon me to attempt to repeat, seeing the Spirit hath discountenanced such attempts. But the substance was most precisely this—that you had been snared by departing from the word and the testimony—that I had maintained the truth, and the Lord was well pleased with me for it—that I must not flinch now, but be more bold for it than heretofore—that He had honoured me for it, and I must not draw back—that in some words I had erred, and that the word of the Spirit by you was therefore true,—and that if I waited upon the Lord, He would show them me by His Spirit, but that He had forgiven it because He knew that my heart was right towards Him—that I had maintained the truth and must not draw back from maintaining it. Thereupon we knelt down, and having confessed my sin, and thanked Him for His mercy, I proceeded to entreat Him for you, that you might be delivered from the snare in which you were taken concerning the flesh of Christ and the holiness of the believer. This done, I sought to recover and recount the substance of the utterance as above given, that by their help I might report it to you exactly. My wife was mentioning a doubt, whether it should not simply be left to the Lord, and not dealt with in the understanding at all ; seeing that in your letter you had gone astray by commenting in your own understanding on the words of the Spirit, ' He hath erred,' as applicable to two sentences of my book, and applied them to my whole doctrine, which the Spirit had just declared to be ' the truth,' that ' must be maintained : ' when Mrs. C. was made to speak in a tongue with great authority and strength, and immediately after in English, to the effect, that you had stumbled greatly by bringing your own carnal understanding to spiritual things—that truth in the inward parts, the law of God in the heart, wrought in us the fulfilment of the righteousness of the law in all our members ; and that union with Jesus brought into us the holiness of Jesus in body, soul, and spirit—that the Lord would have a church upon the earth, holy as He is holy ; the light of the world as He is the light of the world—that some had sought to bring this about in the flesh—that you had been snared in the opposite extreme of denying it altogether, and making a distinction between Christ's holiness and that of His Church—that you must be informed of it, because this it was which was preventing the work of the Lord. There was a third utterance through Miss E. C. to teach me that Satan sought to overthrow my confidence in the truth, and to bring me into a snare, but that I was called upon to maintain it now more firmly than ever.

“ There were no more utterances ; but when we came to that part of your letter where you say, ' Concerning the vessels by whom He

speaks, you have fearfully provoked Him, and they are ready to burst asunder under your hands<sup>4</sup>. There was great indignation felt by both the vessels of the Lord present, and great sense of injustice felt by myself. For, oh! dear brother, I have done all things to know and follow the mind of the Lord in respect of them. It was indeed said, I think in the Spirit, that this in you was the same Spirit of 'the accuser of the brethren,' which hath manifested itself lately amongst us in one of the gifted persons who spoke evil of me in the midst of the congregation. But the Lord hath showed him that though it was with power, the power was not from God but from Satan, to whom, by hard and unjust thoughts of me, he had opened the door. Ah! dear brother, you have surely been much overseen in some way or other—search it out. The thing you spoke of F. and of Miss H., was not of God. I fear, and am persuaded in my own mind, that you have not discriminated duly, what is of God and what is not of Him; and that sin in this matter, undiscerned and unconfessed, hath brought on greater falls, as we have seen amongst ourselves; and that now you are brought to oppose that very doctrine which alone can bring the church to be meet for her bridegroom:—that as He was holy in the flesh, so are we, through the grace of regeneration, brought to be holy—planted in a holy standing—the flesh dead to sin, as His flesh was dead to sin—and that by the baptism of the Holy Ghost we are brought into the fellowship of His power and fulness, to do the works which He also did, and greater works than these.

"When we came to that passage of your letter where you censure as 'fearfully erroneous' a passage in the Day of Pentecost<sup>5</sup>, we were all made to feel that you were forgetting what you yourself had been made to utter so abundantly concerning the baptism with fire and the spiritual ministry.

"I have read this to my wife, and Mrs. C., and Miss E. C., and they say it is a full and exact account.

"And now, upon the whole, my well-beloved brother and prophet of the Lord, I give you counsel to search and prove what it is that sits so heavy upon your conscience, for the Lord will surely reveal it. Concerning the flesh of Christ, we will discourse when we meet. I believe it to have been no better than other flesh, as to its passive qualities or properties, as a creature thing. But that the power of the Son of God,

<sup>4</sup> This Mr. Baxter explains in a note, by stating that the passage "was written under the dictation of the power; and the impression on my mind was, that he had too much honoured me and the other persons speaking in the power, and so had dishonoured God. He, and those with him, evidently read it as though I accused him of behaving ill towards one or more of the speakers. The very opposite of what I intended."

<sup>5</sup> "This passage," says Mr. Baxter, in a note, "is the one (p. 39) in which he asserts, 'Baptism of the Holy Ghost doth bring to every believer the presence of the Father, and the power of the Holy Ghost, according to that measure, at the least, in which Christ, during the days of His flesh, possessed the same.' I had myself received what they all held to be the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, and could therefore testify practically as well as doctrinally."

as Son of man in it, believing in the Father, did for His obedience to become Son of man, receive such a measure of the Holy Ghost as sufficed to resist its own proclivity to the world and to Satan, and to make it obedient unto God in all things: which measure of the Spirit He received in his generation, and so had holy flesh; and by exercise of the same faith, He kept His vineyard holy, and presented it holy to the great Husbandman. Regeneration, through faith, sealed in baptism, doth give to us the same measure of the Spirit to do the same work of making our flesh the holy thing, the temple of the Holy Ghost, body, soul, and spirit holy—wherefore we have the name, 'saints,' or 'holy ones,' 'sons of God,' as He received those names in virtue of his generation of the Holy Ghost. If we were to meet, I think we would not find much difference of mind as to the flesh of Christ. But as to your view of holiness, it is the very deepest, and darkest, and subtlest snare of the enemy. If you understood thoroughly the one subject, you would understand thoroughly the other. I say not that Christ had the motions of the flesh, but that the law of the flesh was there all present: but that whereas in us it is set on fire by an evil life, in Him it was, by a holy life, put down, and His flesh brought to be a holy altar, whereon the sacrifices and offerings for the sin of the world, and the whole burnt-offerings of sorrow, and confession, and penitence for others, might ever be offered up. And thus ought we to be, and shall be, when the flesh becometh the sackcloth covering<sup>7</sup>.

"Oh! brother, I have had many trials, but the Lord hath sustained me, and I dwell before Him in peace of soul, though in much sorrow, because of the condition of His Church. I shall be glad when we meet. But, oh! I beeech you, lay to heart the words which have been spoken by the Spirit, and doubt any words which may be spoken in you contrary thereto. For though an angel from heaven should come to me, testifying to your views of holiness, I would not receive him.

"Do you hold correspondence with any of my flock, that you should speak so positively, yet so unjustly, concerning my treatment of the spiritual persons? or is there some meaning couched under it which I do not understand? Did the Spirit say so in you? If so, doubt that spirit; for certainly it is not true, they themselves being witnesses.

"Fare you well. May the Lord have you in His holy keeping. Amen.

"Your faithful brother,

"EDWD. IRVING."

(*Baxter's Narrative*, pp. 103—108.)

This letter, Mr. Baxter says, was "a great blow" to him; and it is unquestionably a great blow to the character of the whole

<sup>7</sup> This Mr. Baxter explains to be an "allusion to Rev. xi., where the sackcloth covering of the witnesses is spoken of. Mrs. C. had been made to prophesy that the baptism by fire would burn out the carnal mind, and our flesh would then become a sackcloth covering, the clothing of the witnesses, and this is what Mr. Irving was looking forward to."



work. While in reference to the utterance, "He has erred, he has erred," the utterance of "the prophetesses" acknowledged that "the word of the Spirit by Mr. Baxter was true," the same utterance virtually cancelled the admission so extorted, by the miserable subterfuge of censuring Mr. Baxter for "commenting in his own understanding on the words of the Spirit," and by the re-assertion of the substantial truth of Mr. Irving's doctrine on the human nature of Christ as the distinctive truth to be brought out by this new "dispensation of the Spirit." There is no need, in order to establish the fearfully erroneous character of that doctrine, to insist upon the two passages admitted by "the utterance" to be erroneously expressed; this very letter of Mr. Irving, written upon "the Spirit's" express declaration of "the truth" to be "maintained more firmly than ever," contains abundant affirmation of the heresy against which Mr. Baxter contended. To make "a distinction between Christ's holiness and that of His Church," is unequivocally declared to be a snare:—Christ's flesh is declared "to have been *no better than other flesh* as to its passive qualities or properties, as a creature thing," and for the inherent and innate holiness of Christ's flesh as "a holy thing," taken indeed of the substance of the Virgin, who was sinful, like all the other children of Adam, but made holy in her womb through its miraculous "generation by the Holy Ghost," which is the Scriptural and Catholic truth on this subject, there is substituted the notion of a holiness not of nature, but only of life, by the indwelling in the flesh of Christ of "the power of the Son of God," and of "such a measure of the Holy Ghost as sufficed to resist *its own proclivity to the world and to Satan*;" and along with this there is a plain assertion of the correlative error, that "regeneration doth give to us *the same measure of the Spirit* to do *the same work* of making our flesh the holy thing, the temple of the Holy Ghost;" "the very doctrine," as is distinctly affirmed, "which alone can bring the Church to be meet for the bridegroom."

We do not apprehend that any of our readers will require further proof than this, to convince them that Irvingism is tainted with heresy of the most pernicious kind, whatever judgment they may form as to the origin to which the "utterances" are to be ascribed. Even those who, from the intricacy of the subject, may find it difficult, and from habitual incredulity in the reality of direct satanic agency, may be unwilling, to conclude with Mr. Baxter, that the utterances are indeed supernatural, but that they proceed from the evil one, will be ready to grant, that if there is more here than mere enthusiasm and hysterical excitement,—if there is a "spirit" speaking in these prophets

and prophetesses, it is quite clear, that to make such a confession as that put forth and attested by the utterance in Mr. Irving's letter to Mr. Baxter, is not, in the sense of holy writ, to "confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh;" nor is the defect of this confession in the least cured by the singular device of printing the clause of the Nicene Creed, "AND WAS MADE MAN," in small capitals, as is the case in the Communion Office of their Liturgy (No. 3, at the head of this article); literally *typifying* the fact, that this is the cardinal point on which the sect is radically unsound, and desires to be thought pre-eminently sound.

Besides the evidence which it furnishes on the doctrinal character of the sect, the above letter is remarkable for the insinuation which it contains, that the spirit which had spoken in Mr. Baxter might have been "the spirit" of "the accuser of the brethren;" and not only for the insinuation itself, but for the manner in which it is conveyed. "It was said, *I think in the spirit*, that this in you was the same spirit of 'the accuser of the brethren' which hath manifested itself lately amongst us in one of the gifted persons who spoke evil of me in the congregation. But *the Lord hath showed him*, that though it was with power, that power was not from God but from Satan." Here we have it hinted in one case, and in the other distinctly affirmed, that this "power" manifested in the "gifted persons," was in two instances not of God, but of Satan; and that upon the evidence of the utterance itself. The question from which of those two opposite sources any given utterance proceeds, is, and that among the prophets and prophetesses themselves, a debatable question, for the solution of which they depend on the assistance of the utterance itself. And it is by means of the "uncertain sound" thus given forth by the trumpet of this "inspiration," that all the confusions and uncertainties under which universal Christendom is labouring, are to be removed! To a mind capable of the least reflection, and gifted with the most ordinary degree of sobriety, such a pretension, so advanced, carries with it its own refutation.

That the parties themselves were not unconscious of the inconsistency of their position at this time, but without sufficient rectitude of purpose or moral energy to emancipate themselves, as Mr. Baxter did, from the trammels of the delusion in which they had been caught, appears evident from the fact that after the secession of Mr. Baxter they reverted to the original plan of "select meetings," which on the express command of "the spirit," through Mr. Baxter and another of the prophets, had been for some time abandoned. On this point Mr. Baxter makes some forcible remarks:

"I am deeply grieved to find it so : for here, in the midst of minds duly prepared, Satan can gradually develop the subjects of his delusion ; and, going on step by step, can unwarily lead his victims into extravagances, first of doctrine, and next of conduct, which they themselves would, without such gradual preparation, shudder to contemplate. So long as their proceedings are open to the public eye, there will always be some warning and remonstrance set before them, upon the development of any new choice. But when shut up to themselves, the mind is gradually darkened, and the delusion becomes daily stronger, until they are ripe for each successive stage of the mystery of iniquity.—As a proof of this, I may allude to the fact, that they are now avowedly exercising apostolic functions, upon the mere command of the voice, without pretending to have the signs of an apostle, 'in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds : ' and the individual who has been thus set apart for the apostolic office, prays, in their meetings, in the following strain :—' Lord, am I not thine Apostle ?—yet where are the signs of my Apostleship ?—where are the wonders and mighty deeds ?—O Lord, send them down upon us,' &c. He has, as an Apostle, and in the name of an Apostle, laid hands on several, and ordained them to the ministerial office, as evangelists and elders ; yet it is not pretended that the manifestation of the baptism of the Holy Ghost follows, with the laying on of his hands !—When I was amongst them, we were all of one mind, that the apostolic office could not be exercised, until the signs of an Apostle, in 'signs, wonders, and mighty deeds,' were manifest in the individual claiming the apostolic office ; and were also of one mind, that the baptism with the Holy Ghost would attend the laying on of the hands of the Apostle'. It appears in their private meetings this further depth of 'folly' has been added to the 'folly' to which I wickedly introduced them ; and they are so hardened under it, that they do not now hesitate publicly to declare it."—*Baxter's Narrative*, pp. 84, 85.

What Mr. Baxter here anticipated, writing in 1833, has been fully verified since. Although the sect has its public services, there is an esoteric mysticism connected with it which shuns inquiry. The pretensions to prophecy, and even to miracles, are, indeed, in no degree abated ; but the whole thing is carefully

\* Besides this promise of "Apostles with the full endowment of Apostles in the power of miracles and signs and wonders and gifts of the Holy Ghost," Mr. Baxter mentions four other important prophecies, which (to say nothing of many predictions on minor and less public points which shared the same fate,) have utterly failed. They are, 1. The baptism of fire. 2. An immediate and abundant outpouring of the Holy Ghost in the gifts of working of miracles, gifts of healing, gift of prophecy, gift of discerning of spirits, the gift of tongues, and the interpretation of tongues. 3. Ministers with the full endowment of the Holy Ghost baptized with fire, going forth as missionaries into all parts of the earth. 4. At the close of three years and a half of testimony to the world, commencing from January 14, 1832, the personal coming of the Lord Jesus in glory.—*Irvingism*, pp. 24, 25.

“done in a corner ;” and the “secrets of the prison-house” are as jealously concealed from the knowledge of Christians not belonging to the sect, as the holy mysteries of the Church were in the early days of the Gospel from the profane eyes of scoffing pagans. As a proof of this we may mention, that we have had no small difficulty in procuring some of the materials for the present article, and after all we have been unable to procure a mysterious little book which would have thrown considerable light on the character of the sect. Of its existence we are certain, and we know something of its nature ; but even what we do know we are precluded from stating, since our endeavours to get a sight of the document itself have been unavailing.

Another, and very material alteration in the character of the sect has been produced by the death of Mr. Irving. While he lived, he continued, in spite of his professed submission to the voice of “the Spirit,” to exercise a very considerable control over the whole work, “claiming,” inconsistently enough, as Mr. Baxter observes, “authority over the apostle,” on the ground of his being “angel of the Church.” Now, with all his eccentricities and all his errors, it is but justice to his memory to state that he combined a certain honesty of purpose, which could not but in many ways prove a check upon the delusion, and which on his death-bed manifested itself, as we have good reason to know, by the expression of serious doubts and misgivings as to the whole character of the “dispensation” to which he had sacrificed his former usefulness. When he was removed, the inconsistency of the “angel” claiming authority over the “apostle” was put an end to ; for he was succeeded in the leadership of the sect by an “apostle ;” one who, without the inconvenience of having to trace his pedigree up to Linus and St. Peter, is not a whit behind the successors of the “Prince of the Apostles.” With a conspicuousness which all those who know his religious career from first to last, will at once recognize as highly characteristic, that remarkable individual,—the Tertullian, as we have already shown him to be, of this modern Montanism ; an *impromptu* pope, so to speak, who sits in judgment over universal Christendom,—figures in the catalogue of the chief actors given by Mr. Baxter (*Irvingism*, pp. 14, 15), as a regular pluralist of spiritual offices. He appears there, 1. as “the angel of the Church at Albury,” called also “the pillar of the angels ;” 2. as one of the twelve apostles, and “the pillar of the apostles ;” 3. as one of the prophets with only one, Mr. Taplin, whose seniority is indisputable, to take precedence of him. Thus, although an essential and distinctive feature of the sect is “the fourfold ministry,” that ministry, with the exception of the inferior office of “evangelist,” resolves itself

into "*toujours mouton*," into a complete primacy, centered in one person, of pastoral, apostolic, and prophetic authority.

This practical assumption of supreme power is accompanied, as far as the "Substance of the Lectures delivered in the Churches" enables us to form an opinion, by a dogmatical tone, which occasionally becomes ludicrous from the absence of either divine warrant or human qualification adequate to support it. Of one who pronounces such sweeping condemnation upon all Christendom, and demonstrates from its past history and present condition the necessity of his sect, that sect which is after all but an *alter ego*, one might at least expect a decent acquaintance with Church history. It is impossible not to feel that the grandiloquence of the conclusion ill accords with the ignorance of the premises, when one finds this sect vaunting itself as a restoration of the primitive order of the Church, after a long period of misrule by "a sole bishop," the pope, whose government is spoken of as if it had immediately succeeded that of the twelve Apostles\*, being enforced by the *secular* weapons of the temporal power, or as Mr. Drummond, somewhat unmindful of the thirteenth of Romans, designates it, "the power of the beast;" a view in which not only the ages which preceded the rise of the Papacy are wholly lost sight of, but the existence of the Church is represented as incomplete, and hardly deserving the name of the Church, from the day that St. John died, to the day when Mr. Drummond became the "pillar of the apostles," and resumed the work at the point where, contrary to Christ's promise, "Lo, I am with you *always*, even unto the end of the world," it was broken off by the death of the last Apostle more than seventeen centuries ago.

No less gross is the ignorance which underlies another of Mr. Drummond's views respecting the character and mission of his sect. According to that view this revival of the prophetic and apostolic offices has for its object, to gather out from all denominations of Christians the elect of God, and to "seal" them by the imposition of apostolic hands; the "seal" so conferred being one of the "blessings they cannot obtain in the bodies whereof they are members, for want of the *machinery necessary to confer them*." (p. 105.) After many disparaging remarks on the

\* See the development of this strange view upon which the whole theory of the sect is based, in "Substance of Lectures," pp. 7—10. Compare also, p. 14, where it is said: "The history of the Church from the earliest period since the death of St. John down to the present time, is just such a history as that of any secular state; the same principles, the same practices, the same good and the same evil, modified only by the personal characters of the different *individuals* who have ruled her." The same view appears in other parts of the volume.

different Christian communions, and especially the Church of England, illustrative of this alleged "want of the necessary machinery," Mr. Drummond thus establishes his position :

"All who shall be enabled to endure to the end, must be confirmed or strengthened for that special object, and with that express intention. The Sacrament of Confirmation is of no more avail in the Episcopal Churches now than the Sacrament of the Eucharist is in the Presbyterian Churches ; it is no Sacrament at all, it is a mere lifeless form. But the dry bones must be made to live by the Spirit of the Lord acting upon them, which never will be done but through the order of ministers" (*i. e.* apostles) "which He appointed for that purpose at the beginning. To that order must all Churches who lack the oil seek, or they never can obtain it. The SEALING" (Mr. Drummond's own capitals) "is spoken of in the records of the beginning of the Church, because the ordinance existed which could effect it ; and it is referred to again in the Apocalypse, at the close of the dispensation, because the ordinance was to be revived for that end. During the whole course of the dispensation, however, *there has been no such intention as to seal by the rite of confirmation ; the very word is disused ;* the imitation of it has been proved for ages to be worthless : but it must now be resumed in the hour of the Church's extremest peril and deliverance."—*Substance of Lectures*, p. 111.

Now this is unquestionably a magnificent view to take of his own mission and that of his brother apostles ; and if it could be substantiated, it would go far to get rid of the intercalation of the seventeen centuries during which the Church has, according to Mr. Drummond, been in a mummy or chrysalis state, and to establish the direct and unbroken line of apostolic succession for which he contends ; viz. St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John, Mr. Taplin, Mr. Drummond, Mr. Cardale, &c. Unfortunately, however, for his view, it does not happen to be true, that "there has been no such intention as to *seal* by the rite of confirmation," and that "the very word is disused ;" for, as a matter of fact, the ordinance of confirmation is spoken of as "the *seal* of the gift of the Holy Ghost" in the Canons of the second Œcumenical Council<sup>10</sup>, and the same words are retained to this day in the Confirmation office of the Churches of the Greek communion<sup>1</sup>. The same is the case in the Latin Church, which accompanies the anointing with the chrism in the form of a cross with the words, "*Signo te signo crucis*" ; the word *signare* being the very word used in the Latin Vulgate to render the Greek σφραγίζω in the Apocalypse.

<sup>10</sup> Concil. Constantin. I. Œcum. II. Can. VII.

<sup>1</sup> King's Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Pontific. Rom. Ed. II. Romana. Romæ, 1818, p. 3.

It is the translation of this word "*signo*" by "I sign," in the English liturgy, and the subsequent transfer of that part of the rite of confirmation, without the use of chrism, into the baptismal office<sup>2</sup>, which has caused the formal disappearance of the notion of "sealing" from the Confirmation office of the English Church, though the idea of it is substantially retained. Besides which a man as learned in ecclesiastical lore, as from the copious disquisitions and allegations out of Durandus and other writers, on ecclesiastical vestments and "all the colours in the rainbow," with which the fifth lecture abounds, the uninitiated must needs suppose Mr. Drummond to be, ought to have known that the term *σφραγίς* in Greek, and the term *sigillum Domini* in Latin writers, is a far from unusual expression to denote the ordinance of Confirmation. While we are on this subject, we would venture to suggest that if he should have occasion again to unfold his wisdom to "the Churches," on points involving the use of Greek theological terms, he will not despise so small a matter as the discernment between *spiritus asper* and *spiritus lenis*; for although we doubt not that the metropolitan idiom of his prophets will supply the deficiency in oral communication, there is a remarkably naked and uncomfortable look in the words "*omoiousia*" and "*omoiousia*" (p. 304), when presented to the eye in print. Within the pale of "the Churches" this may pass well enough, for "*luscus inter cæcos*" has ever been "a burning and a shining light;" but unfortunately that luminary is over-apt to look like a farthing rushlight when carried forth into the broad sunshine of the world.

But leaving these matters of "anise and cummin," let us turn to the "weightier matter" of the evidence which Mr. Drummond has to produce in support of his assertion, that his sect is set for the revival of those things in the Church, which he, through ignorance, as we have seen, imagines to have been extinct in her ever since the death of St. John. To clear that assertion from the reproach of a gratuitous and conceited assumption, it requires something rather more substantial in the way of proof than his dreamy interpretations of the furniture of the tabernacle, and his lengthy and recondite criticisms on the various sorts and numbers of lamps, candlesticks, and chandeliers in use in different ages and

<sup>2</sup> See the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., where the act of Confirmation was preceded by the prayer, "Sign them, O Lord, and mark them to be Thine for ever;" and the act itself accompanied by the words, "I sign thee (*signo te*) with the sign of the Cross, and lay my hand upon thee, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." See the two Books of Common Prayer, set forth by authority of Parliament in the reign of King Edward the Sixth. Oxf. 1538. pp. 349, 350.

Churches, headed up into the somewhat ungrammatical, if not illogical, conclusion, that "there is still wanted two principal lamps" (p. 251), which accordingly "is," or are provided in "the twofold stream of apostleship and prophecy" (p. 249), which issues forth from the temple in Newman-street. Nor will it do, in support of a view for which the most that can be said is, that Mr. Drummond fancies, as well as affirms, that it is so, to declare (p. 250) that "in the following vision, lately seen by a prophetic person in church during the celebration of the blessed Eucharist, the same truth is shown." We are reminded by this and other like references to the "voices" and "visions" of the "prophets" and "prophetesses" of the sect, which occur here and there in Mr. Drummond's volume, of Tertullian's equally incontrovertible argument in support of his notion of the materiality of the soul. "Because," he says, "we" (the Montanists) "acknowledge spiritual gifts, we too have been thought worthy after John to obtain the gift of prophecy. There is at this time with us a sister who has received gifts of revelations, which come upon her in the spirit by ecstasy in the Church during divine service<sup>4</sup>; when she converses with angels, sometimes also with the Lord, and sees and hears mysteries, and discerns the hearts of some, and suggests medicines to those who desire them<sup>5</sup>." Upon the evidence of one of the visions of this "sister," Tertullian takes the materiality of the soul to be as indisputable, as Mr. Drummond, upon like evidence, the necessity of the "fourfold ministry," and the divine authority of his own "apostolate." And in the inflation of these *pseudo*-apostolic and *pseudo*-prophetic offices, these sectarians, like the Montanists of old, hesitate not to depreciate God's ordinance in His Church, the episcopate, as a lifeless and powerless office.

"As long," says the anonymous author of a 'Discourse on the Office of Apostles,' No. 2, at the head of this article, "as government rested on the shoulder of 'Apostles,' the burden was sustained; when Apostles ceased, 'Bishops' could not sustain it; for God had not laid it upon Bishops. Whatever the baptized may have attained to in the things of this world since Apostles ceased to rule, the Church has never known a full measure of grace. Men have not entered into rest through faith, but have been bearing their own burdens instead of meekly coming to Christ and taking His yoke upon them. Thus the spiritual *onus* and charge of the Church at large has been like some grievous

<sup>4</sup> "*Inter Dominica solemnia*;" which might be rendered also "during the celebration of the Eucharist;" but the sequel seems to indicate that the general worship of the congregation, including the reading of Scripture, psalmody, and preaching, is here intended.

<sup>5</sup> Tertullian. de Anima, c. ix.



weight suspended on a man's finger or outstretched arm. Where it has devolved, it has been felt to be intolerable, and has been shifted about from one region to another, bruising and straining all the parts over which it has passed. But the burden can never rest until it fairly comes on the shoulder of 'Apostles' again; all others who meddle with 'Jerusalem' will find it 'a burdensome stone,' a mere dead weight, without any corresponding measure of spiritual life imparted to sustain it."—*Discourse on the Office of Apostles*, pp. 3, 4. \*

This contemptuous view of the highest ordinance of God's Church, throughout the whole of her existence since her first foundation by apostolic hands, is the burden of the whole "discourse," and it meets the eye, again and again, in Mr. Drummond's volume. In his scheme of hierarchical order, founded upon the well-known Irvingite misinterpretation of Eph. iv. 11, the bishops are deposed from the functions which they have exercised in the Church since the day when St. Paul gave directions to Timothy and Titus for the exercise of their delegated authority; for, as the modern "pillar of the apostles" says,—

"All the several bishoprics are united together by the apostles, prophets, and other ministers of the Church universal, who have no authority or jurisdiction in the interior of the several particular Churches, but *to whom alone it belongs to consecrate the angels*," (the corresponding office to that of Bishops in this scheme) "and *ordain the priests*, thereby fitting them through the imposition of hands for the fulfilment of their various callings; and also to *confirm and strengthen the people by the imposition of hands*, for the due performance of the particular duties of their Church relationships and mutual dependence one upon another."—*Substance of Lectures*, pp. 233, 234.

And in another place, after demolishing the authority of the Pope, to whom he is inclined to make very large concessions, and thinks (p. 6) "it is much to be regretted that the defenders of the supremacy of the Patriarch of Rome have taken their stand upon premises which are wholly untrue, and not upon others which are undeniable," Mr. Drummond thus continues:

"If the Patriarch of the West, and Bishop in the imperial capital of the Holy Roman Empire, errs in considering himself not only a Bishop, but the sole inheritor of apostolic authority and duty, by virtue of which he is able to rule the Universal Church, and authorised to consecrate Bishops, the Bishops of the Church of England do more *err in affecting a power to consecrate Bishops*, whilst renouncing all higher standing than the episcopal; for it is as contrary to sound ecclesiastical principles for Bishops to consecrate Bishops, as it would be for priests to ordain priests. It was, therefore, to be expected that, whenever

God should commence the work of cleansing His sanctuary, His first act should be as of old, when the priesthood of Eli and his sons was changed for another family, to call forth *a new line* of priests."—*Substance of Lectures*, pp. 102, 103.

And again :

" If the Pope be not invested with Apostolic authority, certainly no other person or persons in the established Churches are. No Bishops are : *if they exercise any Apostolic authority, it is by usurpation*. Necessity may justify their doing so, as it may any other departure from fixed laws ; but it is another thing to contend, that the departure and the usurpation are legitimate. A Church is a unity if it is under one jurisdiction and government, and not if it has diverse governments : it is apostolic if it has apostles, and not if it is without them. If it is not a unity, each part must do the best it can for itself ; and if it has not apostles, it must do the best it can without them ; but *in neither case is it lawful to tell lies*, and assert it is a unity and is apostolic, when all mankind sees it is neither the one nor the other."—*Substance of Lectures*, p. 106.

Truly we live to learn. Finding the Nicene Creed in its place in the " Liturgy and other Divine Offices of the Church," we took some comfort, hoping that, after all, the " Irvingites " might not be so very far from the one Catholic faith. But see how we were mistaken. We have already noticed the sense in which the clause " AND WAS MADE MAN " is to be understood, as confessed to in Newman-street ; and now we learn, that when they confess, in common with the Church universal, their belief in "*one Catholic and Apostolic Church*," their meaning of this confession is, that at the time when this clause was appended to the creed by the Council of Constantinople, it was an " unlawful lie," having then ceased to be true for nearly three centuries, and that it has been an " unlawful lie " ever since, and continues to be so in all the Churches of Christendom, Eastern and Western, Roman and Anglican, in all but in that one Church which soars high above them all, if not in spirituality, at least in spiritual pride ; the Church whose unity and apostolicity is infallibly and irrevocably secured by the concentration of its powers in the ecclesiastical supremacy of the apostle-prophet-angel, the pillar of apostles and angels, Mr. Henry Drummond. Probably our readers will agree with us in thinking that, with one who affords, to use his own expression (p. 125), such a " brilliant example of his apostolic talent," it would be a mere waste of words to argue on the question, what are and what are not " sound ecclesiastical principles." We had rather act upon Solomon's advice, to " answer a fool according to his folly," by transcribing the following testimony

of St. Jerome to a similar depreciation of the episcopal office by the original Montanist sect :

" With us," says the indignant presbyter of Stridon, " the Bishops fill the place of the Apostles, but with them the Bishop is third in order. For in the first rank they place the patriarchs of Pepuza in Phrygia ; in the second rank those whom they call Cenones ; and so the Bishops are hurled down to the third, that is, almost the lowest place ; as if their sect became the more exalted by making that last among them, which among us ranks first \*."

St. Jerome, it seems, came to much the same conclusion respecting the pretensions of Pepuza as that which we have arrived at respecting those of Albury ; immeasurable self-exaltation, coupled with ineffable contempt for Christians of every communion in general, and for the true Catholic Church in particular, is the characteristic feature of false prophecy ; the spirit from which its utterance proceeds, is a scornful spirit, and delights to sneer at the ordinance of God.

To adduce all the instances of intolerable arrogance which are scattered up and down through the semi-oracular publications of the sect in Newman-street, to confute all its erroneous and heretical notions, to castigate its numberless absurdities, and to expose the ignorance and self-contradiction which pervade the whole system, would far exceed the limits to which we must confine ourselves. The materials before us would fill a volume, and furnish abundant entertainment as well as instruction. But even the few points which, out of a large number of notes, we have selected for our article, will be sufficient to show the real character of the sect, and to put the unwary on their guard.

That a sect like that with which we have now brought our readers acquainted, should start up at this time, is by no means surprising. There are truths, deep and important truths, to be testified at the present critical juncture. It is unquestionably true, that the indwelling presence, and effectual operation in the Church, of God the Holy Ghost, is too much lost sight of ; that His ordinances are sadly dishonoured, or neglected altogether. The denial, so extensively insisted on and countenanced, of His regenerating power in the Sacrament of Holy Baptism,—the reluctance, it is to be feared, of too many to look for the exhibition by Him of the things of Christ in the other Sacrament,—the miserably low view that is almost universally taken of the ordinance of Confirmation,—the consequent insufficiency of the preparatory instruction imparted to candidates, who in many cases

\* S. Hieron. Ep. xxvii. ad Marcellam.

are not aware of the blessing for which they ought to look and to pray,—the painful manner in which, from the numerical inadequacy of the Episcopate to the wants of the population, the ordinance is generally ministered,—the recent attempt to supply the lamentable deficiency in the numbers of the parochial clergy, by the introduction into the Church of a new order of ministers licensed but not ordained, sent forth, but not endowed with the spiritual gifts for the dispensing of which the ordinance of laying on of hands was instituted by the Apostles,—the virtual abolition of the diaconate which has merged into a mere probationary state in anticipation of the presbyterate,—the admission to the order of the priesthood, under solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost, of many who all but deny the doctrine of a transmission of ministerial gifts in ordination, and of many more who enter the ministry as a mere profession, under the influence of worldly motives and prospects,—and last, not least, the dishonour done to God the Holy Ghost by the use of His name in the different stages of episcopal creation, which recent circumstances have exhibited in the degrading light of empty forms and ceremonies to be gone through at the bidding of political dictation, while the solemn offices appointed by the Church imply at every step the deepest, the most awful spiritual realities,—all these things testify to a want of perception of the personal presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church and in all her ordinances, as loudly as the self-will and self-seeking of the age testify to His absence from the hearts of too many of her members.

And if from the internal condition of the Church, we turn to her outward position, and to the general aspect of the world, it is as unquestionably true that the “signs of the times” bear with daily greater distinctness the appearance of the signs of the last days, that there is abundant reason to anticipate that the time of the end is not far distant. That expectation depends no longer upon questionable interpretations of prophetic symbols, and upon doubtful calculations of prophetic dates; it rests in the minds of thoughtful men upon the broader and more solid basis of the character of the times, judged of by the light of revelation. The rapid growth of open, and the wide diffusion of covert infidelity on one hand, and the gigantic strides which the Papacy is taking on the other hand,—the state of captivity to which, by their joint operations, the Church of Christ in this land is reduced,—the wide spread of radicalism, and the daily increasing inability of the conservative elements in the different states of Europe to resist its progress,—above all, the combination of numberless dissentient and antagonistic principles in one concordant and deadly hostility against God’s ordinance in Church and State,—

all this seems to indicate, that the development of evil is approaching its culminating point, and that the final struggle between Christian and Antichristian principles, in the midst of which Christ will appear for the redemption of His Church, is close at hand.

The declaration, therefore, of these two truths, the presence and effectual operation of the Holy Ghost in the Church, and the nearness of the second Advent of Christ, is pre-eminently the teaching of which the age stands in need. Accordingly it might be expected, that Satan would put forth some device of singular subtlety and power of delusion, for the twofold purpose of ensnaring and leading astray minds predisposed by a high tone of spirituality for the perception of those truths, and of throwing a slur upon the declaration of them, by identifying it in the popular mind with the absurd and untenable pretensions of a fanatical sect. This we believe to be the true solution of the mystery involved in the rise of the Irvingite heresy, with its pseudo-prophetic character. The undoubted piety of many who have been caught in this snare, and the singular admixture of the most striking and seasonable truths with the most palpable errors and absurdities, give to this ecclesiastical phenomenon a character peculiarly its own; a character which stamps the sect itself as one of the signs of the last times, in fulfilment of that word of Christ, that "false prophets shall arise, and shall show signs and wonders to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect."

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<sup>1</sup> Mark xiii. 22.

- ART. III.—1. *Adventures in the Pacific, &c.* By JOHN COULTER, M.D. Dublin: Curry. London: Longmans, 1845.
2. *Adventures on the Western Coast of South America, and the Interior of California, including a Narrative of Incidents at the Kingsmill Islands, New Ireland, New Britain, New Guinea, and other Islands in the Pacific Ocean.* By J. COULTER, M.D. In 2 vols. London: Longmans, 1847.
3. *Typee; or, a Narrative of a Four Months' Residence among the Natives of a Valley of the Marquesas Islands.* By HERMAN MELVILLE. 1 vol. London: Murray, 1847.
4. *Omoo: a Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas, being a Sequel to the "Residence in the Marquesas Islands."* By HERMAN MELVILLE. 1 vol. London: Murray, 1847.

THERE are few of our readers, we presume, to whom the very name of the South Seas does not call up many a pleasing recollection of earlier days—of happy hours spent in the perusal of the wild adventures and daring achievements of our great naval commanders—of those who, in earlier days, humbled the pride and seized the wealth of Spain, when her power was at the highest; or who at a later period gained as honourable a renown by serving the cause of science and discovery. How many names of our national worthies seem to start up from the map as we glance at the wide extent of waters which stretches from the Australian to the American Continent! what a deep and almost domestic interest and sympathy seems to bind us to every group in the Pacific!

The works which stand at the head of this article are well calculated to confirm and strengthen any favourable impression which we may have previously entertained regarding the lands which they describe. Dr. Coulter's volumes possess throughout the interest of a first-rate novel, carrying with them an open truthfulness which tells us at once that we can put our full trust in the author's veracity, however wild and wonderful may be the scenes which he describes, or the incidents which he narrates; his tone, too, is always just what it should be; no pretension to high-flown sentiment, or any other species of hypocrisy, moral, intellectual, or religious: but an honest straightforward denunciation of all that is base and wicked, and a warm admiration and ready sympathy for every noble deed, or kindly feeling. The British

public would be the better for more such writers, and the South Sea islanders for more such visitors.

We cannot give the same commendation to Mr. Herman Melville, supposing him to be a real personage, which we are bound to do, till we hear the contrary. Full of incident, indeed, his works are, no doubt, and convey much curious and interesting information regarding the islands, the natives, the vagabond sailors, and the gallant "*Wee wees*." The author exhibits also a just and warm indignation against the cruelty and rapacity so often practised by the Europeans on the islanders of the Pacific; he laments, too, the other evils which the white man has inflicted on the Kannaka; and, which makes the task of censuring him doubly painful, he every where treats England and the English with candour and friendliness. There is, however, a laxity of moral feeling, an absence of religious principle throughout both works, which there should not be; and the jesting tone, or the unoffensive expression which accompany or veil the most objectionable passages, make them yet more pernicious. In *Typee* these things are less apparent, though that work is deserving of severe censure. In *Omoo*, however, the cloven foot is much too visible to be mistaken, despite of the common-place declarations of respect for religion and morals.

The first island of the Pacific which occurs in Dr. Coulter's narrative, is one which, perhaps, more than any other, recalls those boyish memories to which we have alluded, we mean Juan Fernandez, the dwelling-place of Alexander Selkirk, and the original of that delightful fiction, the island of Robinson Crusoe.

"There were no inhabitants on the island," says Dr. Coulter, "when we arrived; some time before there were about one thousand convicts sent there by the Chilian government; but they rose on the soldiers in charge of them, and killed them and the governor; afterwards boarded two vessels at anchor at the time, and made them land them on the coast. I understood that they were hunted by the troops on landing, and afterwards shot."

It really seems too bad to turn such a place into a penal colony.

"After leaving the beach you arrive at a large strip of level land: the remains of the houses, or rather huts, in a state of ruins, were scattered about on either side; also the remains of an old jail, or lock-up. On passing the huts, this level land is found to extend to twenty or thirty acres. There were vast quantities of rose bushes in full bloom, with immense beds of mint so tall that you could hide in it without being discovered. The fragrance of this valley was quite enchanting to us. The small hills surrounding it, thickly covered with middling-sized timber in rich foliage, and a small rippling stream running through it

added to the beauty. In strolling up the hills, we soon discovered that the smaller timber had a very loose hold in the earth, which was mostly red mould, as some of our men on laying hold of them to assist themselves up, came back accompanied by the tree. The entire island is a succession of small hills and valleys, each with its little stream; and these rivulets often uniting, came dashing over the cliffs with great force. On it we discovered some bullocks, goats, and dogs, all in good condition, but very wild, dashing through the thickets like deer when disturbed. There was also no want of fish, as the water round the islands abounds with the best rock-cod I ever saw."

Having made prize of sundry of the edible portion of the animals—we do not hear that the dogs, although "in good condition," formed part of the ship's stores—they set sail, and after touching at nearly all the principal ports on the South American coast, reached the Gallapagos. The merits of these much-traduced islands Dr. Coulter is extremely anxious to impress upon the British public, and we think rightly. Most assuredly no uninhabited islands with a rich soil, fine climate, and eligible situation, ought to be long out of our possession, affording at once, as they would do, an outlet for our population, a field for our enterprize, and a station for our navy. That which Xerxes vainly tried to do, we have succeeded in doing,—we have placed fetters on the sea; the ocean is our subject; we should take good care, both for our own sake, and that of others, that we allow no rivals in our empire. It is not for the advantage of the world that America should disseminate her slaveholding republicanism, or France inoculate other lands with her double parallelism of social pestilence—popery interwined with atheism, and anarchy embracing despotism. The Gallapagos ought to be at once appropriated by the British government—indeed, though we have no right to take possession of the inhabited islands of the Pacific—we should take care that our scruples do not place the natives in a worse position than the want of them would produce; we should take care that whilst ourselves abstaining from acts of robbery and injustice, of outrage and oppression, we prevent other civilized powers from following the course which in our own case we repudiate. All the Polynesian groups have a right to British protection, and if a high-principled and high-spirited ministry were at the head of affairs, they would not expect it in vain.

On one of the Gallapagos, Charles's Island, a Spaniard from Ecuador had formed a colony consisting of negroes. It did not, indeed, last long, for shortly after our author's departure, they rose and assassinated the pompous and tyrannical, though gentleman-like officer. He, however, was not the first lord of the island. An



Irishman of the name of Pat, and a Swede, Johan Johnson, successively held solitary possession of the place, subjecting to their authority all runaway sailors who took refuge there. The histories of these men, and of others like them, dwelling on uninhabited islands of the Pacific, form one of the many interesting features of these works.

Wishing to ascertain more accurately the capabilities of these islands, our author determined on exploring one of them, Chatam Island, as the vessel was to remain there for some time:—

“ I prepared for it accordingly ; I put on light canvas trousers, a leathern jacket, a pair of strong shoes on, a belt round me to hold my small axe, knife, and ammunition-pouch, a leather cap on my head, and a canteen for water. As the island was large, and I intended to go into the interior, I took the precaution of bringing a pocket compass with me. Being thus accoutred, with gun in hand, on the fourth morning after our arrival here I left the encampment at sunrise, under a volley of three cheers from our men. As I had previously a very good knowledge of the shore around the island, its bays, beaches, rocks, and anchoring-places, I now kept inland, and directed my course in a range with the centre of it, the island being very long from east to west, but in breadth (some places) from north to south, only a few miles. During the chief part of the first day I had to make my way through a thick wood, which in some places I had to proceed circuitously, to avoid the thick net-work formed by a wild vine, growing so close, that I could not get through it. Towards sun-down, having accomplished about eight miles under great difficulties, I got into an open country, with the timber farther apart, and a good deal of grass. A great many terrapin<sup>1</sup> were feeding on it. . . . I chose an elevated spot of land beside a large rock to encamp for the night. I next cut down with my axe a few branches, and placed them up against it, which formed covering enough in so fine a climate. There was plenty of long grass about, which I pulled up, and shook out on the earth under this temporary hut. This served me well for a bed, and was my general plan of arranging for the night. The preparations were simple and soon completed. I then killed a small terrapin, made a fire, and cooked it on cross sticks, and, with some fresh water I found not far off, made a hearty supper. As the shade from the setting sun was making every object around me and in the distance indistinct, I lay down in my primitive hut, and never enjoyed a more refreshing sleep than I did that night. I did not awake till the sun was well up next day, and when I came out of my hut, the whole place all about seemed to be alive with birds of all sorts, doves, canaries, mocking-birds, hawks, &c. All were bound to the eastward ; and so unacquainted were they with man, that many

<sup>1</sup> “TERRAPIN” signifies land-tortoises. Most of the Polynesian wildernesses swarm with these animals, whilst the coasts are equally well furnished with the green turtle.

of them perched for a moment on my shoulders and cap to rest themselves. Now this passage of birds in the morning, in any particular direction, gives most important intelligence to the man who may be cast on an island like this, without any previous knowledge of it. It tells him at once that if he only follows the birds, or keeps on after them, he is sure to fall in with that all-important thing—fresh water . . . I have often,” proceeds he, “known men lose themselves through the interior of islands, and be found all but exhausted for the want of water, though there was plenty not far from them. This arose from their . . . not knowing how to look for it. It would be long before you could find a native of any of the islands to the westward so much deficient. Land one of them on any uninhabited island, and he knows how to light his fire, where to find water, and if there is any thing fit for food growing on it. Another way to find water, is to get up on a hill, or climb a tall tree, and look well around you in the valleys or low grounds; if you see a patch of fresh foliage of a livelier green than the rest, make straight for that, and you are almost sure to see the water; if the ground should be only moist, cut a branch or pole, flatten the end of it with your axe, and after digging down a little so as to make a small hole, the water will come up soon. Then again, if there is (about two or three hundred yards from the beach) any spot of ground lower than the beach, and nearly on a level with the sea, by digging deep enough the water will be found very fresh; and if there cannot be obtained by all these means a supply, there are always in tropical climates trees of a soft description, such as the cabbage-tree, &c., which by tapping the stem, or pounding the branches between stones, a quantity of juice may be obtained sufficient to allay thirst for the time, until the water can be hunted for.”—p. 98.

These remarks are extremely valuable, and suggest to us the expediency of some short directions for shipwrecked persons, printed in a cheap and durable form, and distributed like the directions for restoring life, circulated by the Royal Humane Society: they would have the same effect, that of preserving life where it would otherwise be lost.

“Along nearly the whole of the island, from east to west, there are two ranges of hills, some of them of great altitude; between those in the depth of the gorge, there is one continued valley of about three miles wide, interrupted only by a few irregular hills or swells here and there, only partially timbered, but clothed with luxuriant grass. The sides of the high hills bounding it are covered up to their summits—indeed right across—with timber. . . . Not far from the place I immersed into the valley there was a curious heap of large and small stones, which looked so artificial as to give the appearance of a quarry which had been worked: with some inconvenience I examined it, and found at the upper part of it a large, dark, mysterious entrance to a huge cave, extending apparently away under the mountains; I could not get directly up to it as the stones were loose, and slid off each other when I

stood on them, so I merely contented myself with throwing a few stones far in, but could not hear them alight any where; the only things disturbed were a few large splendid owls, which I presume were resting somewhere out of the light. It appeared to be a solemn-looking unfathomable gulf, through which, no doubt, those immense heaps of stones were discharged at a very remote period by some volcanic agency."—p. 102.

The vegetation here was very luxuriant—a fine stream of water flowed through the centre of the valley, and besides indigenous animals Dr. Coulter saw a great quantity of reddish-coloured goats, which, strange to say, never showed themselves on the coast. The hawks which were very numerous proved extremely annoying when a goat or terrapin was killed, and the only way of getting rid of them was to kill one first for their private eating and then look out for himself.

"About the middle of the valley," says he, "my attention was attracted to the foot of one of the hills, where the earth had fallen down, and left exposed to view large black rocks; I went over and examined it, and found them to consist of coal in large quantities, and extending away in under the hills. . . . To test my discovery I cooked (my meal) on a wooden spit before a large fire of coal; it quickly ignited, flamed up, and burned after the cheerful manner of Kendal coal. There were great hills of it, and an immense supply could be here obtained, if there was a sufficient arrangement to convey it to the sea-side."—p. 107.

This is indeed an important discovery, and one which renders the Gallapagos particularly well suited to become what our author wishes them to be,—a station for steamers between Darien and Australia.

In another part of the island there is a great variety of mineral treasures.

"Amongst the rocks and hills skirting this ravine, there is iron ore of apparently excellent description; and here again I fell in with coal, which I pronounce to be excellent, having again practically tested it by using it for my fire. There were also beds of sulphur without much impurity in it. I found on the south-east part very pure lead ore in great abundance. Indeed, the whole island, particularly about the hills, seemed to be rich with the ordinarily useful minerals."—p. 126.

One more extract, it must be a long one, and we have done with Chatam island. If it affects our readers as it did us, they will not blame us for inserting it.

"When I was better than half way down the weather side, at about four miles inland, I came suddenly on a piece of ground which was

partially clear, and where a few trees lay, that had evidently a few years ago been cut down by some one. On further entering this space there were mustard, pumpkins, melons, Indian corn, sweet potatoes, and tobacco, all growing indiscriminately and in a very wild state, tall weeds, and suckers of young trees, starting up here and there from the roots of the old ones.

"In looking about I saw what was once a spade, but the blade of which now was only rust, and fell in pieces when I touched it with my foot. Near this, in a hollow, was a well with water enough, but overgrown and covered with weeds. It was regularly built round with stone. I continued my search over this once well-cared plantation, until I came to the highest or upper part of the clearing, which was walled along for several hundred yards by solid rock. Up near this, almost concealed by a clump of trees, and nearly overgrown with wild vine, I discovered a house, or rather a hut, on a comfortable scale. There was no sound of human voice here, all was still.

"I knew from the indications about, that it was long since the place had been attended to. The net-work of vines round it was so thick and close, that I had to make an opening through it with my axe. On entering this wild barrier, I came at once on the house, which was built against the rock with a shed roof thatched—the sides and front merely posts of wood, interlaced by vine branches, and covered over with mud. The whole was in a falling state; there was only a door way into it, but no door.

"I now with strange feelings entered the door; there was ample light through this ruin to see all. It was a melancholy sight and discovery to me. In the centre of the floor, near a rude table, lay the skeleton of a man, only partially concealed by what had once been a covering of skins; on my touching it, it fell in powder; the bones, though in apposition, were separated by the slightest touch. On one side were an old boiling pot and frying-pan, wood, axe, &c., all in rust, a tobacco-box, with a rudely manufactured pipe, on the table an old worn out and rust-eaten carabine, and cutlass in the corner; there was a shelf which had once served for a bed with seal skins on it. I searched minutely, but could not find either paper or any other thing that could give the least information as to the name or who this unfortunate recluse was.

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"Whilst in those seas I made many inquiries from captains and others frequenting those islands about this solitary man, but no one knew or had heard any thing about him. He must have been dead for many years from the state of the skeleton, the hut, and the long neglected plantations."—p. 135.

Who and what was this man? a runaway sailor? a shipwrecked mariner? an exiled patriot? a fugitive rebel? a broken-hearted recluse? a criminal flying from the sentence of the law—perhaps

a murderer! or was he some grievous sinner, who sought in silence and solitude to reconcile himself with his God?

From the Gallapagos Captain Lock proceeded to the Marquesas. These islands were first visited in 1595 by a Spanish navigator, Alvaro Mendana de Neyra, who in compliment to the Marquess Mendoza, then Viceroy of Peru, gave them the name which they still bear. They extend about two hundred miles from N. W. to S. E., and lie between latitude  $10^{\circ} 30'$  and  $7^{\circ} 50'$  south, and longitude  $139^{\circ}$  and  $141^{\circ}$  west. A wide channel divides them into two smaller groups, of which the Eastern contains five and the Western eight.

"The scenery of the entire Marquesan group of islands is very similar; they all appear high, and almost precipitous towards the centre: but on coming close into the land, and taking long excursions through the country, if we may so term it, the scene entirely alters, and one of great irregular beauty and grandeur meets the eye in all directions. The inhabitants generally live scattered about in the low lands or rich valleys; and rich they are beyond any thing. Those who have not visited a tropical country cannot form a correct idea of it; wherever you see a rock or precipice, and they well deserve the name, if irregularity, height, and nakedness can give it to them; their base and surrounding lowland is covered deeply with a never-ceasing, richly vegetable mould, throwing up the finest fruit-trees and other large timber; and where the woods are not very dense, the richest grass prevails. All those valleys have streams, sometimes of considerable extent, but always of great beauty, passing through them, forming in their course many rich and beautiful cascades. Those valleys are mostly skirted with high hills, covered to their summits with a lightish green vegetation. This coloured appearance arises from the great quantities of deep soft moss and acres upon acres of small reeds, which grow as high as eight or ten feet, and form good cover often for small war parties or scouts, who frequently set the whole on fire to stop, even for a time, the advance of a powerful enemy, as well as to give the warning that those great fires convey to their friends."—p. 164.

Wild and beautiful indeed those islands must be from the accounts of all those who have visited them, and equally wild and beautiful are the race that inhabit them; but there is a striking and painful difference between the animate and inanimate works of the Creator, which, sadly visible every where, stands out here in terrible relief. Nature is all beautiful and glorious, but man, though highly gifted both physically and mentally, "has sought out for himself many inventions" which it is revolting to think of; and what makes the case still more humbling is, that disgusting as the native vices of the islanders are, they have been here as elsewhere still further corrupted by their intercourse with

those who come from lands that acknowledge the religion of a merciful, a holy, and a jealous God. Yes, degraded as the Polynesian is in his ancestral condition, he is far more debased after coming in contact with the European. The naked vices of the savage assume if not a grosser yet a more sordid character.

“Towards noon, we drew abreast the entrance to the harbour,” says Mr. Melville, “and at last we slowly swept by the intervening promontory, and entered the bay of Nukuheva. No description can do justice to its beauty; but that beauty was lost to me then, and I saw nothing but the tricoloured flag of France trailing over the stern of six vessels, whose black hulls and bristling broadsides proclaimed their warlike character. There they were, floating in that lovely bay, the green eminences of the shore looking down so tranquilly upon them as if rebuking the sternness of their aspect. To my eye, nothing could be more out of keeping than the presence of these vessels; but we soon learnt what brought them there. The whole group of islands had just been taken possession of by Rear-Admiral Du Petit Thouars in the name of the invincible French nation.”—*Residence in the Marquesas*, p. 12.

Mr. Melville is no friend to the conduct of France towards the natives of Tahiti and Nukuheva.

“The expedition,” says he, “for the occupation of the Marquesas had sailed from Brest in the spring of 1842, and the secret of its destination was solely in the possession of its commander. No wonder that those who contemplated such a signal infraction of the laws of humanity, should have sought to veil the enormity from the eyes of the world; and yet, notwithstanding their iniquitous conduct in this and in other matters, the French have ever plumed themselves upon being the most humane and polished of nations. . . . One example of the shameless subterfuges under which the French stand prepared to defend whatever cruelties they may hereafter think fit to commit in bringing the Marquesan natives into subjection, is well worthy of being recorded. On some flimsy pretext or other, Mowanna, the King of Nukuheva, whom the invaders by extravagant presents have cajoled over to their interest, and move about like a mere puppet, has been set up as the rightful sovereign of the entire island, the alleged ruler by prescription of various clans who for ages, perhaps, have treated with each other as separate nations. To reinstate this much injured prince in the assumed dignities of his ancestors, the disinterested strangers have come all the way from France; they are determined that his title shall be acknowledged. If any tribe shall refuse to acknowledge the authority of the French by bowing down to the laced chapeau of Mowanna, let them abide the consequences of their obstinacy. Under cover,” proceeds our author, “of a similar pretence, have the outrages and massacres at Tahiti the beautiful, the queen of the South Seas, been perpetrated.”—*Residence in the Marquesas*, p. 18.

We cannot refrain from inserting the following anecdote.

"In the grounds of the famous missionary consul, Pritchard, then absent in London, the consular flag of Britain waved, as usual, during the day, from a lofty staff planted within a few yards of the beach, and in full view of the frigate. One morning, an officer at the head of a party of men, presented himself at the verandah of Mr. Pritchard's house, and inquired in broken English for the lady his wife. The matron soon made her appearance, and the polite Frenchman, making one of his best bows, and playing gracefully with the aiguillette that danced upon his breast, proceeded in courteous accents to deliver his mission. 'The admiral desired the flag to be hauled down,—hoped it would be perfectly agreeable,'—and his men stood ready to perform the duty. 'Tell the pirate your master,' replied the spirited Englishwoman, pointing to the staff, 'that if he wishes to strike those colours, he must come and perform the act himself. I will suffer no one else to do it.' The lady then bowed haughtily, and withdrew into the house. As the discomfited officer walked away, he looked up to the flag, and perceived that the cord by which it was elevated to its place, led from the top of the staff across the lawn to an open upper window of the mansion, where sat the lady from whom he had just parted, tranquilly engaged in knitting. Was that flag hauled down? Mrs. Pritchard thinks not, and Rear-Admiral Du Petit Thouars is believed to be of the same opinion."—*Typee*, p. 19.

But let us return to the Polynesians themselves. Almost the first fact related by Mr. Melville concerning the Marquesans, too sadly illustrates the truth of what we have before stated.

"We had approached within a mile and a half perhaps of the foot of the bay, when some of the islanders, who by this time had managed to scramble aboard of us at the risk of swamping their canoes, directed our attention to a singular commotion in the water ahead of the vessel. At first I imagined it to be produced by a shoal of fish sporting on the surface; but our savage friends assured us that it was caused by a shoal of 'whinhenies,' young girls, who in this manner were coming off to welcome us. As they drew nearer, and I watched the rising and sinking of their forms, and beheld the uplifted right arm bearing above the water the girdle of tappa, and their long dark hair trailing beside them as they swam, I almost fancied they could be nothing else than so many mermaids: and very like mermaids they behaved too.

"We were still some distance from the beach, and under slow headway, when we sailed right into the midst of these swimming nymphs, and they boarded us at every quarter, many seizing hold of the chain-plates and springing into the chains, at the peril of being run over by the vessel in her course, catching at the bobstays, and wreathing their slender forms about the ropes hung suspended in the air. All of them at length succeeded in getting up the ship's side, where they clung, dripping with the brine, and glowing from the bath, their jet black

tresses streaming over their shoulders, and half enveloping their otherwise naked forms. There they hung, sparkling with savage vivacity, laughing gaily at one another, and chattering away with infinite glee. Nor were they idle the while, for each one performed the simple offices of the toilette for the other. Their luxuriant locks wound up, and twisted into the smallest possible compass, were freed from the briny element; the whole person carefully dried, and from a little round shell that passed from hand to hand, anointed with a fragrant oil; their adornments were completed by passing a few loose folds of white tappa in a modest cincture around the waist. Thus arrayed, they no longer hesitated, but flung themselves lightly over the bulwarks, and were quickly frolicking about the decks. Many of them went forward perching upon the handrails, or running out upon the bowsprit, whilst others seated themselves upon the taffrail, or reclined at full length upon the boats. What a sight for us bachelor sailors! How avoid so dire a temptation? For who could think of tumbling these artless creatures overboard, when they had swam miles to welcome us? Their appearance perfectly amazed me; their extreme youth, the light clear brown of their complexions, their delicate features and inexpressibly graceful figures, their softly moulded limbs and free unstudied action, seemed as strange as beautiful. The 'Dolly' was fairly captured; and never will I say was vessel carried before by such a dashing and irresistible party of boarders. The ship taken, we could do no otherwise than yield ourselves prisoners, and for the whole period that she remained in the bay, the 'Dolly' as well as her crew were completely in the hands of the mermaids. In the evening, after we had come to an anchor, the deck was illuminated with lanterns, and this picturesque band of sylphs, decked out with flowers, and dressed in robes of variegated tappa, got up a ball in great style. These females are passionately fond of dancing, and in the wild grace and spirit of their style, excel every thing that I have ever seen. The varied dances of the Marquesan girls are beautiful in the extreme; but there is an abandoned voluptuousness in their character, which I dare not attempt to describe. Our ship was now wholly given up to every species of riot and debauchery. Not the feeblest barrier was interposed between the unholy passions of the crew and their unlimited gratification. The grossest licentiousness and the most shameful inebriety prevailed, with occasional but short-lived interruptions through the whole period of her stay. Alas! for the poor savages, when exposed to the influence of these polluting examples! Unsophisticated and confiding, they are easily led into every vice, and humanity weeps over the ruin thus remorselessly inflicted upon them by their European civilizers. Thrice happy are they, who, inhabiting some yet undiscovered island in the midst of the ocean, have never been brought into contaminating contact with the white man<sup>2</sup>!—*Typee*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Herman Melville to wit.—The strange mixture of genuine licentiousness and affected morality which this passage exhibits, is both painful and ludicrous.



During his stay at the Marquesas, Dr. Coulter had ample opportunity for seeing the native dances:—

"The situation generally chosen for the taboos, or theatre, where these exhibitions take place, is some level spot of either rock or earth in the neighbourhood of some of these romantic streams, and often near a waterfall, surrounded by trees of rich foliage, the adjoining hills forming a curtain of green round it. In the centre of this is an enclosed portion of ground, covered by a smooth and varied-coloured pavement. The dancers perform on this. . . . Their covering is only a small piece of native cloth, either round the waist or over the shoulders; as the excitement of the dance increases even this disappears, or is flung wildly to the winds, and then you see neither a black nor a white man, but from the turmeric a golden yellow one, perfectly naked in all the wildness and frenzy of the heathen dance. They tire—others supply their places, and thus they keep going for hours; their actions are all of the most vile that can be either invented or thought of; no pen can or ought to describe it; a veil ought to be cast over it, only to be lifted to disclose to the eyes of the sceptic the downright necessity for the presence of the Missionary, to throw the light of Christianity on the heathen mind, and have such scenes for ever obliterated from the thoughts of the Marquesan, as well as they have succeeded elsewhere."—*Coulter's Pacific*, p. 170.

This author speaks, too, of the loose conduct of the crews of ships, which occasionally visit them, and shows that the case of the "Dolly" is not a solitary instance, but a circumstance of nearly universal occurrence:—

"As soon as ever the anchor is down, if the ship is not a taboo, or restricted one, she will be at once boarded not by a few, but hundreds of women, who will not go on shore without being hunted overboard. Well, if the commander of the ship is ever so well inclined for good, the men will often knock off and do no work; in this case the captain is in a distant sea, has no power to assist him in keeping rigid discipline on board, and has no other alternative but to submit, and get off as quick as he can; but the reason I am so explicit is, that there are too many ships whose crews, from the captain to the cook, relax all discipline (as to morality) in other places as well as the Marquesas, and often in a few days will undo the anxious, unwearied, and zealous work of the Missionary for months."—p. 172.

In his second work, Dr. Coulter mentions the same degrading custom as prevailing at the Kingsmill Islands:—

"It is scarcely necessary for me to say, that these people are in the very depths of heathenism; they give way to all sorts of barbarism and licentiousness; and I feel sorry to have it to say, that the generality of ships touching here (mostly English and American whalers), so completely encourage this immorality and vileness, that it is now the

regular custom at the Kingsmill group. Whenever a ship drops her anchor, the first offering from the shore is a deck load of women. As soon as the 'Hound' let go her anchor, dozens of young women came alongside; and what appeared to be most horrible, was the fact of their being brought there by their fathers, mothers, and brothers."—Vol. i. p. 193.

In this particular instance, however, they were denied admission.

"Some," adds the author, "laughed immoderately at the disappointed looks of others, but most of them, though they hung round the vessel for a short time afterwards, went on shore in a very sulky mood."

Painful, however, as it is to reflect on the encouragement given to heathen licentiousness by nominal Christians, all such lesser sins fall into the shade compared with the outrage perpetrated by the French at Mahanar upon the peninsula of Taraiboo, in the *Christian* island of Tahiti:—

"The fight," says Mr. Melville, "originated in the seizure of a number of women from the shore by men belonging to one of the French vessels of war. In this affair the islanders fought desperately, killing about fifty of the enemy, and losing ninety of their own number. The French sailors and marines, who at the time were reported to be infuriated with liquor, gave no quarter; and the survivors only saved themselves by fleeing to the mountains."—*Omoo*, p. 127.

Yes, this is the way in which the subjects of the most Christian king endeavour to improve the imperfect Christianity of the Tahitians—thus do they seek to prove by example, as well as precept, the superiority of popery to puritanism—such is the security of *person*, as well as property, they would wish to establish in the isles of the Pacific—thus would they extend the influence of the "*œuvre de la foi*," and sacrifice at the shrine of their devotion the two costliest of all offerings,—the life of man and the chastity of woman. A deep sympathy—a righteous and a holy indignation is *felt, and acted upon, too*—when we hear of similar outrages perpetrated by Moslem oppressors on their Christian subjects. Shall the sympathy of Russia be exerted to rescue the Rayah from the infidels of Turkey, whilst the sympathy of England is not able to protect the Kannaka from the infidels of France? Shame on the thought; God has given us power to protect the innocent against the wicked, the weak against the strong; let us use that power, lest, in His retributive justice, He deliver our homes to pollution, and our hearth-stones to blood. It was the saying of Napoleon, that if he once landed here, though he could not conquer England, he would make it unfit for Englishmen to dwell in—words of fearful import in the

mouth of a Frenchman. It is God alone who has preserved our land from the fate of Prussia and of Spain; let us secure the continuance of that protection by protecting those from robbery and wrong who have the courage but not the power to protect themselves\*.

But let us return to Nukuheva, from which we have wandered, it must be allowed, to some distance. Mr. Melville having, as we suppose, in the first instance run away to sea—he does not say so—but the superiority of his education, and other circumstances, lead us to infer as much—became tired of the “Dolly” and her captain, and determined on leaving the vessel. Another sailor, whose *nom de guerre* is TONY, agreed to join him, and they determined on escaping to the interior, and concealing themselves in the valley of HAPPAR, until the “Dolly” should have departed, intending then to return to Nukuheva, and embark in some more agreeable vessel. They accomplished their escape with no great difficulty, and succeeded in reaching the mountains, but here an unexpected difficulty awaited them. The various valleys of the island are inhabited by independent and hostile tribes—one of these, called “Happar,” was considered as particularly friendly to Europeans; another, named “Typee,” was spoken of as very much the reverse, and, added to this, their very name was said to signify—“*Lover of human flesh*.” Where all are cannibals,—as the Marquesans undoubtedly are,—such an appellation does not perhaps matter much,—and yet there is, it must be allowed, something unpleasant in it. The two fugitives, after enduring some hardships for three or four days in the mountains, descended into a beautiful valley, and found themselves, to their great dismay, in the territory of the famous man-eaters above-mentioned. They were not, however, devoured, it being the custom of these islanders only to eat their enemies slain in battle; on the contrary, they were treated with extreme kindness; the only disagreeable circumstance connected with their stay being that they were not permitted to depart; but whilst allowed the free range of the upper and central parts of the valley, carefully watched and forbidden to approach the sea. We do not wonder, however, at the sensations of fear which they experienced, after all that they had heard concerning the character and conduct of the tribe in question:—

“Even before visiting the Marquesas,” says Mr. Melville, “I had heard from men who had touched at the group on former voyages, some

\* “The great body of the people, as well as their queen, confidently relied upon the speedy interposition of England, a nation bound to them by many ties, and which, more than once, had solemnly guaranteed their independence.”—*Omoo*, p. 126.

revolting stories in connexion with these savages; and fresh in my remembrance was the adventure of the master of the "Catherine," who only a few months previous, imprudently venturing into this bay in an armed boat for the purpose of barter, was seized by the natives, carried back a little distance into their valley, and was only saved from a cruel death by the intervention of a young girl, who facilitated his escape by night along the beach to Nukuheva.

"I had heard, too, of an English vessel, that many years ago, after a weary cruise, sought to enter the bay of Nukuheva, and arriving within two or three miles of the land, was met by a large canoe full of natives, who offered to lead the way to the place of their destination. The captain, unacquainted with the localities of the island, joyfully acceded to the proposition, the canoe paddled on, and the ship followed. She was soon conducted to a beautiful inlet, and dropped her anchor in its waters beneath the shadows of the lofty shore. That same night the perfidious Typees, who had thus inveigled her into their fatal bay, flocked aboard the doomed vessel by hundreds, and at a given signal murdered every one on board."—*Typee*, p. 26.

We read such tales as these with lively interest and deep horror; our warmest sympathy is awakened for the unfortunate European; our keenest indignation is aroused towards the cruel and faithless savage; whilst, perhaps, our anger is softened by pity for the benighted condition of the poor heathen, who violates the rights of hospitality and the very laws of nature; and the whole process concludes with a vivid perception of our own superiority over the people that know not God, and our lips almost breathe the accents of the Pharisee, "Lord, I thank Thee, that I am not such as these."

And yet, were we to examine the case more minutely, we should find little cause for exultation; the treachery, the cruelty, so often exercised by the uncultivated natives towards the white man, originates in every case in wanton outrages first perpetrated on the unsuspecting barbarians by Europeans; the natives who have welcomed the strangers and their big canoe as messengers from heaven, are treated by their polished guests with unprincipled baseness, or unprovoked barbarity, and naturally, nor can we well say unjustly, make fierce reprisals on the next pale-faced strangers who approach their shores. It is true, that the innocent thus often suffer for the guilty, that the honest trader loses by the fraud of his predecessor, and the murderer escapes unharmed, leaving a debt of massacre to be settled by the peaceful and humane. But there is nothing in this which is at variance with the general dispensations of Providence; nothing which in reality forms any aggravated stain on the character of the Polynesian. It was "the meek usurper's holy head" which atoned for the blood-stained treason of Henry

of Bolingbroke; it was the only too-gentle Louis XVI. who suffered for the accumulated enormities of the foulest race of unredeemed miscreants that ever sat upon a throne, to curse earth, or outrage heaven. And as to the rationale of the Kankaka's conduct, he is placed in a state of war with the powerful foreigners, and makes his reprisals how and where he can:—

"The enormities practised in the South Seas upon some of the inoffensive islanders well nigh pass belief. These things are seldom proclaimed at home; they happen at the very ends of the earth; they are done in a corner, and there is none to reveal them. But there is, nevertheless, many a petty trader that has navigated the Pacific, whose course from island to island might be traced by a series of cold-blooded robberies, kidnappings, and murders, the iniquity of which might be considered almost sufficient to sink her guilty timbers to the bottom of the sea. . . . How often is the term "savages" incorrectly applied! None really deserving of it were ever yet discovered by voyagers or by travellers; they have discovered heathens and barbarians, whom by horrible cruelties they have exasperated into savages. It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that in all the cases of outrages committed by Polynesians, Europeans have at some time or other been the aggressors, and that the cruel and blood-thirsty disposition of some of the islanders is mainly to be ascribed to the influence of such examples."—*Typee*, p. 28.

Dr. Coulter confirms this statement: besides remarks of the same effect with reference to more westerly groups of islands, speaking of the Marquesas, he observes:—

"I have known also ships go into the islands, get a supply of one or two hundred bags, with vegetables, &c., all the time of trading the ship lying off and on; and when the last boat came alongside, hoist her up, crowd on all sail, and the chiefs who came for their payment in powder, muskets, &c., hunted over the side, and made even swim to the nearest land, or canoe that kept near the ship. Now, what is the consequence of all this? The next vessel which arrives belonging to the same nation, often gets its boats cut off, and the crews killed, and generally eaten, from the feeling of revenge for former insult and injury—they, of course, trading with more honesty and confidence, and placing themselves more incautiously in the power of the natives."—*Coulter's Pacific*, p. 174.

After speaking of an instance in which an English captain fired at some harmless natives, without any provocation, because they shook their spears at him from the shore, when he, being in a boat, wished to hold intercourse with them. Mr. Melville adds:—

"Wanton acts of cruelty, like this, are not unusual on the part of sea-captains landing at islands comparatively unknown. Even at the Pomota group, but a day's sail from Tahiti, the islanders coming down

to the shore, have several times been fired at by trading schooners passing through their narrow channels; and this, too, as a mere amusement on the part of the ruffians. Indeed, it is almost incredible, the light in which many sailors regard these naked heathens. They hardly consider them human. But it is a curious fact, that the more ignorant and degraded men are, the more contemptuously they look upon those whom they deem their inferiors."—*Omoo*, p. 24.

The hostility of the Typees to white men appears to have originated in the unprovoked aggression of Lieutenant Porter, who having been hospitably treated by the people of Nukuheva and Happar, assisted them in an attack upon these their hereditary enemies:—

"Valiantly, although with much loss, the Typees disputed every inch of ground, and after some hard fighting obliged their assailants to retreat and abandon their design of conquest. The invaders, on their march back to the sea, consoled themselves for their repulse by setting fire to every house and temple in their route; and a long line of smoking ruins defaced the once-smiling bosom of the valley, and proclaimed to its Pagan inhabitants the spirit which reigned in the breasts of Christian soldiers. Who can wonder at the deadly hatred of the Typees to all foreigners after such unprovoked atrocities?"—*Typee*, p. 27.

Nor need we wonder that the two white men felt but ill at ease when they discovered their mistake. Toby succeeded in making his escape about a month after their arrival there, and was carried to sea against his will by an American whaler, thus leaving his companion to his fate; whilst Tommo, as our author was entitled by his hosts, remained about four months in an easy captivity, receiving every kindness, and tasting every pleasure which the valley afforded. The king Mehevi took him under his especial protection; a native of inferior rank, Kory-Kory by name, was appointed to wait upon and take care of him, and, for he was lame from a complaint caught in the mountain, to carry him from place to place; he was billeted on a kind old chief, Marheyo by name, and treated with courtesy and respect by all the other chiefs; and besides the frequent society of the damsels of the valley, his constant companion in his rambles was the charming and beautiful FAYAWAY, a maiden of the most perfect symmetry of form and feature; the most winning grace of action and manner; and, as far as their imperfect medium of communicating ideas could enable him to judge, of a warm heart and refined mind.

The place, from his account, appears to have been such a perfect Elysium, that we wonder at his extreme desire to get away

from it. He exhibits, indeed, much zeal and skill in the comparisons which he draws between the state of these simple natives and that of the half-civilized inhabitants of other islands, or the fully-civilized Europeans themselves :—

“ In a primitive state of society, the enjoyments of life, though few and simple, are spread over a great extent, and are unalloyed ; but civilization, for every advantage she imparts, holds a hundred evils in reserve ; the heart-burnings, the jealousies, the social rivalries, the family dissensions, and the thousand self-inflicted discomforts of refined life, which make up in units the swelling aggregate of human misery, are unknown among these unsophisticated people.”—*Types*, p. 38.

Very true, though the writer does not seem to us to understand the rationale of the case. The world,—that is to say, the system of feeling and action which, making self its idol, endeavours to consecrate to the service of its false god all the gifts of nature, and all the discoveries of art, is at enmity with God, and therefore lies under His curse ; but independent of this, *it is a mistake*, it does not take the right means of obtaining that which it aims at—happiness. For happiness consists in the full, the legitimate, and the rightly-proportioned exercise of all the impulses, the sentiments, and the faculties of our composite natures ; it is, in fact, the fulfilment of the end of our existence. This cannot be perfectly obtained in our fallen state ; but any approach to it must consist in an approximation to the ideal of man and of society, as they would have been, had our first parents not fallen, and had they and their children carried out and realized the design of their Creator. The Gospel, so far as it is carried into effect, elevates man to this state, both individually and socially ; individually, by restoring him in a certain degree to the image of God, in which he was first created ; socially, so far as the Church system is carried out—not the Church system as it is now, or has been, at any time—but the Church system as it exists in the mind of its Author, and as it is faintly, but still gloriously, shadowed forth in the lives and deaths of the first Christians—for the Church is the revival of the primeval form of the Creation.

The world, on the other hand, seeking to be wise in the ways of selfishness, becomes foolish in those of happiness ; and though acute and powerful minds amongst those who dwell in it may so far perceive a portion of the truth as to see the hollowness and the worthlessness of the system of which they form part, still their voices are raised in vain, or more probably attack some flimsy outwork, some subordinate detail, and leave the *plan* untouched ; so that despite of its moralists, economists, philosophers, and sentimentalists, the world proceeds to develop its

folly and its misery, with a full reliance on its wisdom, and a strange delusion of its excellence—its power to bestow happiness.

In a savage state, man, though equally blind, has not such an inordinate over-appreciation of his own powers of sight; he follows certain laws of his nature; and though the laws of a corrupt and an erring nature, they still bear traces of the once-bright original; and in simply following the dictates of his heart, and the impulses of his instinct, man gains far more than in searching out his own inventions, and acting according to rules of his own laying down; in the one case, he follows laws which have once been good, builds on foundations whose massive rocks attest their former strength; in the other, he produces, in his already-weakened and fallen state, rules which represent not his nature, even in its corrupted state, but its actual corruption; he gathers together chaff, and builds up an edifice on the sand.

The system of savage life is nearer nature, and therefore nearer God, than that of the world, and consequently offers, *ceteris paribus*, greater facilities for happiness.

Alas! how little is this understood! how often do we talk of the triumph of civilization and enlightenment when the metamorphosed Indians have relinquished the true gems of their simple existence for the vain baubles of artificial life; the blessings of a primitive state of society for the curse of a cumbrous and senseless conventionalism! how often are those outward signs which really betoken the deep-rooted evils of our own social system, our feebleness of thought, and our fallacy in judgment! how often are they taken as the signs of increasing refinement, the symptoms and the effects of advancing Christianity! The missionary who would do most good, would be one who should alter not the customs, but the morals of the Polynesians; and endeavour, wherever such were possible, to give a Christian character to their existing institutions, rather than to treat as a weed every fair plant and goodly tree which had not been produced in the hot-bed of European civilization.

But let us return to the valley of Typee. The harmony subsisting amongst the members of this simple community appears truly astonishing:—

“ In this secluded abode of happiness, there were no cross old women, no cruel stepdames, no withered spinsters, no love-sick maidens, no sour old bachelors, no inattentive husbands, no melancholy young men, no blubbery youngsters, and no squalling brats [this appears the most incredible of all]. All was mirth, fun, and high good humour. Blue devils, hypochondria, and doleful dumps, went and hid themselves among the crannies of the rocks. Here you would see a



parcel of children frolicking together the livelong day, and 'no quarrelling, no contention among them. The same number in our own land could not have played together for the space of an hour without biting or scratching one another. There, too, you might have seen a throng of young females, not filled with envyings of each others' charms, nor displaying the ridiculous affectations of gentility, nor yet moving in whalebone corsets like so many automatons, but free, inartificially happy, and unconstrained."—*Typee*, p. 140.

The causes of this state of things are various, besides the general law which we have already laid down. The exquisite beauty of their climate has, no doubt, a vast influence; the easy attainment of all the necessities and enjoyments of life, with which they are acquainted, is another; the absence of all temptation to envy is a third; and Mr. Melville considers their crowning advantage to be the non-existence of money. There are however, we apprehend, two other reasons for this state of things, the one pre-eminently a blessing; the other, still more fearfully, a ~~curse~~.

The first of these is, that the *form* of the Typee community, their constitution, if we may so speak, is about the most perfect that exists on the face of the earth, though from several indications it would seem to be on the decline. The whole clan are of one blood, and they never forget it. The supreme chief, or king, as in common with our author we will call him, possesses a decided supremacy, together with a limited monarchy; the chiefs, though highly revered by the people, and decidedly raised above them, are not separated by any obnoxious or impassable barrier; the commonalty enjoy freedom without licence, and practice obedience without servility. The position of the women, too, whatever defects there may be in the relation between the sexes, is not that of slaves but companions; and the priesthood, whilst enjoying high privileges and exclusive authority in religious matters, is neither able nor desirous of exercising any tyrannical power or undue influence over the laity, whilst these accord to them, without demur, their natural position.

This looks like a fiction of the fancy; but let any one read "*Typee*," and he will see that our inferences are minutely borne out by Mr. Melville's statements, though he has not come to the same definite conclusions.

The other reason for the contented state of the Typee valley is, that its inmates have apparently no fear of future punishment; their conduct is regulated by rules which are sanctioned by universal assent, and conscience has been schooled, by the teaching of successive generations, to remain silent where she cannot command.

The *Typees*, however, make up for their domestic unanimity by their bitter and constant hostility to the tribes of Happar and Nukuheva; but this we cannot think derogatory to them, and certainly it does not show them to be either cruel or quarrelsome by nature.

The intercourse between the sexes would appear to be under very lax regulations, though on this point Mr. Melville's "*delicacy*" leaves us somewhat in the dark, whilst his inuendoes allow us to imagine almost any thing that we please, without making any definite or tangible statement. Their marriage-law is peculiar, and as disgusting as peculiar:—

"A regular system of polygamy exists among the islanders, but of a most extraordinary nature,—a plurality of husbands instead of wives. . . . . The girls are first wooed and won, at a very tender age, by some stripling in the household in which they reside. This, however, is a mere frolic of the affections, and no formal engagement is contracted. By the time this first love has a little subsided, a second suitor presents himself, of graver years, and carries both boy and girl away to his own habitation. This disinterested and generous-hearted fellow now weds the young couple—marrying damsel and lover at the same time—and all three thenceforth live as harmoniously as so many turtles. . . . . No man has more than one wife, and no woman of mature years has less than two husbands; sometimes she has three, but such instances are not frequent. The marriage tie, whatever it may be, does not appear to be indissoluble; for separations occasionally happen."—*Typee*, p. 213.

A married woman—by which, we presume, our author means one who has married her *second* husband—is distinguished by being tattooed on her right hand and left foot. Previously to this, the girls have only two small dots on the upper lip.

The laws of the taboo, or restrictive enactments of the valley, sanctioned by the local religion, are singular and various; and their intention sometimes evidently here, as elsewhere, grounded on motives of policy, sometimes unintelligible, reminds us of the ancient Egyptian superstitions. Thus women are forbidden to enter canoes; men to touch the material of women's garments whilst being made; and certain animals are protected by the taboo; and by the same authority, females are restrained from coming within the precincts of the *Hoolah-Hoolah*, or sacred groves.

Of the religion of the *Typees* we gain but scanty, and superficial information from the work before us; the accounts, indeed, of some of their festivals and ceremonies are curious and interesting, but on almost every occasion the writer acknowledges himself unable to explain the meaning of what he saw.

After speaking of a festival, which, from a heap of those articles, he entitles "The Feast of Calabashes," he adds:—

"In vain I questioned Kory-Kory, and others of the natives, as to the meaning of the strange things that were going on; all their explanations were conveyed in such a mass of outlandish gibberish and gesticulations, that I gave up the attempt in despair. All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the taboo-groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose."—*Types*, p. 187.

He mentions one custom of their chanting every evening for more than half-an-hour together, in a solemn monotonous manner, and suggests that this ceremony might be their family worship.

The inhabitants of the valley believed in a future state, of this there is no doubt, but little more can be gleaned of their faith; they had hideous wooden idols, to which they offered fruit, &c. Whether the author's scanty information on these subjects arose from indifference to such matters in general, or from ignorance of the language, we cannot say. The notion never seems, for a moment, to have entered his head, either during his stay there, or after its conclusion, that he might have attempted to enlighten the minds of his hosts on "temperance, righteousness, and judgment to come;" and that Providence, in giving him the opportunity of doing this, saddled him with a heavy responsibility.

His notices of some ancient remains, apparently the work of an earlier race, are extremely curious.

"One day . . . I came upon a scene which reminded me of Stonehenge, and the architectural labours of the Druid. At the base of one of the mountains, and surrounded on all sides by dense groves, a series of vast terraces of stone rises, step by step, for a considerable distance up the hill-side. These terraces cannot be less than one hundred yards in length and twenty in width. Their magnitude, however, is less striking, than the immense size of the blocks composing them. Some of the stones, of an oblong shape, are from ten to fifteen feet in length, and five or six feet thick. Their sides are quite smooth, but though square, and of pretty regular formation, they bear no mark of the chisel. They are laid together without cement, and here and there show gaps between. The topmost terrace and the lower one are somewhat peculiar in their construction. They have both a quadrangular depression in the centre, leaving the rest of the terrace elevated several feet above it. In the intervals of the stones immense trees have taken root, and their broad boughs stretching far over, and interlacing together, support a canopy almost impenetrable to the sun. Overgrowing the greater part of them, and climbing from one to another, is a wilderness of vines, in whose sinewy embrace many of the stones lie half

hidden, while in some places a thick growth of bushes entirely covers them. There is a wild pathway which obliquely crosses two of these terraces; and so profound is the shade, so dense the vegetation, that a stranger to the place might pass along it without being aware of their existence. These structures bear every indication of a very high antiquity, and Kory-Kory, who was my authority in all matters of scientific research, gave me to understand that they were coeval with the creation of the world; that the great gods themselves were the builders; and that they would endure until time shall be no more. Kory-Kory's prompt explanation, and his attributing the work to a divine origin, at once convinced me that neither he nor the rest of his countrymen knew any thing about them. As I gazed upon this monument, doubtless the work of an extinct and forgotten race, thus buried in the green nook of an island at the ends of the earth, the existence of which was yesterday unknown, a stronger feeling of awe came over me than if I had stood musing at the mighty base of the pyramid of Cheops. There are no inscriptions, no sculpture, no clue, by which to conjecture its history: nothing but the dumb stones. How many generations of those majestic trees which overshadow them, have grown, and flourished, and decayed since first they were erected!

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"I have already mentioned that the dwellings of the islanders were almost invariably built upon massive stone foundations, which they called 'Pi-pi-s.' The dimensions of these, however, as well as of the stones composing them, are comparatively small: but there are other and larger erections of a similar description, comprising the 'Morais,' or burying-grounds, and festival places, in nearly all the valleys of the island. Some of these piles are so extensive, and so great a degree of labour and skill must have been requisite in constructing them, that I can scarcely believe they were built by the ancestors of the present inhabitants. If indeed they were, the race has sadly deteriorated in their knowledge of the mechanic arts. To say nothing of their habitual indolence, by what contrivance within the reach of so simple a people could such enormous masses have been moved or fixed in their places? And how could they with their rude implements have chiselled and hammered them into shape? All of these larger 'Pipis,' like that of the Hoolah-Hoolah ground in the Typee valley, bore incontestable marks of great age; and I am disposed to believe that their erection may be ascribed to the same race of men who were the builders of the still more ancient remains I have just described."—*Typee*, pp. 172—174.

This, indeed, opens a wide field for speculation, especially when we recollect the sculptured remains discovered by many of the earlier navigators in these seas. But we have already remained long enough in this valley, and must proceed elsewhere, leaving our readers to form what conjectures they please regarding the origin of these venerable monuments of a long-forgotten age.

Omoo takes up Mr. Melville's narrative where Typee left it; namely, at the point of his escape from the beautiful valley of that name; we do not wonder at the glowing colours in which its simple natives present themselves to his eyes, when compared with the company into which he afterwards fell. His shipmates seem to have been a singularly bad set, especially one thoroughly unprincipled scoundrel whom he calls Doctor Long Ghost; and from some cause or other, he has scarcely a good word to say for any individual, either of European or Polynesian extraction, with whom he came in contact during the period described in this work. After various adventures he reaches Tahiti, where he is confined sometime in an easy durance, for joining with the rest of the crew in refusing to work the vessel in which he had embarked; the right of the case we do not pretend to decide.

The efforts of the missionaries there he declares to be utterly fruitless, except in having abolished idolatry and infanticide; but he rather takes them under his wing as well-meaning men, devoid of tact, taste, or judgment, and particularly liable to imposition. According to his account, he only met with *one* native Christian in the whole group. We must however observe, that we neither think himself and his comrades likely to have become acquainted with any Christians, nor particularly capable of testing their Christianity, nor does it appear to us probable that, as a general rule, any intercourse between him and the natives would have a tendency to exalt either their principles or their practice; we may do him wrong, but if so it is his own fault.

He is, however, extremely impartial: his account of the Romish priests, two French and one Irish, from whom he received great kindness, is by no means such as to raise their character for either piety or purity. We cannot help thinking, that he must be wrong in this instance; for well as we know from our own personal observation, the practical evils of a celibate clergy in Italy, Portugal, and France, it is not the custom of the Roman Church uselessly to expose itself to such a charge as that of sending out three profligate hypocrites to convert an island already occupied by the zealous and respectable emissaries of a Protestant sect. The thing strikes us as absurd.

His account, by the way, of a French frigate and her crew is very interesting: the perfection of the wood-work, and the inefficiency of the human part of the arrangement is very curious; "it is to be hoped," he adds, "that they are not building their ships for the people across the channel to take." The French, he tells us elsewhere, are "no favourites,—throughout Polynesia."

Leaving Tahiti for the island of Eimeo, (after serving some

time on a plantation, owned by an American and a cockney, both men of no education, and hunting wild cattle by way of change,) Melville and Long Ghost proceeded to Tamai, an inland village situated on the borders of a small lake. The following extract, though highly interesting, is, we think, sufficient to condemn the author to far more than *earthly* shame and contempt.

“The people of Tamai were nominally Christians; but being remote from ecclesiastical jurisdiction, their religion sat lightly upon them. We had been told even, that many heathenish games and dances still lingered in their valley. Now the prospect of seeing an old-fashioned ‘Heva,’ or Tahitian reel, was one of the inducements which brought us here; and so finding Rartoo rather liberal in his religious ideas, we disclosed our desires. . . . . It was a wide dreary space, lighted up by a full moon. . . . . Near the trees on one side of the clear space was a ruinous pile of stones, many rods in extent; upon which had formerly stood a temple of Oro. At present there was nothing but a rude hut, planted on the lowermost terrace. It seemed to have been used as a ‘*Tappa Herree*,’ or house for making the native cloth. Here we saw light gleaming from between the bamboos, and casting long rod-like shadows upon the ground; without, voices also were heard. We went up, and had a peep at the dancers who were getting ready for the ballet. They were some twenty in number, waited upon by hideous old crones, who might have been duennas. Long Ghost proposed to send the latter packing; but Rartoo said, it would never do, and so they were permitted to remain. We tried to effect an entrance at the door, but after a noisy discussion with one of the old witches within, our guide became fidgety, and at last told us to desist, or we would spoil all. He then led us off to a distance, to await the performance, as the girls, he said, did not wish to be recognized. He furthermore made us promise to remain where we were until all was over and the dancers had retired. We waited impatiently, and at last they came forth. They were arrayed in short tunics of white tappa; with garlands of flowers on their heads. Following them were the duennas, who remained clustering about the house, while the girls advanced a few paces; and in an instant, two of them, taller than their companions, were standing side by side, in the middle of a ring, formed by the clasped hands of the rest. This movement was made in perfect silence. Presently the two girls join hands over head; and crying out, ‘Ahloo! ahloo!’ wave them to and fro. Upon which the ring begins to circle slowly, the dancers moving sideways with their arms a little drooping. Soon they quicken their pace; and, at last, fly round and round; bosoms heaving, hair streaming, flowers drooping, and every sparkling eye circling in what seemed a line of light. Meanwhile, the pair within are passing and repassing each other incessantly. Inclining sideways, so that their long hair falls far over, they glide this way and that, one foot continually in the air and their fingers thrown forth, and twirling in the moonbeams. ‘Ahloo! ahloo!’ again cry

the dance queens; and coming together in the middle of the ring, they once more lift up the arch and stand motionless. 'Ahloo! ahloo!' every link of the circle is broken; and the girls, deeply breathing, stand perfectly still. They pant hard and fast a moment or two; and then, just as the deep flush is dying away from their faces, slowly recede all round; thus enlarging the ring. Again the two leaders wave their hands, when the rest pause; and now far apart, stand in the still moonlight like a circle of fairies. Presently raising a strange chant, they softly sway themselves, gradually quickening the movement, until, at length, for a few passionate moments, with throbbing bosoms and glowing cheeks, they abandon themselves to all the spirit of the dance, apparently lost to every thing around, but soon subsiding again into the same languid measure as before, they become motionless; and then reeling forward on all sides, their eyes swimming in their heads, join in one wild chorus, and sink into each others' arms—such is the Lory-Lory, I think they call it: the dance of the backsliding girls of Tamai."—*Omoa*, pp. 241—243.

It is with a feeling of relief that we bid farewell to the pages of Mr. Herman Melville, calculated as we believe them to be, to lower the tone of thought and feeling of all those who are carried away by the liveliness and good nature of their author, especially the young, and return once more to the racy and altogether delightful narrative of Dr. Coulter.

After a series of highly interesting adventures in South America and California, he left the latter country (where he had remained for his health) as guest on board the "Hound," Captain Trainer: proceeding westward, they at length reached the Kingsmill Islands, a group fourteen in number, lying between 4° north and 6° south latitude, and 172° and 178° east longitude.

"Some of the smaller islands are bare enough looking, with only scanty groups of cocoa-nut and pandanus trees; whilst others are thickly covered with thick groves, and even much underbrush, which present a very inviting aspect when near to them. Occasional coral reefs defend the shores from the swell of the sea, and some have considerable lagoons inside them, where boats can enter or even a small vessel lie safe enough, as far as regards her anchorage. However, few would be found so imprudent as to trust boat or vessel of any size into these lagoons, where they would only be surrounded by swarms of treacherous natives."—Vol. i. p. 236.

The number of inhabitants he estimates at forty thousand—both men and women are good looking, and not much darker than the inhabitants of Tahiti and the Marquesas; they are however very treacherous, and their designs upon European vessels are often organized by white men, the outcasts of Chris-

tendom, who have become domesticated among them. These men are generally either runaway convicts from Sydney or deserters from whaling vessels, and soon lose every thing of civilization except the additional capacity of mischief. They are, of course, careful to conceal themselves from their countrymen, and are therefore seldom seen or recognized. An Englishman going among the natives of either this or any other of these groups is almost sure to rise high in command; thus, at New Ireland, one was found as prime-minister to a king—at New Guinea, another had become supreme chief of a powerful tribe.

“The natives of the Kingsmill Islands have a singular superstition, that all vessels that are placed in their power are sent to them by their gods, and they are consequently in the habit of eating their crews when feasible—an unpleasant propensity it must be allowed.” He did not observe here “any trace of idols or images of any kind. There appeared to be no worship or adoration of any thing in particular, neither had they any definite idea of an hereafter.” . . . .

Polygamy is practised amongst them to a great extent.

“Licentiousness and treachery are the prominent features in the character of these savages; and it is deeply to be regretted that the periodical visits of whale ships and others encourage gross immorality on the one hand, whilst on the other, by the commission of outrageous acts, they stimulate these heathens to treacherous revenge.”—p. 213.

At Utiroo, an old chief, of the name of Wowma, came off to the vessel in a canoe.

“He was in the usual costume of the natives, that is, a small fine matting (made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut husk) round his loins, and another of coarser texture thrown over his shoulders, after the fashion of a mantle. It was quite evident that he and ‘Tainey,’ as he called the captain, were old acquaintances, and he renewed his friendship in the usual manner of this group of islands, that is, by taking a little congealed cocoa-nut oil out of a small gourd that was suspended from his left arm, and anointed the captain by rubbing it on his face. I was next introduced to old Wowma as a great man and passenger with him, and served in the same manner. . . . . The first and second mates were also oiled, and then we were considered, as the old man said, ‘all right,’ that is, his friends, and under his protection. . . . . The oil or grease with which the chiefs anoint, or rather mark their friends, is of different colours, caused by mixing up with it earths of various shades which exist on parts of the island. Sometimes pulverized charcoal or lampblack is used, so that each chief has his particular colour; and any stranger bearing on his face either white, black, brown,



red, &c., is under the protection of the chief whose colour he wears. Wowma's mark was red, and each of us bearing the marks of his four fingers and thumb, drawn from our forehead to our chin down the face, presented certainly a very comical appearance, the effect being much increased by each laughing at the other."—Vol. i. p. 197.

Thus protected, Dr. Coulter landed, and was treated with great hospitality by a young chief of the name of Hoonoo; amongst other things he procured "half a dozen young and well-looking girls," as wives for him during his stay. Our friend had great difficulty in making them believe that he did not wish for their society, and at last was obliged to leave them in possession of the hut which his host had obtained for him, and take refuge in the abode of the young chief.

He made an excursion here, during which he was stripped of his clothing; nor did the "Hound" leave these islands without an attempt, on the part of the natives, to possess themselves of the vessel and the live stock on board.

Proceeding still further west they reached New Ireland, where they were well received. The inhabitants of this island are of the Papuan race.

"The colour of their skins perfectly black; the hair of the head woolley and naturally black, but with most of them artificially white, with a quantity of chalk rubbed into it: but the form and features were very fine. . . ."

After Captain Trainer had contrived to explain to the natives, by signs, that he wished to trade with them, the king approached the vessel in a canoe.

"He was a fine, tall, middle-aged man, of most commanding appearance, black as a coal. Some of his front teeth were stained red; and round his wrist, ankles, and neck, strings of fancifully formed bone and shell ornaments were dangling. His features were truly noble; but there was no covering on his person except a small mat of fine texture, fancifully adorned with red feathers, round his loins."—Vol. i. p. 243.

With him was an Englishman of the name of Thomas Manners, a native of London, who, having become tired of a seafaring life, and having no friends alive, had requested a whale ship in which he was serving, to land him here some ten years before. He had no reason to regret his decision, being kindly treated by the people.

"In fact, he ranked high, and had nearly as much authority over the natives as the king had. He was a middle-sized man, of stout

athletic make, and his eye and aspect generally was bold and determined. His long dark hair, which would hang down on his shoulders, was coiled up on the top of his head, and made fast there by a rude kind of tortoise-shell comb. His beard was long, and rested on his chest. The fine matting he wore was hanging from his shoulders, after the manner of a cloak or mantle; encircling his neck was a fine cord formed by the platting or twisting together of cocoa-nut fibre; from it was suspended a curiously carved shell ornament, as large as an oyster. This was his badge of rank, presented to him by the sable monarch now on board. It conferred on him, I may say, absolute authority over the lower class of natives."—p. 245.

Having thus found an interpreter, the English struck up a brisk intercourse with the natives, and Dr. Coulter landed under the protection of the king Boolooma and the prince his son Rownaa, a very fine and high-spirited young warrior.

"The tabooing or rendering my person and property sacred from the hostile touch of any of his sable majesty's subjects, was performed in the following manner:—From the folds of cloth round his loins he extracted some cocoa-nut fibre sinnet which was stained red, and tied two pieces of it firmly round the stock of the gun; another piece encircled my neck as a necklace, having strung on it a small piece of pearl shell. All the time he was arranging these (to me) important matters, a continual chant of a low guttural kind was kept up by his worthy son."

The prince is thus described:—

"He was as black as his father. The hair of his head was not so carefully combed out, but matted, and stood out in points about ten or twelve inches long from his scalp, something after the manner of the long quills from the skin of an enraged porcupine; it was like all the rest of the warriors here, powdered with chalk or lime. He appeared to be about five or six-and-twenty years old, stoutly made, and of the middle height. He had also a badge of rank made of a pearl oyster shell suspended from his neck, and glistening from his black native chest. Two of his front teeth were died black, and two more adjoining red. A mere apology for a covering encircled his loins. In his hand he bore a short, heavy, partially carved paddle, which had three or four large tufts of human hair dangling from it."

During his excursion on shore, he became involved in a war, going on between Boolooma's people and an adjoining tribe. The expedition—the rescue of four warriors just about to be eaten—the retreat to the mountains before a superior force, and the final repulse of the enemy are described in a most vivid manner, and we regret much the not being able to transfer them to our pages.

Polygamy and cannibalism prevail here to an immense extent—the chiefs have great power, and are very popular—the head

chief or king frequently interferes to arrange the domestic concerns of the subjects.

"For instance, if a lazy fellow has a wife or two, and a few children, and through his love for fishing, dancing, and loitering idly about, neglects to bring in the necessary supplies for his family, a complaint is made, the chief visits the house in person, and if he sees just cause for punishment, he orders out the whole population of the village; men, women, and children, arm themselves with a stiff birch made of small canes; they then form a long double line about six feet apart, and wait with anxious glee the approach of the delinquent. At last he is placed at one end of the lines, amidst a shower of yells, screams, gibes, &c. The word is given by the chief, and away he darts, at his utmost speed, through the ranks, every one endeavouring to hit him as he passes. According to his deserts, he may get off with running the line once, or may have to do so twice or thrice; but he is skilled in running and fleetness that can run the lines even once, without having his skin tickled for him by the hearty application of the birch, wielded by some strong women. As the punishment is not of a fatal kind, the whole affair creates unrestricted merriment. If the victim is a smart fellow, he may escape with few blows; but if he is heavy, sulky, and dogged, he pays for it. Such a man comes off covered with welts on his bare skin, from his head to his heels. For one month afterwards his family are provided for by the public at large, under the fatherly superintendence of the chief. At the expiration of that time, if he has all his domestic matters in perfect order, as a good father and provident husband ought to have, he again resumes his place in society, and shortly afterwards perhaps helps, with an experienced hand, to flagellate some one else. If any man, from his faults and habits, becomes constantly annoying to society, he is expelled from his tribe and district; and if he joins another one, he does so at a disadvantage, being received only as a degraded man, he will get no wife to be his companion, and the children will scoff at him."—Vol. i. p. 279.

It would not be amiss, we think, were this custom transferred from *New* to *Old* Ireland; and *Old* England, too, would be much benefited by such an enactment.

We are sorry not to be able to extract the account of the *Kurinaa*, or native dance, and the circumstances attending it; it is highly interesting, and excessively diverting. Speaking of their religion, Dr. Coulter says:—

"Kannua, their great god, was represented by huge images of about ten feet high, made of hard wood and polished. As usual with these figures in the Pacific, the arms were placed a-kimbo, resting on the haunches; the legs were also turned inwards, and what may be termed bandy, bringing the uncouth feet in close contact, and resting on a large block of wood. The head was large in proportion to the figure; two

large eyes, made by the insertion of polished oyster shells, in the centre of which was inserted a bit of wood stained black, to answer for the pupil; a large mouth, extending open from ear to ear, displaying a range of red pegs as a substitute for teeth. The curve of the mouth, with sundry furrows and carvings about it, gave an expression of laughter to the face, and drollery to the entire image, that no one could for a moment gaze on without smiling. The locality chosen for the erection of these idols was an eminence in the deep recesses of a dark wood, the cleft of a rock in a high mountain, or the entrance of some large cave; in all cases they were mysteriously concealed by surrounding trees and shrubs, and few of them could be seen until you entered the thicket and stood within ten yards or so of the figure. They are always placed either on a rock, or a mound of stones gathered for the purpose; look like sentinels on guard, and seemed well contented with their situation, as they were invariably laughing at the surrounding scene. Some of them had been evidently placed in their respective stations a long time, as green patches of moss had grown on them, and, not unfrequently, a wild vine or creeper had entwined itself around the limbs, body, and neck, throwing out a bush or shade from either shoulder; others were inclined to one side; some forward, making a bow to the visitors; while two that I saw had fallen down, and lay at the foot of the mound in the most comical position. . . . . Whenever an idol falls, and is broken or damaged, the natives consider him not worth another visit; and say, that as he cannot any longer keep himself up, his intercession with the great Kannua would be good for nothing. . . . . On going to war or returning from it, sickness or death in a family, they present offerings to their idols, consisting both of vegetables and animals, the decomposition of which renders the neighbourhood of the image highly offensive."—Vol. ii. p. 14.

After various adventures by sea and land they reached New Britain; where they became acquainted with a singular character of the name of Selwin, a Crusoe, as Dr. Coulter calls him, whose strange history forms one of the many minor attractions of these volumes.

In course of time they arrived at New Guinea, where the adventures of the captain and doctor are even more interesting than elsewhere. It was here that they fell in with Captain Stewart, celebrated as having, on one occasion, carried a ship-load of dead bodies from one part of New Zealand to another, for a cannibal feast. Here, too, they had some amusing incidents with the Chinese traders. Here, on another occasion, they became acquainted with a young Englishman of the name of Miller, the representative of a Dutch firm, who had secured commerce for his friends, and happiness for himself, by wedding the very pleasing daughter of a native chief; and here, too, they made the friendship of that most interesting of all the *dramatis*

person of this work, Terry Connell, who, beginning life as a private soldier, and passing through the ordeal of Sydney, became at length the absolute monarch of a large and powerful tribe of the Horraforas :—

“ The Horraforas . . . . differ widely from the Papuan ; in fact, are a distinct race (having long *straight* hair, and greatly resembling the North American Indians). They are only similar in one particular, and that is, that both Papuan and Horraforas live in separate tribes, frequently speaking a different language, and, not unfrequently, one tribe of each will be at war with another of its own race. I have no proof that the Papuans are cannibals ; but I had ocular demonstration to tell me the Horraforas are,—men, women, and children. The latter have a horrible custom, I believe peculiar to themselves ; a young man, before he can possess his bride, must present her with a human head, which must not be mutilated, but, on careful examination of it by her family, bear the true marks and ornaments of one of an enemy. For this purpose, two or three young men who wish to have a wife, will start off in the direction of the enemy's tribe, and be out, perhaps, two months, skulking about, before they can surprise one of the enemy, and possess themselves of the desired head, which, when obtained, is carefully enveloped in damp leaves, then a deep covering of grass, and rolled over and over with twine or cord made of cocoa-nut fibre sinnet, so that it looks like a large ball. In the march home it is frequently dipped in water, to prevent decomposition as much as possible, until the presentation of it to the family of the intended bride. I happened to see two young men, who had been nearly three months away, return after an expedition of this kind. They certainly must have been greatly attached to their sweethearts, for their sufferings were great ; patches of their skin were torn off by the bushes, portions of it raised in large blisters, by being obliged to lie hours in the grass under a burning sun, lest they might be seen. Sundry bites of snakes about the legs ; in fact, they had suffered much, and traversed a distance of nearly three hundred miles, not on a railroad, or with shoes on, but on their naked feet, over a rough, ragged, barbarous country, all for love.”  
—Vol. ii. p. 173.

Connell likewise informed them of the following more pleasing circumstances attending a Horrafora courtship :—

“ After the young man had presented the skull of an enemy, procured, as I have before stated, at great personal risk, he became the accepted suitor ; but, as it were, the beauty of the affair consisted in the young man sending a leaf off one of the trees they build their houses in, with a small cord, made of his own long hair, attached to the stem of the leaf, to the young woman. She obtains one of a similar size, places them together, and makes both fast with a cord of hair, and sends it back to the young man. This very innocent transaction is,

on the girl's part, as much as to say, 'I have not changed my mind, the affair is settled.' On their appearance before the chief, this, as it were nuptial-tie and agreement, is held up to him, when he summarily ends the ceremony, as I have before stated, in Connell's words—viz. 'Och, as for that, it's short and sweet, it's by my ordhers only, and all I say is, when I get them all in twos (I never marries less than two couples at a time), away with yees all, be lovin, and live together.' " —p. 214.

From the continual dangers to which they are exposed, these people are in the habit of building their sleeping-rooms in the upper branches of large trees, where, by removing their ladders, they are in perfect safety.

"After close observation and much inquiry," says Dr. Coulter, "as to the religion of the Horraforas, the only conclusion that I could arrive at was, that they had none. They had a superstitious awe of lightning and thunder, and would not move on any war expedition, either day or night, as long as it lasted. The volcanoes that abound in the interior of this great island seemed also to attract their superstitious fears; and they formed some idea that an angry spirit, or departed great chief, was inside it pitching out the fire. A clouded sun often caused gloom over them, so much so, that they would scarcely move out of their nests in the trees until it shone out cloudless. Moonlight seemed to delight them all, and they hailed any unusual brightness as a good omen; but as to any direct Spirit, or image, to pay distinct adoration to, they had none."—Vol. ii. p. 254.

"What a rich country," says our author, "and extensive one, do these people possess! And how happy they might be, if they had only Christianity spread amongst them, and engraven on their hearts, that they might dwell in peace and brotherly love! On the other hand, I do not know how a Missionary could remain amongst them, as the imperative law of every tribe, both Papuan and Horrafora, is, that every man in the tribe must be a warrior, take his turn with the scouts, either fight, or be armed, and ready to do so. If this (I may say) rigid law is infringed upon by any man, he is instantly disgraced in his tribe, hunted clear of the line of scouts, where he is captured by another tribe, sold as a slave, or, if he resists, killed and eaten. This is a great bar against the residing amongst these savages of the mild and meek Minister of the Word of God. I rather think that an armed colony of Christians, in goodly numbers, must first plant themselves on the shores of New Guinea, and show and teach these ferocious barbarians the decided superiority of a Christian community over the heathen tribes, in every relation of life."—Vol. ii. p. 187.

"It is a pity," adds he afterwards, "that there is no European Christian settlement on so large an island. I should say the northern side, from its rocky shore and high land, would be the most healthy site for a colony."—p. 263.

The country is rich, possessing great mineral wealth, and abounding in bays, harbours, and large rivers.

In concluding this subject, we cannot avoid expressing our grief, not devoid of shame, that notwithstanding the wealth, the power, the enterprize, and the enlightenment of England, the islands of this vast ocean are still for the most part lying under the curse of heathenism, or left to the exertion of men who, whatever be their merits, are unable to consecrate the Holy Eucharist, or administer the ordinances of the Church; but, alas! in most places the name of "The Crucified" is altogether unknown, or heard of merely as the distinctive appellation of the murderer, the robber, and the destroyer. We should gladly hail some great national attempt to remove this disgrace from our Church and people. Why should not a *truly* Christian colony be founded in New Guinea by the aims of churchmen, carrying out at once a model community consisting of useful artisans, agricultural labourers, traders, farmers, and *gentlemen*, under the supremacy of a bishop, accompanied by a staff of Missionary clergy, sufficient to spread the glad tidings of peace and salvation by slow, but sure degrees, over the whole of the countless islands of the beautiful, but, alas! the heathen POLYNESIA!

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- ART. IV.—1. *Essays and Sermons.* By the Rev. HENRY WOODWARD, A.M., formerly of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Rector of Fethard, in the Diocese of Cashel. 2 Vols. London: Duncan, 1845. *Fourth Edition.*
2. *The Shunammite.* By the Same. 2 Vols. London: Duncan.
3. *Some Passages of my Former Life.* By the Same. Dublin: M'Glashan, 1847.
4. *Short Readings; Essays; and Sermons.* By the Same. London: Hatchards, 1848.

THE policy of the Church of Rome is in no instance, perhaps, more apparent than in the scope which she provides for ardent minds, and in the liberty at which she leaves men to pursue their own mental course, provided the one point be secured, of loyal devotion to the interests of their Church. With us, if men differ from one another, their differences rend the Church. In the Roman Church men may differ widely on a variety of important particulars, and yet all that is great and powerful and influential in their thoughts and writings may subserve the one great end—the welfare and unity of that Church.

We plead guilty to some yearnings after power like this, rightly exercised, when we take into our hands one of Mr. Woodward's volumes. We long for the power which could leave free exercise to the talents, the originality, the deep spirituality of this distinguished man, and which could, at the same time, prevent his ever giving utterance to any thing at variance with Catholic truth.

In a brief publication, which we have placed No. 3 at the head of this article, Mr. Woodward has given us a touching insight into some of the circumstances of his life; and has, likewise, afforded us considerable assistance in forming our opinion of his works. He was, in a word, the subject of very sudden religious impressions. And if, to certain of our readers, there may appear somewhat of enthusiasm in this most interesting narrative, we must remember, that above forty years, as we believe, of a life spent in the most unworldly and self-denying piety—the prompt refusal, moreover, if report speak true, of various honours, such as most men ardently pursue—bear witness to the depth and permanence of Mr. Woodward's convictions. We must however, by the way, remark, that there is to us abundance of evidence scattered throughout the pages of these volumes, that Mr. Woodward's mind was early impressed with a deep sense of religious things; that the example and training of his honoured father, "Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne, at that time the most distin-



guished prelate on the Irish bench," were not lost upon him; and that, above all, to his baptism into Christ's holy Church, he was indebted in a manner which renders certain (few, we admit, and passing) references to that blessed Sacrament, on the part of Mr. Woodward, matter, to his most cordial admirers, of deep and sorrowful regret.

Mr. Woodward's early course, his subsequent friendship with his relative and patron Archbishop Brodrick, (ΥΨΗΛΟΤΑΤΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΒΙΩΝ ΤΑΙΕΙΝΟΤΑΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΩ ΦΡΟΝΗΜΑΤΙ,) with Alexander Knox, and Bishop Jebb; these, combined with the mode in which certain impressions reached his mind, gave to his opinions a tone wholly at variance, in many important particulars, with the favourite doctrines of the so-called Evangelical party in the Church. This difference has remained unaltered. And while we freely admit, that certain statements of Mr. Woodward's may be claimed as favouring the position and sentiments of Low Churchmen, we are confident that all candid men will readily acknowledge, that on the one great point of the *Articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesie*—on the subject of popular religion and of religious institutions—on the subject of Roman Catholic piety, and of the mode of dealing with members of the Church of Rome—that on these, and on various other topics, which, alas! divide our Church, Mr. Woodward's sentiments would gain but little favour at Exeter Hall, or on the platforms of the Evangelical world.

That there are statements, here and there throughout these pages, which we are at a loss to reconcile, and which we believe to be wholly inconsistent with the general tone and tenour of Mr. Woodward's works, we must candidly assert. We give, as an instance, some passages in the Essay No. VIII. in the volume which has just issued from the press. In that Essay Mr. Woodward's object is to deprecate a slavish adherence to antiquity, and specially a revival of certain obsolete usages. He begins with an amusing illustration, for which we have not space, and which we only notice for the purpose of reminding Mr. Woodward, that, singularly ingenious as his illustrations generally are, illustration is not, necessarily, argument; nay, that the effect of an illustration is, often, to deceive the mind, and, through very speciousness, to involve it in inextricable error. After referring to this taste for the revival of obsolete customs, our author proceeds:

"But what I lament is, that a spirit should have been evoked, whose great anxiety is to set the lees and dregs afloat, to shake the vessel, and bring the sediment to the surface. Here, I am convinced, the *summum jus* is the *summa injuria*, and that straining at gnats may give us camels to swallow. Allow the stickler for rigid form to be right, one by one, in each trifling matter of detail, he is wrong in the proportion

of zeal and labour which he expends upon them. He may be right in paying his tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin; but if his heart be narrowed up in these, it cannot expand itself to the breadth of the 'weightier matters of the law,—judgment, mercy, and faith.'—p. 282.

So far all must be agreed. These general views none can possibly disapprove. But we are anxious for an instance to which these general principles are applicable. We confess, then, that the mode in which the Essay proceeds to its termination, is not, in our judgment, worthy of Mr. Woodward's candour, sagacity, or erudition. The whole of the rest of the Essay is devoted to a discussion of certain points connected with Infant Baptism. Our author does not say in so many words,—he dare not, even were he so inclined, which, there is evidence to prove, he is not,—that Holy Baptism, or the doctrine of our Regeneration in that blessed Sacrament, presents an instance of "overweening value set on forms and circumstantial and positive institutions."—p. 285. No: but Mr. Woodward introduces the subject of Holy Baptism so as to give it all the appearance of being one of these revived antiquities, in a manner which the opponents of the great divines of our own Church will hail with considerable satisfaction. Immediately after the passage which we have quoted above, the Essay thus proceeds:—

"And, in this connexion, I cannot but make the following observation:—Presumptuous as is the manner in which some depreciate baptism, and inconsistent as it seems in a churchman to deny that infants may receive the regenerating Grace of God in that appointed Sacrament; yet, unless this latter doctrine be held with a full admission that the adult transgressor, living without God, requires as entire and radical a change as if he had not been baptized at all; in that case, such a notion seems to me to extract the very marrow, and to evacuate the very essence of the Gospel revelation."—pp. 282, 283.

We are not to be drawn aside into a discussion of the fundamental doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. We regret that Mr. Woodward should adopt the plan, common with superficial controversialists, of himself stating the arguments which he would combat. If he will enter the lists of controversy, let him quote chapter and verse of his opponent, and then we shall be able to pronounce upon the weakness or strength of his attacks. But we mean it as no bad compliment to our author, when we assert that, in our judgment, controversy is not his fort; it is evidently not his congenial element. He seldom engages in it, and we rejoice that it is so: when he does, his good genius forsakes him. He is suited to other and higher things. And as a specimen of his powers we would point to Essay No. I. in his last volume. We do not remember on that vexata quæstio, "the cessation of

miracles in the Church," to have seen, within the same space, so much ingenuity, combined with such sober and solid argument.

But the most striking point in Mr. Woodward's writings, the point which most excites our admiration, and, we trust, improves our hearts, is the high and elevated standard of holiness which he ever places before us—the deeply-practical tendency of all his thoughts, even of those which, to unimagined minds, may seem to savour of paradox and speculation. In the midst of all, the one thing needful is never, for one moment, lost sight of. No writer more continually directs our views upwards: nor are we acquainted with any, who aids us more, by his counsel and experience, in the arduous ascent which leads to "glory and honour and immortality."

We wish we had room for many extracts; we must content ourselves with one.

"Nor is this the only instance in which our own inward misgivings, our vain imaginings, and groundless fears, may be made to work together for our own good. I believe that in the case of those who lead a more interior life, God in his mercy often causes the fear of evils to administer the corrective chastening, that the evils themselves are employed in other instances to carry out. Thus, if the loss of friends be in its nature calculated to wean us from the world, I believe that the timid and anxious mind, the spirit which is 'over-exquisite to shape the fashion of uncertain ill,' the too-fond heart which in every trifling ailment, in every change of look, in every transient flutter of the pulse, in every wind that visits the face of one much-loved too roughly, sees the first symptom or distant approaches of that which may increase and gather strength to lay that idol in the dust—the man so constituted, I say, will often derive from those fears all the discipline, and all the weaning from earth, and all the persuasives to cast himself upon God, that he could derive from the actual realization of those fears. It is thus with the person who is morbidly and painfully watchful of his own health, and harassed by the thoughts of imaginary diseases. It is thus with the man who is careful about many things, and who sees 'poverty as an armed man' ready to invade his dwelling. These, and many like, are the vain shadows in which men walk severally, as the complexion of their minds may be; and these often serve the purposes of those substances whose shapes they take. They are overruled by a merciful Providence, so that the threatening interposes and wards off the blow itself; the apprehension averts the evil of which it gave a false alarm. I remember, in former days, one saying to me, when depressed, as I often was, with vain imaginations, 'Depend upon it, what is thus feared will never come.' I do not recollect how that person reasoned upon the subject, or whether this opinion was formed merely from an extensive knowledge of mankind; but it seems to me that this saying, so replete with encouragement to the morbidly appre-

hensive, is fully borne out by the principle here set forth, namely, that the fear of any evil, if that fear be impressed with a certain intensity upon the mind, and if that mind be under the good guidance of God, will turn off the evil it contemplates. For God does not grieve willingly, nor lay on one stripe more than the case requires. And if the apprehension which goes before the stroke be so lively, nay, so exaggerated an image of the thing it dreads, that it produces all the effects, or more than the effects, of the calamity itself, He who does nothing in vain, will not afflict merely for afflicting sake.

“Let us then turn this consideration to practical account. If thoughts of trials and sorrows to come invade the heart, let us ask ourselves what purposes those afflictions are calculated to serve, what lessons they are designed to teach. Let us meet those intentions, let us learn those lessons. Let us endeavour to avoid, to practise, and to be, whatever this warning voice would tell us to avoid, to practise, and to be. Let us endeavour to assume the shape into which the plastic hand of a chastening God would mould us. Let us turn our vain imaginings to good account. And let us comfort ourselves with the assurance that God will load us with no useless burdens; and that, if by His grace assisting us, we purify our hearts from sin, He will be more anxious than we ourselves that we may be saved from the refining process of the furnace of affliction.”—pp. 377—379.

We now take our leave of Mr. Woodward, with unfeigned respect for his character, his virtues, and his talents. We trust that his voice may reach many at this side of the channel, and urge them onwards in the race of holiness. We hail his voice with the greater admiration, and the more respectful welcome, when we remember that it issues from the far-famed county of Tipperary, that land of turmoil and of blood. From that same county, if we mistake not, it was our happiness to welcome, a few years ago, the voice of one of Mr. Woodward's earliest friends, the late-lamented and venerated Bishop Jebb. Such facts are full of encouragement. They remind us vividly of principles, which no discouragements can silence; of a communion of saints, which “the craft and subtilty of the devil, or man,” cannot interrupt. And if amidst our admiration of Mr. Woodward's writings, and our substantial agreement with the greater portion of what flows from his pen, certain points arise with which we cannot possibly concur, we trust that, in respect of these, we may, without presumption, borrow the language of the distinguished prelate, to whom we have just referred—“I doubt not that one moment of the light of eternity will clear up every difficulty; and we shall find ourselves to be ἐν τῷ πνεύματι μιᾷ ψυχῇ, (Phil. i. 27,) or, as it is yet more pithily expressed in the same epistle, (ii. 2,) σύμψυχοι, τὸ ἐν φρονοῦντες.”—*Forster's Life of Bishop Jebb*, vol. ii. pp. 464-5.

ART. V.—1. *The Bull "IN CœNÂ DOMINI" translated into English, with a short Historical Introduction; and evidence of its present validity, as part of the Roman law, and of its recognition by the Romish Hierarchy in Ireland. Published for the NATIONAL CLUB. London: Hatchard, 1848.*

2. *A Letter to the EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY on the Bull "IN CœNÂ DOMINI," by the EDITOR OF THE BULL, as published for the NATIONAL CLUB. London: Hatchard, 1848.*

3. *Papal Diplomacy and the Bull "IN CœNÂ DOMINI;" or a Collection of authentic Facts and Documents, proving that the principles of the Bull "IN CœNÂ DOMINI" are the only principles of international law recognized by the Papacy. By the EDITOR OF THE BULL, as published for the NATIONAL CLUB. London: Hatchard, 1848.*

THESE three publications, which have been put forth in rapid succession during the first two months of the present year, have for their object to supply the public with authentic information on the character of the papacy. The measures which have been brought under the consideration of the legislature this session,—Mr. Anstey's "Roman Catholic Relief" Bill, on the one hand, the ministerial "Diplomatic Relations" Bill, on the other hand,—being calculated, in the most direct manner, to deliver this country over into the hands of the papacy, the National Club has done good service to the people of England, by giving them the means of judging for themselves of the character of the power which claims unlimited licence to run riot in the land, and official recognition, denied to it for the last three centuries, by the British Crown. Want of space compels us to confine our remarks to a brief sketch of the contents of these eminently seasonable publications, which their extremely low price places within the reach of all; while the manner in which the subject is treated, makes the intricacies of Romish law and diplomacy intelligible to the ordinary reader. We should add, however, that, as the titles of No. 1 and No. 3 indicate, they are of a strictly documentary character; and No. 2, though polemical in form, is in substance nothing more than an appendix to No. 1, rendered necessary by the exceedingly weak attempt of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey to invalidate the facts demonstrated in No. 1. There is not, in

any of the three pamphlets any of that mere declamation—*vox et præterea nihil*—which is so often employed by the champions of the Protestant cause, and which has done that cause more harm than good. We have here to do with facts and documents; the whole is a sober and searching inquiry into the laws and the diplomacy of Rome.

No. 1, called forth by Mr. Anstey's Bill, confines itself to the examination of the papal system, as it bears upon the internal relations of a country whose faith and constitution is opposed to popery, and in which the popish hierarchy has obtained an extensive footing. In the historical introduction with which it opens, it is shown that the true principles of the papacy, as a system of pretended ecclesiastical supremacy over all Christendom, are to be found in the Bull "*In Cœnâ Domini*," the Magna Charta and Bill of Rights, so to speak, of the papacy. Having traced the bull through its different forms and stages from the time of Boniface VIII., the editor sums up the result of his investigation by saying: (p. 8) "Thus it appears, that the Bull *Cœnæ* is, in fact, a collection of all that was deemed most important for the advancement and maintenance of the power of the papacy; as its pretensions increased, so the Bull *Cœnæ*, or form of excommunication, annually republished, of all that ventured to oppose the extravagant claims of the Roman See, grew more and more bulky, till at last it assumed the form in which it has now continued for two centuries and a half; being, to use the expression of a Roman Canonist, 'the chiefest and firmest pillar' of papal usurpation."

The history of the Bull is followed by a translation of the latest edition of it, which was published by Clement XIII., in the year 1759; and which is substantially, and almost *verbatim*, the same as that published by Clement VIII., in the year 1593. For the extraordinary collection of anathemas which it contains, and which are hurled not only at those who differ from the Romish Church in matters of faith, but against every act of jurisdiction in Church matters which is exercised by any temporal power, Roman Catholic or Protestant, and against every resistance, legislative, judicial, or otherwise, to the extravagant claims of the Roman See; as well as for the no less extraordinary provisions by which the perpetual and universal validity of the Bull is, as far as it is in the power of the papacy to do so, secured, and the papacy itself precluded from ever revoking or annulling it,—we must refer our readers to the document itself.

Next after the translation of the Bull, No. 1 contains irrefragable proofs, taken from unquestionable and acknowledged authorities on the Roman Canon law, of the present validity of

the Bull; and, in a second section, equally conclusive evidence, again drawn from the acknowledged standards of the Romish Church, that the Bull is recognized by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland, and that its principles are incorporated "with their system of doctrine and of diocesan government." The objection that Roman Catholic prelates have, before parliamentary committees, upon their oaths denied the validity of the Bull in Ireland, is met on the one hand by the undeniable fact, that their own Guide-Book to Confessors contains its provisions, even those directed against Protestant "princes and governors," in so many words, and in the form of quotations from the Bull; and, on the other hand, by reference to the reservations as to the obligation of oaths, contained in the Roman Catholic class-books of casuistry; whence the legitimate inference is, that "however inconsistent the statements upon oath of the Roman Catholic bishops may be with the facts of the case, the making those statements,—and that in their own view of the matter conscientiously,—is not inconsistent with the principles of their Church."

The practical conclusion, resulting from the evidence placed before the public, is suggested at the close of the pamphlet in the form of questions; in answer to which, we have no hesitation in stating our conviction, that it is impossible "for any covenant to subsist between a Church holding the principles of the Bull '*In Cœnâ Domini*' as fundamental principles of her constitution, and a state accounted heretical by that Church, and excommunicated, with all its constituted authorities, spiritual and temporal, by that Bull;" that "loyalty to such a state is incompatible with allegiance to such a Church;" and that "the prevalence of outrage and sedition in Ireland is justly attributable to the inculcation of the principles of the Bull '*In Cœnâ Domini*' into the minds of the priests, and, through them, of the population at large."

No. 2 is, as we have already intimated, a vindication of No. 1 against certain sophistries put forth by the Romanists, under shelter of Lord Arundel's name and fair fame. The editor of the Bull, in answering his lordship, has taken care to distinguish between the noble earl himself and his arguments,—between the Roman Catholic laity and the hierarchy of the Romish Church,—between the inconsistency of the former and the bad faith of the latter. The refutation is complete; and not only disposes satisfactorily of all the points raised against the evidence in No. 1, but demolishes some new fallacies, intended to disprove the present validity of the Bull, which were imported into the argument by Lord Arundel's pamphlet.

No. 3 is, as the last, so the most important of the three publications. It was called forth by that legislative abortion, the ministerial bill for legalizing diplomatic intercourse between the British crown and the "Sovereign Pontiff." The nature of its contents will be best explained by the following outline of the argument :

" 1. To show,—not now from the principles and provisions of Roman Canon law, but from historical facts and international transactions,—that in spite of all the opposition which it had to encounter, the papacy has continued to uphold the Bull "*In Cœnâ Domini*" as the great charter of what is called the liberty and immunity of the Church, but what in reality is the usurpation and tyranny of Rome.

" 2. To show, by reference to the legislative enactments of different countries,—even of those countries which have been foremost in their support of the Romish faith,—that all the states which ever acknowledged the pope, or had dealings with him, found themselves compelled, in self-defence, to adopt stringent measures against the intrusions and encroachments of the papacy.

" 3. To show, by reference to diplomatic documents, that Rome is, internationally considered, in a position unparalleled in the history of the world,—refusing to acknowledge the principles of international law by which the conduct of all other powers is regulated, and propounding principles of international law of its own, which are no other than the principles of the Bull "*In Cœnâ Domini*," and which no state, Roman Catholic or Protestant, can recognize, without at once sacrificing its own sovereignty and independence."

Under the first head we have a complete history of the resistance which the Bull encountered every where from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries down to the present day, and of the insidious means taken again and again by the Romish hierarchy for introducing it, and diffusing its principles ; and, among other striking facts, proof of the express recognition of the continued validity of the Bull in 1800 by Pius VII. Under the second head the editor of the Bull has collected a great mass of information touching the legislative provisions adopted against papal encroachments generally in the different states of Europe, exhibiting the remarkable fact, that the most stringent regulations against the papacy have been adopted in those countries which are most thoroughly popish. The information is arranged under three heads : 1. The royal *Placet* necessary for the publication of papal rescripts ; 2. the limitation imposed upon papal ambassadors in different states, and upon the intercourse of their Roman Catholic subjects with the pope ; 3. the oath of allegiance required of Roman Catholic subjects, and the reservations introduced into the oath of allegiance to the pope, taken by the Roman Catholic hierarchy.



But the most extraordinary part of the information thrown together in this pamphlet, and that which will surprise our readers as much as it has surprised ourselves, is the fact, proved by documentary evidence in the third section, that the papacy is by solemn protests, renewed from time to time, from the peace of Westphalia to the Congress of Vienna, exempt from the obligation of acknowledging a single jot or tittle of all the international settlements in Europe, for the last two hundred years; and that the papacy has reserved to itself by another series of solemn protests, the last of which was placed on record by Gregory XVI. in 1831, the right of disallowing the title of any of the sovereigns and powers of Europe with which it may have had, no matter for how long a time, diplomatical dealings. This section further contains valuable documentary information as to the tendency manifested by the papacy since the pacification of Europe, and the mischiefs which it has already done by its interference, every where, with national politics. A volume of official documents just presented to parliament, touching the late struggle in Switzerland, has supplied the editor with interesting materials on this part of his case.

The argument is wound up by evidence equally strong, of the *animus* of the papacy towards England, and of the results which the papists themselves anticipate from the legislative changes adopted or proposed, with a view to increase the power and influence of the papacy in this country.

We can recommend this pamphlet with confidence to those of our readers who are desirous of obtaining an insight into the whole question of church and state on the Continent. The care and caution which foreign diplomacy has found it essential to employ in its dealings with Rome, is indeed most distinctly shown in the pages before us; and most singular is the contrast which our homespun diplomacy in England, in reference to the same subject, presents.

The objects of our poor statesmen here are, indeed, plain enough. They imagine that every one does not see through their transparent pretences of "the expediency of holding diplomatic intercourse with a state situated in the centre of Europe, where many English reside, and where *information* may be obtained, &c.!" As if it were possible for a moment to avoid seeing that the real object is to obtain influence over the Irish Romanists, and bend them to the will of government by the influence of the pope! Ireland is the great difficulty of English statesmen, because they do not know how to govern it. They cannot conceive the idea of any thing else but the "English constitution" in that country; and therefore they are at their wit's end, and would most thankfully pay the Romish priests, establish the papacy in the plenitude of its

power,—ay, we believe, pay *Peter's pence*, and go on a pilgrimage to Rome and kiss the Pope's toe, if they could find a way to keep Ireland in order. It is the calamity of this country, that all her statesmen are, as politicians, without any settled principles either religious or political; and the consequence is an uninterrupted series of measures in favour of every active and clamorous sect of religionists in the country, and a more and more distinct avowal, on the part of the state, of its indifference to all forms of religion.

Amidst such utter prostration of political and religious principle, Romanism might seem to have a fair prospect of obtaining in time all the objects of its ambition. The papacy itself might seem to have before it the certainty of holding one country at least in which the anathemas of the Bull *Cœnæ* might be published with impunity, and in which its powers of all kinds might disclose themselves into full maturity; but in the mean time the poor craft of our statesmen, and the rejoicings of Rome may be set at nought by that power which Rome itself has been so busy in raising up. We shall see whether the church of Rome will be able, according to Father Ventura's suggestion, not merely "to turn towards the Democracy," but to "*baptize* that wild matron, and *Christianize* her!" We shall see whether Pius IX. will be able to concede all that democracy demands; for if he does not—FAREWELL TO THE PAPACY!

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- ART. VI.—1. *Brownson's Quarterly Review, New Series, No. I. January, 1847; No. IV. October, 1847.* Boston (U.S.): Benjamin Greene.
2. *The Dublin Review, No. XLIV. July, 1847; No. XLVI. January, 1848.* London: Richardsons.

THAT the English Church has for upwards of a century been deprived of her ordinary and legal powers of deciding controversies of doctrine and discipline, by the arbitrary interference of the royal prerogative, is one of those facts which have not been borne in mind by those who have objected to the Church the controversies, parties, and dissensions which have so lamentably prevailed amongst us within the last half century. Or if this fact has been remembered at all, it has been rather with a feeling of indignation at the suffering Church, than at the government which has injured her. The "slavery of the Church to the State" has been the ground on which odium has been excited against her. It has been the chosen theme of dissenters and of Romanists, who are always, however, the first to *resist* any attempt on the part of churchmen to put an end to such a state of things. Of course, where no recognized tribunal exists for the settlement of rising controversies, they become permanent, and give birth to parties in the Church; and it is from this cause, we believe, more than any other, that many individuals have been led astray by the specious theories of Romanism, and its high professions of an infallible certainty in all matters of faith—a living authority ever at hand to pronounce on all matters of controversy—and a unity which precludes the possibility of the slightest difference in faith amidst her adherents.

To enter the communion of the Church of Rome is, according to the promises of its admirers, to exchange the most painful uncertainty on all religious questions for a heavenly calm and peace in which all doubt and questioning is at an end, while the blissful soul floats in a sort of Elysium, listening to the voice of the oracle which ever and anon delivers its inspired responses. Well! we who remain here below, hearkening to all that is told us of the Paradise to which we are invited, might be at times almost

persuaded out of our senses by the assurances delivered with so much eagerness on all sides—did we not recollect certain “awkward facts”—which repress our tendencies to poetry and romance in religion; and leave us, notwithstanding all that we hear, in that belief which we have inherited from our pious forefathers.

It would be of course a very desirable and convenient thing to possess a tribunal which could *infallibly* decide on matters of controversy, and to have St. Peter himself with his full apostolic authority and inspiration presiding in the Church. This is all very good indeed; but then the only question is, Suppose that the whole doctrine is a *mistake*, what benefit do we derive from the theory? And then comes that very awkward question—an old one which has been answered, but never answered satisfactorily—How comes it that the Church of Rome cannot agree where this infallible tribunal is to be found? We are not going to enter on this question, or to remark on the answers which have been given; because our business is not at this moment with any of the controversies of former times, but with one which has arisen in our own day, and which is in our view the most momentous in its bearing on the questions between Romanism and its opponents that has ever yet been seen.

Our readers are, we presume, tolerably familiar with the theory of development, which, some years previous to Mr. Newman's departure from the Church, had been fabricated or adopted by that ingenious and subtle thinker, and had become the distinctive mark of all his partizans. For three or four years before this party forsook the communion of the Church, we had been met, in every direction, by this doctrine of development, which was sometimes mentioned in a sort of mysterious way in conversation, and sometimes was a kind of under-current in the mind, which could only faintly be discerned. Yet the theory had not fairly appeared before the public. We sought in vain for it. We were referred indeed to De Maistre and Möhler; but their expressions were little more than *obiter dicta*, and lacked all that kind of definitiveness and detail which might have sufficed to account for the general spread of the notion amongst men of no particular ability or originality of mind. The mystery, however, was solved by the appearance of Mr. Newman's work on development; a work which gave evidence of long thought upon the subject. It was plain that the notion must have been *for years* working in the author's mind; and the elaborate Essay which for the first time brought it before the public in a systematic form, bears evidence of protracted researches and vast literary labour. It was here at a glance that one could see the teaching which had *for years*, in

private, influenced the opinions of the school which the highly-gifted author had gathered under his protection, and which had followed him with a prostration of faith scarcely less than if its object had been actually inspired.

The "Essay on Development" was the author's explanation of his grounds for seeking the communion of the Church of Rome, and forsaking that of England. It was learned, ingenious, brilliant, and, in the opinion of Mr. Newman's followers, demonstrative. The accession of so distinguished a leader to the Romish communion was hailed with rapturous delight; which was for a time kept up to "fever heat" by the train of young gentlemen, and ladies, who for a time followed the example of their master. In the excitement of the moment, it was conceived by Romanists all over Europe that the whole Church of England was on the point of turning Roman Catholic; and woeful, we believe, has been the disappointment which has ensued, and sore the irritation of many, both converts and others, on surveying the actual numerical force of the recent converts to Romanism. We will not do more than allude passingly to this however. On the appearance of the "Essay on Development," all was rejoicing in the Romish communion. The author had been already announced by leading Romanists as the ablest living theologian, not merely amongst "Anglicans," but in all Europe. When his work made its appearance, an article in the "Dublin Review," attributed to Dr. Wiseman, described it as "the process of reasoning by which the author's powerful and well-stored mind was brought to a full accordance with catholic truth," and declared that "*the catholic system* is embraced" in it "with the fervour and *simpli-*city of one trained from infancy to the faith." Dr. Gillis, Vicar Apostolic at Edinburgh, delivered a course of public *Lectures* on the work; explaining it, as we learnt from a letter in the "Tablet," "to the comprehension of the humblest and least instructed, as well as to the admiration and charin of his more favoured auditors." On the author's progress through the continent to Rome, he was every where received with marks of the most profound respect. At Paris we learn from the "Univers" that he was received with "marks of tender cordiality by Monsignor the Apostolic Nuncio, and Monsignor the Archbishop of Paris." This "celebrated child of the Church" excited equal interest at Langres, where "forty or fifty members of the clergy had the honour of being presented to him;" and where he was received by the bishop "with the ardour and cordiality of a brother:" in fine, this "*Avant-Courier*, dispatched by England in order to announce to Rome her return to the faith of her forefathers," was received at Rome with the utmost *empressement* by Pius IX. The

meeting of these two eminent personages by accident in St. Peter's, was described as an event of historical importance. We afterwards heard of the favours bestowed on the author of the "Essay on Development"—the crucifix which the "holy father" presented to him—the visit "incognito" which he received from the Pope—the mission which was entrusted to his honoured hands of conveying the Bulls erecting new Romish sees in England. To talk of the writings of so eminent a person being put in the "Index Expurgatorius," would, of course, be an absurdity. His Essay has been universally praised and admired; and two translations of the work into French, testify the interest which it has excited, and the extent to which its principles are spreading.

The "Dublin Review," which is the leading organ of the Romanists of the United Kingdom, not only applauded the "Essay on Development" in its publication, but has steadily continued to advocate the views and principles of that ingenious work.

It is, in truth, a very curious and striking fact,—and one which, perhaps, can scarcely be paralleled in the history of the Romish Church, that a convert from what she deems an heretical community, should, in the bosom of that community, have devised a theory, which, after being rejected by the Church in which it was first propounded, should be received, with open arms, by the Roman Church herself. Mr. Newman has carried his theory of development, and his *school* of development along with him; and the doctrines of this new *school* have gained undisputed possession of the leading Romish periodical of the day. A large proportion of the articles in that periodical are written by recent converts—disciples of Mr. Newman; and their fundamental doctrines, embracing the whole of his theory, are familiarly recognized in every number. In point of fact, the theory of development bids fair, under the auspices of Mr. Newman and his friends, openly supported as they are by Dr. Wiseman and the "Dublin Review," to gain a permanent ascendancy in the Romish communion.

We can certainly hardly imagine a position more gratifying to the learned author of this theory, than to feel himself thus wonderfully constituted the guide and instructor of the Roman Catholic world. The tribute offered to the merit of his discoveries, by their adoption by a Church, invested, as he believes, with infallibility, must more than repay his friends for any slight which they may have experienced elsewhere; and we should imagine that, in such an unprecedented chain of circumstances, they may find new grounds for the veneration with which they have long followed the steps of their master. It is truly remarkable, that a recent convert from "Anglicanism" should be enabled to establish a great system of theological argument on behalf of Romanism,

which has been unknown to all her chief theologians. Not to speak of such familiar names of Romish divines as Wiseman, Milner, Doyle, Husenbeth, Lingard, Kenrick, Berington, and Kirk; or again, of such writers as Trévern, Bouvier, La Mennais, De la Luzerne, Fraysinnotis, Perrone—the whole body of eminent theologians of former times, such as Bossuet, Bellarmine, Valentia, Cano, and more than we can find space to name, are, after all, mere sciolists in comparison with the school which, in the nineteenth century, has undertaken to devise a new system of defence for Romanism; and which, in so doing, has broken down all the systems on which it has hitherto been maintained.

Development, like free trade, is a sweeping theory; it sweeps away every thing: the whole old system of Romish controversy is gone when the new theory is admitted.

In the nineteenth century changes are so rife that scarcely any thing ought to surprise us. We have lived to see a *sans culotte* pope; and we suppose that, after all, we have been perhaps mistaken in imagining that the Church of Rome is disinclined to change her doctrine, and to adopt novelties. Perhaps, after all, we have been deceiving ourselves in believing the hitherto uninterrupted declarations of all Romanists, whether learned or unlearned, that their doctrine is unalterable and invariable. The cordial and unsuspecting reception which the theory of development, propounded by Mr. Newman and his disciples, has met in Romish Europe, gives, we confess, a significance which we had never before attached to the declarations of politicians, that Rome is no longer what she was; and that popery is fast approximating to protestantism and “liberality of views.”

We protest that we are almost inclined to believe this when we look at the applause with which the “Essay on Development” has been received, and the actual position it has gained in the Romish communion, as a recognized and avowed doctrine; and then see *what* this doctrine is—in its foundation and its superstructure.

The theory of development is, in its foundation, a most striking act of *homage to truth*. It is a bold and frank confession, that the simple facts of history or tradition are at variance with Romanism; that the doctrine and discipline of the early Church were different from those of Romanism: it is a theory to explain the variations between primitive Christianity and popery. And this comes from no hostile source: it is the painful conviction of minds which have laboured for years in studies which Romanists themselves have regarded with admiration, and which *ought* certainly to render them no very incompetent judges on such matters,—of minds which are profoundly attached to Romanism, in its very

utmost excess of superstition. The very men, whose reason tells them that there are great and important differences between Romanism and primitive Christianity, are so earnest in their adoption of the worship of that Church, that they exceed in their language of adoration of the Saints or the Virgin Mary the most earnest Romanists, and can even blame them for the lukewarmness of their devotions.

Such concessions, then, as we have referred to, have obviously been wrung out by the mere force of truth ; and it is undoubtedly gratifying to find, that so broad and so important an admission has not, in any degree, excited the jealousy of the great body of those to whom the guardianship of the Roman Catholic faith is entrusted. To Dr. Wiseman, and his brother vicars apostolic, (who *lecture* on the Essay,) this principle must doubtless seem innocuous, as no objection has ever been made to it by them ; and we have therefore to congratulate them, and the English Romanists generally, on the concessions which they seem inclined to make to us. We have always contended that there was a great and most essential difference between Romanism and primitive Christianity ; and in this, it seems, it is now tacitly admitted, that we have been *in the right*, and those Romanists who have hitherto opposed us have been *in the wrong*.

In the nineteenth century, when progress and change is the order of the day, we ought not, perhaps, to be surprised at the encouragement which has been extended by Romanism to principles of so novel and momentous a character ; yet we confess, that as we have pondered over the matter, we have been unable wholly to repress some such feelings, more especially when we come to contemplate the bold and striking concessions on matters of detail, which the advocates of this theory are in the habit of making to the opponents of the Church of Rome. According to them, the primitive Church had no fixed belief on the subject of the Trinity, or the Incarnation. The doctrines of Purgatory, Penance, Transubstantiation, worship of the Saints and the Virgin Mary, worship of images and relics, and, above all, the papal supremacy, were all invented long after the apostolic age, and were not taught either by Scripture or tradition. These writers even take pains to prove that it was quite impossible, in the nature of things, that many of these doctrines could have existed in the apostolic age. The fathers of the Church are represented as men imperfectly informed on many of the articles of Catholic faith, and full of contradictions and of heresies. Now this is at once seen to be a view widely different from all the teaching of Romanists hitherto ; at least, all that comes



ordinarily in our way. All the treatises on theology used in the Romish seminaries—all the books of controversy put forth for the last century, from the goodly folio down to the penny tract, are written on a contradictory system. In them we find the most uniform and the most confident assertions, that every doctrine of the Roman Catholic faith has been either taught in Scripture, or handed down by tradition; and the fathers and councils are regularly quoted in proof of every doctrine and institution which is a matter of controversy.

In viewing the strong and glaring contradiction which is thus exhibited, we regard it as only natural, that after a certain time had been devoted by the Church of Rome to the intoxication of triumph, which the conversion of Mr. Newman and his band of disciples excited, more serious thoughts should arise in some quarters, and inquiries should be instituted as to the value of the acquisition which had been made.

It could hardly, perhaps, be expected, that such inquiries should commence in this country, committed as the English Romanists have been to the unflinching support of Mr. Newman and his party, by the unqualified and anxious approbation given to them by Dr. Wiseman and the "Dublin Review." The credit of this able ecclesiastic is altogether bound up with the character of the recent converts; and we may feel tolerably certain, therefore, that in England, at least, no Romanist will be permitted to give expression to opinions adverse to the doctrine of development. In England, and probably Ireland, at least, this doctrine has a fair prospect of being recognized as the *only* true mode of defending Romanism. The advocates of that doctrine, amongst English Romanists, boldly take this position, and deny the validity of the ordinary course of argument; and they are, in one respect, quite right; for it is absolutely impossible to maintain *both* lines of argument.

But in other parts of the Romish communion the same obstacles to the freedom of thought and expression do not exist; and, accordingly, we find that in America, where the old system of argument has hitherto prevailed, an opposition has at length arisen to the principles of the "Essay on Development." "Brownson's Quarterly Review," the leading organ of the Romish communion in America, has, under the direction of their ecclesiastical authorities in that country, published a series of charges against the doctrines of Mr. Newman's Essay, and of the "Dublin Review," as calculated wholly to subvert Christianity, and as contrary to the Catholic faith in numberless points. Their adherents are regarded as in error or heresy, and the school collectively

receives the uncoveted title of "*Developmentists*." In fine, the judgment of the Church is called for, and the condemnation of Mr. Newman's book by authority is evidently expected. There seems a kind of fatality about these men. Wherever they may be, they are so unfortunate as to earn for themselves the title of a sect. They are now "*Developmentists*," just as they were formerly "*Tractarians*."

To us, of course, the views which may be entertained by this school are now of comparatively little importance. Their theories have been, we may say, unanimously rejected by the Church of England; and nothing that comes from them can have the slightest weight with Churchmen. Their secession has relieved us from the unceasing irritation and uneasiness to which their wild speculations and their unbounded spiritual pride gave rise. But the leaven has now begun to work in Romanism. In the overwhelming anxiety of Dr. Wiseman and his party to obtain the conversion of England, which they had so long announced as at hand, Romanism forgot its caution, neglected any inquiries into the opinions of those whom it was receiving, and gave them access to the means of influencing public opinion within their new communion.

It is not for us to express any opinion at the course which should be pursued by the Church of Rome in this matter. But this we do clearly see, that if matters progress as they have begun, consequences will ere long result, which will not be very satisfactory to Romanists, or beneficial to the *general* interests of their communion. We ourselves are disposed to anticipate the speedy and quiet *suppression* of the controversy which has now arisen. It is one of so dangerous a character, that we feel persuaded that it will not be permitted to continue. The "*Dublin Review*," and "*Brownson's Quarterly*," will, we presume, receive their orders to leave such questions alone for the future; and "*the faithful*" will be at liberty to adopt which ever of the rival theories they prefer, and to acknowledge those who hold the contrary view as "*good Catholics*." Such would be the ordinary course of things in the Romish Church; but if this course be adopted, it will not, we feel sure, be taken without a clear perception of the *dangers* and difficulties which attend it. The first and greatest of these is the risk which must be run, if Romanism is maintained on principles which are *directly contradictory to each other*. This would not be unobserved by opponents; and it would render the position of Romanism simply ridiculous. How to avoid this difficulty, without expressing any disapprobation of one or other of the rival theories, is, we think, a problem, which will not easily be solved by the ingenuity even of the "*Propaganda*."

We have perhaps detained our readers too long from the de-

tails of the controversy which has arisen within the Roman communion on those very important subjects.

In January, 1847, an article made its appearance in "Brownson's Quarterly Review," in which the controversy was formally commenced. In a former number of his publication, the editor had already pointed out certain dangerous results of Mr. Newman's doctrines; but no reply had been vouchsafed. He therefore availed himself of another opportunity of bringing the subject before the public.

The reviewer took as his text a recent publication by Mr. J. Spencer Northcote, (one of Mr. Newman's disciples,) entitled "The Fourfold Difficulty of Anglicanism;" and after bestowing commendation on the work, (which is a mere repetition of the common-place argument of Romanists,) and noticing one or two concessions dangerous to the cause of Romanism which the author had made, he fixes his attention on the following passage:—

"All Catholic doctrine, as held by the Roman Church, has been the result of one continual law of growth, and has therefore the unity of nature and life. . . . The Gospel, it is true, is a Divine message, yet as the language in which it is made is human, questions may naturally suggest themselves, almost without end, as to the real import of that language . . . and inquiries of this kind have, as you know, from time to time arisen in the Church, more or less supported by scriptural and traditional evidence. These have gradually gained ground and attracted notice, until the Church has felt herself obliged to pronounce judgment upon them, and thenceforward, according to her seal of sanction or anathema, such *opinions* have either been incorporated into the *Catholic Creed*, or denounced as contrary to it."

The reviewer is of opinion that this necessarily implies that Christian doctrine grows by virtue of human effort; that a revelation cannot be made through the medium of human language, which shall reach the minds of its recipients in the full and exact sense intended by its author—that heresies arise from the incompleteness of the original revelation—and that opinions may be made articles of faith by the Church. He supposes "there can be no doubt of the objectionable character of such doctrines;" and thus proceeds:

"The recent conversion of the author, his evident Catholic intentions, and general soundness of doctrine, would lead us to pass over these points, *all uncatholic as they are*, with a simple remark, calling the attention of our readers to their evident *heterodoxy*, were they the solitary opinions of Mr. Northcote; but they are the doctrines of a school, of a school formed, indeed, at first outside the Church, but by the conversion of its distinguished founder, Mr. Newman, and his more eminent disciples, now brought within her communion. Mr. Northcote was one of

Mr. Newman's disciples, and the fact that he still continues to be one, even within the bosom of the Church, leads us to fear the same may be the case with many others. He gives, in the extracts we have made, what we understand, and what we presume he understands, to be substantially Mr. Newman's doctrine of development. If that doctrine is entertained by the great body of those who have recently abandoned Anglicanism for the Church, the question becomes somewhat grave, and we may have, *if we are not on our guard*, before we are aware of it, a new school springing up in our midst, as dangerous as the Hermesian, or that of De Lamennais. These individuals, from their well-known talents, learning, and zeal, cannot fail to have a wide and commanding influence on our Catholic literature, and, if they adhere to Mr. Newman's doctrine, it will be diffused beyond the circle of those who now entertain it, and do no little harm to portions even of our Catholic population. The age has a strong tendency to theorizing and innovation, which Catholics themselves do not wholly escape. . . . In this point of view, it becomes important to examine thoroughly Mr. Newman's *theory of developments*, and to lay open its real character. If it really authorize doctrines like these Mr. Northcote sets forth, *no Catholic can for a moment, after discovering the fact*, entertain it either as true or as harmless."—pp. 43, 44.

It is a feeling of duty, he assures us, which induces the reviewer to encounter "*misconstruction and odium*," in speaking "in clear and energetic tones against the advancing error," and in defending "the purity and integrity of the Catholic faith" from the attacks of "an insidious theory." It is impossible, he says, to regard Mr. Newman's book as the mere speculations of a man *in transitu* from error to truth. "Some few within contend, that the book must needs be *orthodox*, while those without insist that it is a work from which Catholic faith and theology are to be learned. The very eminence of the author gives weight to the conclusions of both."

The reviewer proceeds then to examine the principles of the "Essay on Development," and he proves (we think) conclusively, that those principles are directly subversive of the Christian revelation, independently of subverting the authority of the Church, and every thing that is built on it. We shall presently advert more particularly to his argument, but the whole view is familiar to us. The "Essay on Development" was, on its publication, denounced by many writers in the English Church as decidedly rationalistic and infidel in its principle; and, we may add, that the truth of these statements was shown by the significant fact, that the advocates of Mr. Newman's theory *have never yet attempted to meet the accusation*, but by their silence have confessed its truth. Ingenious and subtle as these disputants were, they never dared to reply to the charge of rationalism, which was

rung again and again in their ears. And the result was, that the Church of England was saved from all danger of being infected by their errors. We could all see that they were powerless to meet the charge of secret infidelity. We now revert to "Brownson's Review," from which it appears that Romanists were in 1847 beginning to find out what the whole Church of England understood tolerably well in 1845.

"The *theory of development* is professedly put forth as an hypothesis, as an expedient for removing or getting rid of a difficulty . . . which is the obstacle to seeking communion with the Church of Rome, pointed out by the author in one of the earlier numbers of the 'Tracts for the Times;' and consists in the assumption that Rome has introduced new gods, new doctrines, or, in simple terms, corrupted the primitive faith. This difficulty rests on the assumption of differences or variations between the faith presented to us by the history of the early ages of the Church, and the faith as held by the present Roman Catholic Church. But the real difficulty the author appears to hold does not end there, but resolves itself into a more general difficulty. The variations and differences have not occurred in one form of Christianity alone, but have extended to all; so that it is impossible to find any form of Christianity extant which is precisely that which we meet with in the primitive Church."—p. 46.

The reviewer remarks, that "if Mr. Newman had been a Catholic," when the theory of development was proposed, "he would not have proposed it; for no Catholic concedes there is or can be the difficulty he implies. The only variations in respect of Christian doctrine the Catholic admits are, as Father Perrone says, *new modes of expression* adopted on the occasion of novel errors."

And here arises the important question, what do the Developmentists mean by "Christian doctrine," which they assert to be developed? This is the question put by the reviewer, and he replies thus:—

"We answer, evidently, according to Mr. Newman, the view taken or the idea formed by the human mind. He connects the developments of Christian doctrine and the developments of ideas in general, supposes between them, and from the fact and necessity of the latter concludes, at least the antecedent probability of the former; which he could not do, if he did not hold Christianity to be an idea. . . . But is the idea the revealed truth itself, or is it the view which the mind takes of the revealed truth? In some passages the author seems to teach the former: but, according to Mr. Newman, the idea is not something given to the mind *ab extra*, already formed, but is itself formed in the mind; for he defines it to be an habitual judgment of the mind, formed by comparing, contrasting, abstracting, generalizing,

adjusting, classifying.—p. 20. If, then, he takes the first alternative suggested, he must hold, as we showed in our former Article, that the revelation itself is an idea formed by the human mind, which is THE EVIDENT DENIAL OF REVELATION ITSELF.”—p. 47.

The reviewer then proceeds to the other part of the alternative; viz. “that Christian doctrine is not the revealed truth itself, but the view taken, or the idea which the mind forms of it.”

“This is clearly taught in the Essay, as a passage we shall soon quote fully and conclusively proves. It is supposed to be the view most favourable to Mr. Newman; and we have been accused of doing him injustice in alleging, that in some passages of his Essay he implies the other. It is evidently Mr. Northcote’s understanding of his doctrine, and Mr. Northcote is good authority in the case; and, finally, we have been assured personally by an English gentleman, an acquaintance and friend of Mr. Newman, one who was with him at Littlemore, one of his warm admirers and disciples, and, like him, a convert,—a man of superior worth and intelligence,—that this is really Mr. Newman’s doctrine, and that it never occurred to him that any one could understand him otherwise, or that any body did or could understand any thing else by Christian doctrine.”—p. 49.

We cannot follow the reviewer through all the details of his clear exposition of the theory of development, and “the theory of Christian doctrine” included in it; but must pause for a moment on the principal results of the latter, omitting the proofs which the writer furnishes in abundance.

“1. It degrades Christianity to the level of human and heretical doctrines, and denies all *differentia generis* between them. . . .

“2. The doctrine Mr. Newman sets forth denies that there is, properly speaking, any such thing as Christian *doctrine*. It is a contradiction in terms to call that a doctrine which is not the thing taught, but the view, or idea, or judgment, which the mind forms of it. Doctrine means, by the very force of the word itself, that which is *taught*, and *formally* taught too; for all teaching is necessarily formal, and can never be made to mean either the *materia informis* submitted to the mind, or the form the mind gives it, or judgment it forms of it. Hence, in representing the Christian revelation, objectively considered, as the mere informal matter of doctrine, and making the doctrine the form which the mind gives it, Mr. Newman denies that there is or can be a Christian doctrine.”—pp. 52, 53.

Of course, if there be no Christian doctrine, the authority of the Church is at an end.

“3. The theory excludes the *ecclesia docens*, or teaching authority of the Church . . . the teacher is denied in the denial of the doctrine.”

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"4. It excludes *ecclesia credens*, or denies that there is any faith to be believed. This follows from the denial of the Church teaching."

In fine, it excludes the "*ecclesia judicans*," because there is no law for the judge to decide on; and the result is, that "both his theory of Christian doctrine and his theory of developments alike *exclude the infallible Church judging*, and reduce his theory to that of MERE PRIVATE JUDGMENT." Nor is this the worst: the theory "excludes even the possibility of faith, by denying, *quoad nos*, the POSSIBILITY OF AN INFALLIBLE REVELATION. This we saw in the beginning was Mr. Northcote's understanding of Mr. Newman's theory." We must pass over the proofs on which this is founded, and come to the conclusion.

"These are some of the grave objections to which Mr. Newman's theory of Christian doctrine is exposed, if, as we have conceded, it assumes Christian doctrine to be *not the revealed truth itself*, but the mind's idea of it. But if it be denied that it does so assume, and contended that it assumes the doctrine to be the revealed truth itself, it becomes, if possible, still more objectionable; for it is undeniable, that it assumes the doctrine to be *idea*, and *idea* to be, not something already formed communicated to the mind *ab extra*, but an habitual judgment formed by the mind itself. *This would reduce Christianity, in respect both of its matter and of its form, to the level of philosophy, and be an absolute denial of the supernatural revelation, even of its matter; that is, of supernatural revelation altogether.* The moment Christian doctrine is assumed to be an idea formed by the mind, an habitual judgment, whatever is assumed to be its object, Christianity, in any sense in which a Catholic can recognize it, is absolutely denied. No man can be a Catholic, who does not hold that Christian doctrine is the revealed truth itself; and that this truth is infallibly proposed to the mind, and infallibly received by it. If the revealed truth cannot be so proposed and so received, it is idle to talk of faith or of a Divine message. The real question Mr. Newman raises is, *not the possibility of developments, but the possibility of revelation.*"—p. 58.

We have been desirous of stating fairly and fully the objections which have been raised by the literary organ of Romanism in America to Mr. Newman's theory, in order to enable the reader to understand the weight and seriousness of the charge which is made. The position of "Brownson's Review," most carefully and argumentatively supported, is, that Mr. Newman's doctrine is *subversive of the Catholic faith, and of revelation itself*; that this most dangerous doctrine is held by a school within the Roman communion; that it is in a position to infect large portions of the members of that communion. We are satisfied of the truth of these statements, although the case does not concern our apostolic Church, which has happily been delivered from the evil.

But we now proceed to the reviewer's remarks on the theory of developments, as stated by Mr. Newman. He commences by admitting developments "in government, or discipline, and *cultus exterior*;" but he proceeds:—

"With regard to doctrine, the case is different. The doctrine is the *revelata* or *credenda*, which God reveals and the Church proposes, and is the fundamental law of the Church. In this developments are not admissible, for they would imply a *growth of doctrine*, which in its turn would argue either a *deficiency* in the apostolic doctrine as formerly taught, or an excess in the doctrine formally proposed by the Church. Now developments of the law must be understood either in the sense of new enactments, or in the sense of new applications, or applications of the law to new cases which arise in the course of time and the progress of events. In the first sense they cannot be admitted without assuming a *progress in the law itself*, which is only another form of saying it was *imperfect in the beginning, contrary to the uniform teaching of Catholic theologians, who are all agreed that the law was perfect from the first, and can neither be enlarged or diminished.*"—p. 59.

The reviewer subsequently confirms this latter position in the strongest way.

"These extracts settle the fact that Mr. Newman does assert positive developments of Christian doctrine in the sense alleged. But can a Catholic admit them? Certainly not. Christian doctrine is simply and exclusively the revealed truth proposed by the Church to be believed. *We have consulted as high living authorities on the subject as there are in this country, and they all concur in saying that the Church can propose only what was revealed, and that the revelation committed to the Church was perfect.* If there be any thing in which Catholic theologians are agreed, it is in these two points,—that the revelation in the beginning was perfect, and that nothing can be proposed by the Church to be believed *fide divinâ*, not revealed from the beginning. Developments of doctrine, then, are possible only on condition that the Church has neglected her mission as a teacher, which cannot be assumed, even by way of hypothesis. Her commission was,—'Going, teach all nations . . . to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.' *It is essential to Catholic faith to believe that she faithfully, at all times and in all places, discharges this commission. Then she must always and every where teach the whole faith, and then developments are inconceivable; for though there may be implicit believing, there is, properly speaking, no implicit or informal teaching.*"—pp. 66, 67.

Most unquestionably "Brownson's Quarterly" has correctly stated the position taken up by the whole body of Romish theologians and writers, whose works are now in the hands of students or of the public. They invariably assert, that the doctrines of Romanism form part of the revealed word of God, which they divide into Scripture and tradition. Certain doctrines are supposed to



have been handed down by tradition only; others are proved from Scripture; but all are supposed to have been *taught by the Apostles*. There is no essential difference in this respect amongst Romish writers, whether they write for theological students or for the common people.

The reviewer remarks, that Mr. Newman's theory is that "Christian doctrine is the human form of the revealed truth, or Divine message submitted to the action of reason;" and hence that "the informing law of the Church is not in the revelation, but in the mind of the recipient."

"We by no means assert," he continues, "that Mr. Newman would now, or when writing his book, maintain, consciously, intentionally, this abominable formula, to which his Essay is reducible; but his theory rests upon it, necessarily implies it. . . . View it in whatever light you will, the formative power is the human agent, and therefore what in Christianity is divine, must be regarded as the matter in and with which the human agent operates,—the precise doctrine which we ascribed in our former article to Mr. Newman, and identified with Neander's, and which is readily developed into Socinianism on the one hand, and, perhaps, into justification by faith alone on the other."—p. 62.

This writer afterwards proceeds to prove that Mr. Newman plainly and distinctly teaches that the original revelation was *incomplete*, e. g. that the "Sacrament of Penance" was not included in it; that there were "*gaps*" in it; and that Christian doctrines, contradictory to heresies anathematized by the Church, were *unknown*, until these errors made their appearance.—pp. 65, 66.

The reviewer then quotes Bossuet at considerable length, who, in his controversy with the Calvinist minister Jurieu, plainly and explicitly condemns and refutes with great learning the theory of a progressive religion which that minister advocated, and which agrees, in many respects, with the theory of development. Some other authorities, such as Vincentius of Lerins, and St. Augustine and Aquinas, are quoted in confirmation of the writer's positions of the invariable nature of the deposit of revelation. He then remarks that, "whatever the view he may take of the actual developments he contends for, his view of Christian doctrine is sufficient to condemn his essay as *essentially repugnant to Catholic faith and theology*. This last we recommend to the consideration of those who are disposed to regard the theory as *extra fidem* and indifferent,—a theory which a Catholic may or may not hold, according to his own individual convictions."—p. 82.

Our readers will now have been enabled to form a judgment on the nature of the charges advanced by "*Brownson's Quarterly*" against the theories of Mr. Newman's school. These charges are most deliberately and carefully supported by numerous quotations

from the "Essay on Development," and by proofs gathered from a variety of sources. The Essay is proved to be, in its principles, altogether subversive of the doctrine of the Roman Church, destructive to its authority, and at variance with the very notion of a revelation.

These are most serious *charges*, to say the least of them ; and now it is curious to observe the way in which they have been met by Mr. Newman's party, in their organ, the "Dublin Review." We can only say, that the mode in which the charge has been met is exactly what might have been expected from the uniform conduct of the party when they were still within the communion of their mother Church. The "Dublin Review" undertakes to answer "Brownson's Quarterly," and to defend the doctrines of Mr. Newman and his associates. But how is this done ?

The article may be described in a few words. It does not attempt to invalidate or deny the truth of the representation of Mr. Newman's theories by "Brownson's Quarterly." It does not *attempt to defend those theories from the results which have been attributed to them*. It does not pretend to argue that those theories can not be subversive of Christianity. On all these points it resigns the field to "Brownson's Review." It does not venture *now*, any more than when the charge of rationalism was reiterated again and again by Churchmen, to offer any reply to the charge. The course pursued is singularly characteristic. Instead of attempting to clear the theory in any way from the tremendous charges made against it, the "Dublin Review" quietly proceeds to *put forward those theories again in the boldest way, asserting that they are the ONLY theories on which Romanism can be maintained* ; that the contradictory theory supported by "Brownson's Quarterly" and by Bossuet is erroneous and absurd ; and that certain eminent divines of the Roman Church have at times advocated views more or less resembling these theories. In fine, the reviewer professes a perfect indifference as to *consequences*, and exhorts Romanists to follow Mr. Newman's theory, no matter where it may lead them. Such, in a few words, is the defence of Mr. Newman's school against the charge of rationalistic and infidel principles. To that charge they are perfectly indifferent. They do not attempt to disprove its truth ; nor do they apparently care whether it be true or not.

How perfectly do we recognize in this line of conduct the same consummate self-confidence, the same blind and unshrinking adhesion to party, and the same unbending spiritual arrogance, which we so long unhappily experienced in their evil operations upon our own communion ! This spirit is now transferred to the Roman communion ; and we see it flourishing there in all its

luxuriance. Romanism, like a hungry fish, has gulped down the tempting morsel, but it now begins to feel the *hook*! That party will not, we think, submit to any authority, or adopt any line of conduct, except that which they shall have themselves selected. They are not men to *yield*. They have entered the Roman communion to *teach* and to *guide* it, not to follow or obey it. They have been self-elected reformers of the English Church: they are already self-elected reformers of the Roman. The "Developmentists" bid fair to become as distinct and troublesome a party in Romanism as the "Hermesians" or the "Jansenists".

We now proceed to the particulars of the reply vouchsafed by the "Developmentists" to the charges made against them. They deem it necessary to apologize for commenting on the article in "Brownson's Quarterly":—

"It is not that we are so presumptuous as to come forward in defence of the publication which is the immediate subject of Mr. Brownson's remarks, but because that gentleman has included others in his censure who may fairly claim to be heard in their defence. With especial reference indeed to Mr. Northcote, but still with a wider scope, he speaks of '*a school* formed at first outside of the Church, but . . . now brought within her communion; and compares, in regard to their dangerousness, the principles which he considers to be held by that school on the subject of doctrinal development with those of Hermes and La Mennais.' Nor is this the charge of some obscure writer, whose censure might be regarded as little worthy of notice. Mr. Brownson's name *must be held in high honour by every Catholic*. . . . It so happened, moreover, that at the very time Mr. Brownson's article reached this country we were engaged in reviewing the treatises of Mr. Thompson and Mr. Lewis. Both these gentlemen are recent converts, and both happen to give expression to this very doctrine of 'development.' Mr. Thompson especially, in a very beautiful passage which we have quoted at length in another article."—*Dublin Review*, July, 1847, pp. 325, 326.

The writer is very uneasy at the notion of the recent converts being supposed to form "*a school*." This appellation he does not relish; though he admits that when persons have been for a long time under the influence of the same set of influences, they may bear for a time "the general appearance of a distinct school," though they are very anxious to be "mixed up with the general Catholic body." But they disclaim the notion of being disciples of an individual; and they would abandon the theory of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. F. Faber, in his new series of Lives of Romish Saints, undertakes to *reprove* Romanists for the manner in which they have suppressed the miracles of saints; and the author of "*Rest in the Church*" openly declares, that although now a Romanist, she disbelieves some of the chief doctrines of Romanism.

development if they did not believe it to be "*implied in the continuous history of the Church's dogmatic definitions,*" and "*expressly recognized by some of her greatest theologians.*"

The writer then proceeds to *state* the doctrine of development as maintained by Mr. Thompson, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Northcote; and he pursues this statement at considerable length, drawing out the whole theory of development in a very clear and distinct manner. He then adduces certain passages from Vasquez, Petavius, Suarez, Melchior Canus, Möhler, Döllinger, De Maistre, Vincentius Lirinensis, and Cardinal Fisher, which he considers favourable to the theory of development; after which the following passage occurs:—

"We cannot here examine Mr. Brownson's *arguments*, for the simple reason that time and space will not permit. Whatever comes from him of course deserves careful attention, and, *if called upon*, we are prepared fully to meet his reasoning."—p. 350.

The reviewer then attempts to undervalue the *testimonies* adduced in "Brownson's Quarterly," and does not hesitate to throw Bossuet overboard as a schismatic or a heretic; and then, after some intervening remarks, gives expression to the following characteristic sentiments:—

"It is sometimes implied, as an objection to the principle which we have been defending, that its recognition would *tend to impair the evidence for the Divine authority of Catholic doctrine*. But in arguing with Catholics, it is surely unnecessary to say more, than that *the question is not one of probable results, but of truth or falsehood*. Catholics are charged indeed by Protestants, as the first Christians were by heathens, with deliberately 'doing evil that there may come good;' but the Catholic of the present day joins with St. Paul in his indignant repudiation of any such maxim. We must not then mis-state facts to serve a controversial purpose; and the question therefore merely recurs, on which side is the *true* statement of facts?"—p. 353.

The reviewer is "fully confident that no such result would follow;" but we certainly cannot wonder that some Romanists should look plainly at the results, and take them into account in estimating the truth of a new theory proposed to them. The "Dublin Review" tells them never to mind the consequences, even though they should result in "impairing the evidence for the Divine authority of Catholic doctrine;" *i. e.* even if they end in proving that Romanism, and Christianity itself, is a mere human invention! "Never mind," says the reviewer, "*truth is the great object*. If you attain to that, it is a matter of little consequence to you what becomes of revelation. We are 'con-

fidant, 'fully confident,' that you will not have to relinquish your faith; but you must follow wherever this true theory of development leads you."

Whether the English Romanists will follow these "Wild Huntsmen" in their spiritual career, we cannot say: but strong symptoms of recalcitration have manifested themselves elsewhere; and "Brownson's Review" perceives an agency at work in the affair which appears to be little suspected by the too credulous Romanists at this side of the water. In allusion to the recent converts to Romanism, Brownson remarks, that "they have unhappily given the devil an opportunity to take his revenge for their defection." We see the rationalistic spirit of bold and unfettered inquiry introduced into Romanism, and we can clearly predict from experience what the effects of that spirit will be. Romanism has overreached itself in its burning anxiety to gain and to keep this party. Its ambitious hopes are destined to be followed by the severest disappointments and reverses. It will find its utmost powers tasked in the effort to exorcise the spirit which has gained a place in its communion.

We now come to the remarks offered by "Brownson's Review," in October, 1847, on the defence of Mr. Newman's doctrines in the "Dublin Review." At the commencement of these remarks the reviewer observes, that the defence proceeds from a personal friend of Mr. Newman's, and a hearty admirer of that gentleman's theory, who is not likely to misunderstand or misstate it:—

"We may, therefore, take it as a good proof of the correctness of our own statement, that it does not, in any respect whatever, object to it, but re-asserts the theory, both in regard to Christian doctrine and development, substantially as we ourselves understood it. We trust that this will satisfy our friends at this side of the water that we have not, as some of them have supposed, either misunderstood or misrepresented Mr. Newman.

"We understand the writer to concede the correctness of our representation of the theory of developments. If he does, he is bound either to abandon it, or to show that the consequences we deduced from it are not legitimate; for those consequences, if warranted, prove that it is subversive of Christianity. Unhappily he does neither. He has left our statement of the theory, our objections to it, and the arguments by which he has sustained them, standing in all their force. He has not even pleaded to them. Yet he cannot be unaware that he is held to concede every count in our declaration to which he does not plead, and that we have the right in reasoning with him to assume its truth. *This consideration alone sets aside his whole reply.*

"The theory of development is a special theory, resting for its logical

basis on a certain view of Christian doctrine, namely, that Christian doctrine is not the revealed truth itself, but the mind's idea of it; or that inspiration supplies only the *materia informis* of doctrine, which is rendered *doctrina formata* only by the action of the uninspired intellect,—thus degrading Christianity, by Mr. Newman's own confession, to the level of human sects and philosophies, which is, of course, to deny it. Our main objection was to this view of Christian doctrine, from which developments of doctrine are only a logical deduction; and we objected to this, not because it authorizes developments, but *because it subverts Christianity*. The reviewer, by neglecting to plead to this charge, concedes its truth, gives us the right to assume it against him, and thus throws himself out of court, or debars himself from the right to enter. He cannot introduce testimony to prove developments in the sense of his theory, because that would be to introduce testimony to disprove Christianity, which is not lawful; and to introduce it to prove developments in some other sense, would be to undertake to prove what is not in question—an instance of what logicians call *ignorantia elenchi*.

“If held to strict logic, or to the rules of legal pleading recognized by the common-law courts, both in his country and in ours, the reviewer is estopped, and cannot proceed till he gets permission to plead to the charges against the basis of his theory. Till then his authorities are of no avail; for we have only to reply, your theory is *anti-Christian*, and you are not at liberty to introduce testimony to prove any thing which is not Christian. If he rejoins, his authorities are Christian; we reply again, that they must be understood in a Christian sense, and therefore cannot be understood in the sense of your theory, for your theory is anti-Christian. In any and every possible case, it is more reasonable to suppose that he misinterprets his authorities, than that they authorize any thing against our holy religion.”

Here it is pretty plain that the American reviewer holds decidedly the vantage ground. The “Development” school have not ventured to meet the charges against them; and what makes this of real interest and importance is, that such has been *uniformly their conduct whenever the charge has been made*. The Americans will never get from these gentlemen any real *defence* of their principles. The reviewer does not understand them or their policy.

“We complain of the [Dublin] reviewer that he has neglected entirely the logical basis of this theory, and *proceeds as if no objections were made to it*. We regard a theory as refuted, if refuted in its principles. . . . We feel confident that very few can examine the foundation of Mr. Newman's theory without rejecting it; and we wish especially to call the attention of his friends *to its defence*, because we think the moment they seriously attempt its defence they will abandon the theory in despair, perhaps in disgust.”—p. 488.

It is precisely because these gentlemen do not want to abandon,

or even to endanger this theory, that they will not defend it. They have been a hundred times called upon to defend it from the charge of rationalism and anti-Christianism, and they have never attempted to do so. We are amused at an acute remark of the writer in "Brownson's Review."

"Our readers will observe that the names of Mr. Thompson, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Northcote, are substituted for Mr. Newman's. Why, we must ask, is this? The article is professedly a reply to us, and our attack was directed against Mr. Newman, not against these gentlemen, save so far as they may choose to indorse and defend him. Is their theory essentially different from his? Then we have not assailed it. Is it substantially the same? Then why defend it under their name rather than his? Would they appropriate to themselves the honour that is his? Or have they too profound a respect for him to mention his name? Or is such their estimation of the theory of development, that they would shield him from its responsibilities?"

The reviewer, we perceive, is in some degree enlightened as to the feelings and views of the school in question.

"Our article was directed against his doctrine, as we gathered it from his essay; yet the reviewer, in replying to it, *does not once mention even his name*. Does he suppose that by suppressing Mr. Newman's name he can deprive him of the glory, or relieve him from the shame, of being the founder and chief of the school of development? However unwilling his friends may be, either for his sake or their own, that he should appear before the world as the leader of a school, he does so appear, and will, till he either obtains for his theory the sanction of authority or abandons it; and they, however great their repugnance to be called a school, will be so called, so long as the theory remains unsanctioned, and they are understood to adhere to it. The thing is so, and cannot be helped, and they need not seek to disguise it; for it is not to be presumed that any body supposes, that, if contrary to the wishes of Mr. Newman, the Church should decide the theory to be not 'coincident' with her judgment on the subject, their Catholic faith would be shaken, or they would withhold their submission. We own their present attitude towards the Church is exceedingly awkward; for they are endeavouring to persuade her to accept a theory which she has not taught, but which they devised for themselves, when *in transitu* from heresy and schism to truth and unity, and when, according to Mr. Newman, they could use 'only reason in the things of faith;' but it is an attitude of their own choosing, and are they the men to shrink from its responsibility?"—pp. 488, 489.

The reviewer then remarks that he has examined the statement of the "Dublin Review" with what ability he possesses; that he understands the doctrine of the "Dublin Review" to be *substantially*

*the same as that ascribed to Mr. Newman*; and that the article has thus been already refuted.

We cannot follow the reviewer through his examination of the various authorities produced by the "Dublin Review" in support of developmentism, but shall touch on a few of the more interesting points. He remarks that Mr. Newman and his school have roved through the multitude of the doctors of the Church, seized on their private opinions, and *obiter dicta*, and "generalized them into a theory to be henceforth taken as the sense of Catholic doctors, and *the recognized doctrine of the Church of God.*" That their claims take no lower range than this, the reviewer proves by an extract from the "Dublin Review," where, in speaking of theory of development, that periodical says:—

"In fact it is only in accordance with, it is only an instance of, the very principle we have been contending for, that development should be developed; that a principle on which the Church has ever proceeded [unconsciously for the most part, pp. 300, 301], and which her greatest doctors have *from time to time* recognized and fully allowed, should *at last*, by the progress of controversy, have been drawn forth into a *consistent and systematic theory.*"—p. 352.

Churchmen will fully sympathize with the following expressions of "Brownson's Review," in which a just indignation is expressed at the reckless and scandalous mode of argument employed by the "Dublin Review" and other advocates of this theory, in reference to the great mysteries of Christianity:—

"The first class of developments described, but taken for granted, and those which scandalize us the most, because they strike at the mystery of the Trinity, the foundation of the Christian profession, are those on which Mr. Newman places the greatest reliance, and from which he draws the principal illustrations of his theory. . . . To assume, as the reviewer does, (p. 329,) that the doctrine of the Trinity was only imperfectly understood and believed before the Nicene Council; to assert of the Ante-Nicene fathers generally, that in treating this holy mystery they erred in thought and expression, held opinions subsequently condemned by the Church, and yet were far from 'doctrinal error;' and to assume such a horrible doctrine as a matter of course, as a thing which will be admitted without controversy, is presuming a little too much on the ignorance, stupidity, or indifference of the Catholic public. It is not less scandalous than the reason the reviewer assigns, near the close of his article, why his theory, as some have objected, will not impair the evidence of Christianity; namely, that the argument it impairs can affect only a limited class of persons! (p. 353) that is, the *ignorant* may have as good evidence as they had before!"—pp. 493, 494.



118 *The Development Controversy in the Church of Rome.*

The reviewer makes the following statement of the doctrine of his Church in opposition to the "Developmentists." The statement appears to us perfectly correct:

"The Catholic doctrine, on the subject under discussion, as it has been taught us, is, that our Lord has made a full and perfect revelation of all that is, or is to be, received *de fide*, and that He has instituted his Church, and committed to her this revelation as a sacred deposit, to be preserved and transmitted without addition, diminution, or alteration; and that with regard to it, *assistente Spiritu Sancto*, she exercises the functions of an infallible *witness* and *teacher*, and an infallible judge of all controversies which arise respecting it in space and time."—p. 516.

After referring to Vincentius Lirinensis, the reviewer continues:

"It is not possible for language to be more explicit, and on this point we have found no disagreement among our theologians; and their uniform doctrine is admirably summed up and set forth by our own theologian, the learned and venerable Bishop of Philadelphia, in his excellent *Theologia Dogmatica*, vol. i. pp. 221—228, where he gives, in establishing the *perpetuity of the faith*, as conclusive a refutation of the theory of development as any one can desire. Father Perrone clearly sustains the doctrine we set forth; so does the learned and scientific Dr. Wiseman. Indeed, the point is of faith, and not debatable; for the holy Council of Trent, session 4, in the Decree on the Canon, expressly declares that those things, and those only, can be held of faith, which are contained 'in libris scriptis, aut sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptæ, et ab ipsis Apostolis, Spiritu Sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditæ, ad nos usque pervenerunt.' No ingenuity can possibly develop transmitting a doctrine from the Apostles to us, as it were by hand, into development. *Handing down a doctrine can never be developing it.*" —pp. 517, 518.

This is perfectly crushing. The "Developmentists" will not answer arguments of this kind, because they cannot and dare not. They are already in secret released from allegiance to the Church of Rome, as they were from the English Church for years, before they openly forsook its communion. The decree of Trent is diametrically opposed to their whole theory. Will they attempt again openly to propose a "non-natural sense?"

We must now pass on to another passage in which "Brownson's Review" is equally successful in depicting the views of the recent converts to Romanism:

"We shall do these gentlemen essential injustice, if we interpret their theory from the Catholic, instead of the Protestant, point of view.

They assume, in the outset, that all which Protestants allege as to *Roman additions to the primitive creed* is TRUE, only that what Protestants call *additions*, should be called *developments*. They agree precisely with their former Anglican friends on the main point, that there are doctrines to be found in the Church's teaching to-day, which were not in her primitive teaching. *Their theory is an expedient for asserting the Anglican antecedent, and escaping the Anglican consequent.* On the main point controverted between Protestants and Catholics, for these three hundred years, as to these pretended additions, they take, as they always did, the Anglican side, and are, as before, at issue with all our Catholic divines. Here, say they, are the facts. The *stationariness* of doctrines contended for by Roman divines cannot be maintained with truth; and you must either call these facts additions with Anglicans, or developments with us. If you call them additions, you must renounce your Church. The evidence of history is overwhelming against you: *it is either our theory, or no Catholicity.* This is the alternative these modest gentlemen present to the Catholic Church. Let them deny it if they can."—p. 523.

The "Developmentists" were (as might have been expected) by no means inclined to yield the victory to the advocates of the old system of argument, which their sagacity had pronounced no longer tenable. Accordingly, in January, 1848, the "Dublin Review" returns to the charge. It fears, modestly, that the discussion will "prove rather *uninteresting*, except to those who take a lively interest in the question at issue." The "Dublin Review" is annoyed that its earnest "*protest against the term 'school,' applied to certain recent converts from Anglicanism,*" has not been accepted; and endeavours to console itself by finding out that "Brownson's Review" does not attribute to this "school" *perfect agreement, or clear and precise views* of what they are contending for.—p. 375.

After a strong re-assertion of the principle of development, as a principle "as *old* as Catholic theology itself," (the reviewer here seems anxious to claim it as a doctrine of *Revelation*,) and as maintained by all "Catholic writers;" the Dublin reviewer affirms, that there are other principles equally universal among Catholics, which appear, at first sight, almost *inconsistent* with the former, viz., that Christian truth was only promulgated by Christ and his Apostles; and that later doctors of the Church have not had greater insight into the Gospel than the Apostles themselves.

The reviewer then says that several writers of the Roman communion, especially in the last two centuries, "have" so dwelt upon the two latter principles, as "*to withhold its due weight from the former,*" i.e. from *development* (p. 376); rather a curious ad-

mission as regards the teaching of the Romish Church, which is thus considered to have been *defective* for the last two centuries. The reviewer then states that "Mr. Brownson *has said nothing which even tends towards inducing us to change*" the theory of development asserted in the "Dublin Review." Of course! who that knows them, could have anticipated any concession from the school of development?

The reviewer next accounts for his not attempting to reply to "Brownson's Review." "He did not *profess* to reply to Mr. Brownson's article. What in the world have we to do with Mr. Newman's book, or any thing it contains . . . Our *admiration* of the work is most sincere and profound; *but who are we, that we should take* on ourselves to defend it?"—p. 377.

The "Developmentists" thus ingeniously *avoid* any attempt to answer the arguments of "Brownson's Review" against their theory. Although their professed object in the "Dublin Review" is to *maintain* the doctrine in question, and to re-assert it; at the same time noticing the various arguments from *authority* adduced by Brownson, they deem it most prudent to avoid any discussion on the general character and results of the theory itself. They meet *one half* of his argument, and leave the remainder unanswered, under pretence that the matter belongs to Mr. Newman. Do not the *authorities* touch on Mr. Newman's theory quite as much as the more purely *theological* part of the question?

In the second article on the subject, which is to be followed by a third, the same course is pursued. The whole discussion is made to turn, not on the general character and tendencies of the theory, but on certain quotations from Romish divines, which the "Dublin Review" puts forth as including its theory, and which "Brownson's Quarterly" views differently. As to the general principles of the theory, they are in no case defended. We cannot attempt to carry the reader through the wranglings of those disputants on the meaning of particular quotations from school divines. It is remarkable, however, that none of the common books of theology, or the generally circulated treatises of controversy, are cited. The authorities are dragged out of authors whose works are *not in the hands of the Romanists at the present day*, and to which they cannot refer easily. *We are never referred* to the writings of Milner, Wiseman, Hornyhold, Delahogue, Bailly, and the common books in circulation amongst Romanists; yet those who have been instructing the Roman Catholic Church for the last century, must be fit and proper exponents of her doctrine. We can very readily believe that theories inconsistent with the general belief of Romanists at the present day, have been occasionally advanced by their theologians in former times; but we should have thought

that if the *actual doctrine of the Church of Rome* on this subject had been the object of inquiry, the reference should have been to the Council of Trent, and to all the current teaching in the schools at the present day, and to all the publications of Roman Catholic divines expounding the doctrines of their Church, for the benefit of "schismatics" or "heretics."

As the matter stands at present, we have the "Dublin Review" and the development school on the one side, asserting *positively* that Romanism has at all times recognized their theories, and that no other theories will suffice for the defence of Romanism. We have, on the other side, "Brownson's Review," backed by certain ecclesiastical authorities in America, denouncing the whole theory as *antichristian and heretical*, and asserting that the *uniform teaching* of the Roman Catholic Church is diametrically opposed to it, and that it is condemned by the Council of Trent. This dispute is certainly a very grave one—the most serious that has commenced in the Church of Rome for a long series of years. It is now at least, plain, that controversies of a very important character are not peculiar to the Church of England. Those who may know little of the disputes on Jansenism or Hermesianism in the Roman Church, can very well see and understand the nature of the controversy now proceeding in that Church,—a controversy which affects the *very foundations* of the Christian faith!

We can look on in quiet, and witness the progress of the conflagration, for our own communion is happily freed from it. We trust that results most beneficial to the cause of truth will ensue.

Romanism has now begun to taste the bitter fruits of the conversion of men, who it had vainly imagined were destined to restore the whole Church of England to the fold of the pretended "vicar of Jesus Christ." The utter failure of these ambitious hopes, which were never further from realization than at this moment, has now been followed by grave internal dissensions, excited by these much coveted converts! We do not much envy Dr. Wiseman's position at the present moment. Will he prevent Mr. Newman and his friends from openly agitating the Roman communion with their theories? Will he exact from them any condemnation of any of their theories? Will he prevent them from writing in the "Dublin Review?" Are they, in short, to be *silenced*, and put under some kind of disgrace in Romanism, as they were in the English Church? If so, we do not feel any confidence of their remaining Romanists. According to them, their theories are the *only* ground on which Romanism can be defended. *Can* they submit to be silenced, or prevented from advocating those

views! Can they consistently do so, and allow what they believe to be a false and an absurd theory to reign undisputed amongst Romanists! They united themselves to Romanism *on their theory of development*; can they possibly submit to have that theory virtually denounced as erroneous! Supposing them to be prevented from publicly advocating what they believe to be the truth, what would be their opinion of the care of the Roman Church for *the truth*? This has always been their great ground of confidence in Romanism. They have always believed that the care of the Church of Rome for *Catholic truth* is vigilant, unceasing, and uniform. How would this be in their opinion, if they were prevented from openly inculcating the doctrine of development, which they believe to be a *Catholic truth*, and merely for fear of giving offence to those who hold the contrary false doctrine of *stationariness*? If they should concede this, what would become of their own zeal for truth and for Romanism? Our own opinion is,—we have not the slightest wish for the event,—that in case of any repression of their doctrine, *we should have them all back again* in a very short time. We say we do not wish for this; for, being such as they are, we prefer to see them *where* they are. We would rather see the conflagration rage in hostile communions than in our own: we do not covet them, because we know them.

Let us take another supposition. Let us suppose that the “Developmentists” are not in any way reduced to silence, but allowed by Dr. Wiseman and the Romish authorities in England to proceed in their career. Suppose them still to hold possession of the “Dublin Review,” and to circulate their principles in every way through the country; what will be the effect! We do not speak so much of the mere influence of their opinions over the Romish population, though this must be considerable, because Mr. Newman even already holds a position, in point of character and personal influence, second to no member of the Romish communion: he will, in the natural course of things, be very soon appointed a “vicar apostolic,” or a “bishop:” it will be impossible to keep back such a man from the highest offices in the Romish communion, if there be no impediment offered by his doctrine. But, then, if this school is permitted to hold the sway which it now exercises over the Romanists of England, and to continue the bold and open publication of its views, we cannot conceive it possible to prevent divisions and controversies of the most formidable character in the Romish communion generally. What will Romanists in England think, and what will the English Church and the various opponents of Romanism think, when they see doctrines which have been openly and deliberately

charged, *in the Church of Rome itself*, with heresy and infidelity, fully sanctioned and allowed by Dr. Wiseman and the Romish hierarchy in England? Who would trust himself to the instruction of such a Church? What would become of the zeal of the Romish Church for the maintenance of the faith, if she allowed her doctrines to be inculcated on *diametrically opposite principles*; and if she took *no notice* of charges of heresy and rationalism made against a school within her communion? And again, Romanism in America is thoroughly roused on the subject. "Brownson's Review," while noticing the opposition which many Romanists made to any censure of Mr. Newman's views, observes that they would have shrunk from the painful task, "*if they were not encouraged and sustained by those who have authority to teach.*" The censure of Mr. Newman's work does not proceed from a mere reviewer, but from ecclesiastical authorities in the Romish communion in America. While the theory of development is openly advocated, we cannot think that controversy on the subject will cease. It has been opened in so serious a manner, and has been put on such grounds, that we do not see how it can be repressed by any thing less than the interference of the very highest ecclesiastical authority in their communion.

The question will then occur,—will both parties be directed to hold their tongues by the pope? We think this will be the case, though the world will not hear any thing about the matter. The authorities, we think, will try to hush the matter up, and to permit no more controversy. They will endeavour to soothe both parties, and to keep things as quiet as they may. The controversy will thus seem to die a natural death, and it will be represented that there was no real difference between the combatants,—that they did not differ about articles of faith.

Well, be it so. Doubtless the policy of the Church of Rome is a very subtle one. To retain power and influence at all hazards, even at the sacrifice of truth, is her object. She does not condemn the development school—for fear of losing them. Their principles are destructive of her theology. Never mind: they will be *tolerated*; but—they must not make an *uproar*, so as to "give the devil an opportunity to take his revenge for their defection."

What may be exactly the course which the subtle and tortuous policy of Rome will take to avert the dangerous controversy which has arisen, we cannot, of course, say. Whatever it may be, however, what has already occurred is a most seasonable addition to the argument against Romanism. Let us briefly survey the subject in its bearing upon the controversies of the day.

Romanism, therefore, presents itself to us at this present

moment loudly proclaiming and boasting that its doctrines are infallibly certain,—that Divine Revelation has been entrusted to it alone; and that every one who does not submit to its authority will go to hell. Romanism is uniformly and increasingly vehement in the assertion of these claims; but when it attempts to prove the truth of these assertions, it becomes suddenly self-contradictory to the most extravagant pitch of absurdity.

"Our doctrine was, beyond doubt, taught by Jesus Christ to his Apostles, and from them has been handed down, without the least addition or innovation, to the present day; therefore it is the only true faith.—We *deny* this positively. Our doctrine was only taught in its outline to the Apostles. There were great defects in the original revelation, and the human mind has made large *additions* to the original stock of doctrines in the course of ages, which the Church has placed amongst her articles of faith."

"St. Peter was prince of the Apostles, and exercised papal jurisdiction over them; therefore you ought now to obey the pope.—No; we are altogether wrong in our premises. The papacy did not exist in those times; it did not rise till centuries after."

"Protestants have no kind of foundation for their assertions, that Romanism is in many respects a novelty,—that the worship of saints, and the Virgin, and images, &c., was not known in the primitive times.—Nay, the Protestants are *quite right* on these points; it is only our divines who have been in error: all these matters are developments."

These two contradictory voices both issue simultaneously from the Romish Church.—Which are we to believe? Where is the infallible judge of doctrine to inform us who is telling truth and who is telling falsehood?

Is *this*, then, "Romish unity?" Has it come to this, that after three centuries of controversy, Romanists cannot tell whether their doctrines are apostolical traditions or inventions of yesterday—cannot tell whether Protestantism is right or wrong in its allegations—cannot tell, in short, whether the Church of Rome is or is not the pillar and ground of the truth? And is this that region of infallible certainty in matters of faith, which dreamers anticipated when they forsook the communion of their mother Church? What becomes of the name of "Catholic," as employed by Romanists, when they cannot agree on such vital and fundamental points? can a Church which is split thus down to its foundation be a safeguard or protector?

The errors of Romanism may be demonstrated from the positions advanced by the two Romish parties who are now in controversy.

We assume then as our fundamental principle, the doctrine, which is laid down so clearly by "Brownson's Review," and which

is broadly and openly taught in almost every Romish publication which is now in circulation. This principle is, that God has made his revelation once for all—made it by his Son, and by the holy Apostles—and that it has *never since been added to*,—that our Lord has made a full and perfect revelation of all that is, or is to be received *de fide*, and that He has instituted his Church, and committed to her this revelation as a sacred deposit, to be preserved and transmitted without *addition, diminution, or alteration*.—(p. 516.) Additions to the faith are therefore unlawful; and to assume, as the author of the “Essay on Development” and his disciples have done, “That Rome has introduced new gods, new doctrines, or in other words corrupted the primitive faith” (p. 46), would be to admit problematically, that, which if it were *real*, “*there could be no solution of it but in the rejection of the Church*; and just so far as the author assumes it to be real, *he yields the whole question to the Protestant*.”—p. 82.

How stands the case then, according to the confessions of the “Developmentists?”

I. There can be no doubt that the *papal supremacy* is now an *article of faith* in the Romish Church. If therefore this did not form part of the original institution of Jesus Christ, but was devised in after ages, it is an *addition* to the faith.

Now let us hear the “Developmentists:”—“While Apostles were on earth,” says Mr. Newman, “there was need neither of bishops nor pope; their power was dormant, or exercised by Apostles. *In course of time*, first the power of the bishops awoke, and then the power of the pope. . . . When the Church was thrown upon her own resources, first local disturbances gave rise to bishops, and next œcumenical disturbances *gave rise to popes*; and whether communion with the pope was necessary to Catholicity, would not, and could not be debated, till a suspension of that communion had actually occurred. . . . It is a less difficulty that the *papal supremacy was not formally acknowledged in the second century*, than that there was no formal acknowledgment of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity till the fourth.”—(*Essay on Development*, pp. 166, 167.) This writer adds, that the “papacy began to form” as soon as persecution ceased, that is, in the fourth century. He admits, without difficulty, the force of Barrow’s reasoning, that in primitive times the *papal supremacy* did not, and could not exist.—*Ibid*, pp. 168, 169.

This is quite sufficient for our purpose. Here is an authority obtruded on the Church as a portion of Revelation,—as an institution of Jesus Christ, which, it is admitted, did not begin to be formed till some centuries after the time of our Lord!

II. There can be no doubt that the *worship of saints and angels*



is now recognized in the Church of Rome, as a part of the Catholic faith—part of the original deposit extended to the Church by Jesus Christ, and handed down by tradition.

The "Developmentists" tell us a very different tale from this. According to Mr. Newman, this worship was introduced in the course of the *fourth* and *fifth* centuries after Christ. "The treatment of the Arian and Monophysite errors . . . . became the natural introduction of the *cultus sanctorum*."—(*Essay on Development*, p. 400.) The worship of the Virgin began in the fifth century. "There was, in the first ages, no public recognition of the place which St. Mary holds in the economy of grace; this was reserved for the *fifth* century."—*Ibid.* p. 245.

III. The worship of *images* is put forth by the Church of Rome as part of the original deposit of the faith.

Hear "developmentism":—"The introduction of images was still later [than the fifth century], and met with more opposition in the West than in the East." It was one of "the further developments of the *eighth* century."—*Essay on Development*, p. 362.

IV. The doctrine of purgatory has become an article of faith in the Romish Church.

According to Mr. Newman and his school, it arose considerably after the time of the Apostles. "Thus we see how, as time went on, the doctrine of purgatory was opened upon the apprehension of the Church, as a portion or form of penance for sins committed after baptism. And thus *the belief in this doctrine*, and the practice of infant baptism *would grow into general reception together*."—(*Essay on Development*, p. 245.) So that the doctrine of purgatory was an addition to the primitive faith.

This is what we have been maintaining for three centuries in opposition to all the learning, subtlety, worldly wisdom, and power of the Church of Rome. We have been upholding the Gospel *once revealed*; the Gospel comprised in those sacred books which all Christendom from the beginning acknowledged as the divinely-inspired record of their faith; and we have laboured, while clasping to our hearts those sublime truths concerning the Trinity and Incarnation, and those other great articles of the Christian faith which supported the martyrs in their sufferings, to preserve the worship of the TRIUNE God from all association with those foul and idolatrous forms of worship which Romanism had introduced into the Christian Church. Of that testimony we are not ashamed. The faults of the Reformation have been manifold, and they have been severely visited; but the cause is essentially that of Christianity against Heathenism, and we fear we must add against Infidelity. As time has gone on, each year

has shown more and more strongly the essential heathenism which is included in the worship of the Church of Rome. *That* element it is which, since the restoration of the papal power in 1814, has most distinctly and awfully revealed itself. And now, perhaps, we are to see the results in a way which the infatuated advocates of Rome have little expected. Their boundless aspirations, and their consummate confidence are, perhaps, to be rebuked, ere long, by the hand of God. But we forbear to enter on the solemn subject which here opens upon us. We must only express our gratitude, that in times when God's judgments are abroad, the Church of England has steadfastly maintained the full and undiminished faith which the Apostles of Jesus Christ delivered, and the early Church sealed with its blood,—maintained it unmixed with the inventions of human wisdom, or with the worship of created beings.

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**AUT. VII.**—*Letters of Dr. M'Hale to Lord Arundel, Lord Shrewsbury, and Lord John Russell.*

IN our early days, we flattered ourselves that we understood something of the nature and mutual obligations of government; we believed that "the powers that be are ordained of God;" that it is the duty of a king to rule his subjects for their protection; to punish wickedness and vice; and to maintain true religion and virtue. We believed also, that as kings are only fallible men, it is necessary to restrain them by constitutional rules; but that the power to enforce and execute the law is the gift of God, and that to support and uphold that authority is the duty of every good Christian and every loyal subject. Modern improvements, however, seem to have exploded all such theories; rebellion is defined by a late writer to be the dissent of a few from the decision of the many; our sovereign is no longer a ruler by hereditary right, but the acceptor of a minister nominated by the Commons. Public opinion, therefore, is now the real governor of this country; on all hands it seems to be admitted that the will of the majority is supreme law, and that every nation has an undoubted right to govern itself, irrespective of any pre-supposed powers of God or the king.

At present, no body of men are so clamorous for the right of self-government as the Irish; they want a parliament of their own, or, in other words, that a majority of those who lead and express public opinion in the island, shall have the power of binding the rest by their decisions; and that there shall be no longer an appeal to the higher tribunal of public opinion as expressed in the larger and more respectable assembly of the English representatives. But before the English nation gives its consent to such a measure, it would be, at least, justice to consider what is the state of public opinion in Ireland, and to what sort of assembly the regulation of the province would be entrusted, if the legislative union were repealed—how far the governing body would respect the laws of God—and how far the rights of life, of liberty, and of property would be secured to her Majesty's subjects. The answers to these questions will form a test of the fitness of Ireland to undertake the responsibility of self-government, and by them we can easily ascertain what position she would hold among nations, were she entrusted with distinct national independence. There are two indices of public opinion

by which the tendency of the governing power may be learned ; the first is, the direct voice of representatives chosen to express the sentiments of their constituents, and who are protected by law in the exercise of their right to speak and vote in parliament ; these men, or a section of them, of course show a state of public opinion in proportion to their numbers ; they may be few, but we must recollect, that without some thousands each to agree with them outside the House, their voice in the legislature could never have been heard. The second index is the public press—(the editorial articles) the letters now under our consideration could never have appeared in print, without the expectation of numerous readers. One letter leads to many, either in praise or opposition ; and we may, therefore, fairly draw an inference as to the state of public opinion in Ireland, from the articles written and read in the newspapers of the day.

The first object with a large portion of the Irish public seems to be the repeal of the sixth Commandment ; God has said, “Thou shalt do no murder ;” but Ireland often says, as far as she can, consistently with the stronger power of England, that murder is justifiable. During the late short session of Parliament, Lord John Russell brought forward a very moderate measure for strengthening the police force, and disarming the peasantry in disturbed districts, and immediately a part of the governing power of Ireland cries out that it is unjust. One leader, who was returned for two constituencies, and therefore expresses a double portion of popular feeling, declares “he would die on the floor of the House” before it should pass into law. Though the laugh was against him, and he has been treated as a fool, yet such an expression would never have escaped from Mr. John O’Connell, had he not felt that his supporters object to the increased powers of the law, and prefer the right of shooting their landlords at their own convenience. In his opposition to the Coercion Bill, Mr. O’Connell was followed by about eighteen Irish and one English member : now, supposing one or two of his party absent (as not more than half the Irish members voted), this gives us about a fifth of the voice of Ireland asserting the indefeasible right of killing their neighbours, and denying the power of the English Government to protect property and life. A fifth of a popular assembly is but a small part ; but let us recollect that twenty years ago there would not have been a twentieth : that this party rightly expect to be the dominant body in College-green ; that their numbers may be easily increased by the adhesion of country gentlemen like Mr. Richard Fox ; that ambition to obtain a seat in Parliament may make many vote against their principles as he has done ; that, as soon as the fifth

shall be a little more than doubled in an Irish parliament, the voice of the advocates for murder will be the law of the land. Mr. O'Connell is already taking steps to increase his force; he has denounced Mr. Grattan and Mr. Dillon Browne, who voted with ministers, plainly telling them and the world, that those who represent Meath and Mayo must vote with him, and not prevent the people from using their arms. Mr. O'Connell's letters are all to the same effect; he talks of the necessity for "some change in the law, which will put a stop to the mutual murders by landlord and tenant."

Dr. M'Hale, in his letter to Lord John Russell, dated "Feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, 1847" (rather an ominous sound where the archbishop disputes the power of the Crown), says—

"The cruel fate of those victims of murder we deeply lament. The misdeeds of those who robbed them of that life which can never be restored we abhor, and over their inhuman authors we cease not to grieve from our inmost souls. But whilst we deplore and stigmatise murder as drawing down the vengeance of Heaven on all who counsel or encourage such a dreadful crime, we can have no sympathy with that hypocritical sentimentality which affects such horror for the loss of life of a few individuals, and can view the silent slaughter of thousands without a particle of commiseration."

This clearly follows up Dr. M'Hale's former position in his letter to Lord Arundel, in which he asserts the right of the clergy to denounce any individual who may not be amenable to his spiritual authority.

"It is not to extenuate crime; that is out of the question; but within the range of lawful regimens, it might as well be said that the ordinary dietary suited to a sound man, is also fitted for one in the last state of sickness and exhaustion, as that the same course of instruction and discipline adapted to the well-adjusted relations of English society would be equally efficacious in restoring the shattered frame of society in Ireland. All I can say is, that from all your lordship could read and hear of their cruelties, the ordinary, the every-day recurring cruelties endured by the Irish peasantry, and inflicted by those from whose position and education some humanity should be expected, you would have no idea of the state of Ireland, or the difficult and anomalous position in which the Catholic clergy are placed. It is a state of which I pray your lordship will continue ignorant in England, to the benefit of the people, and the honour of their aristocracy and gentry. But whilst I sincerely wish you the continuance of this comparatively happy state, I beg, in return, to claim some indulgence for the position of those who are not similarly favoured. The clergy of Ireland may adopt a line of conduct, which, however within the pale of Catholic discipline as well as the constitution, may appear somewhat strange, nay, utterly unaccountable to their brethren in England. It may be—and I own it is the

case—that their conduct, strictly within the laws of propriety too, would appear equally strange to those on this side of the Channel in some circumstances. I have not the least doubt but many of those who thus view each other's conduct with equal surprise, would change their line of conduct if they were to exchange their mutual positions. And yet to neither one or the other should I impute inconsistency or any subserviency either to popular or aristocratic influences unworthy of their order. No, my lord; in those reflections I am only feebly copying those precepts of wisdom to which the ancient fathers of the Church, and especially the great Gregory, gave expression. He tells us that the mode and topics of address suited to one may not be applicable to another. He illustrates this judicious and seasonable variety of treatment by a reference to the different state of human constitution, and the same may be said of different states of society.

“Public denunciations of persons by name, whatever be their misdeeds, are not the practice in Ireland. The duties, however, of all, without exception, as they are contained in the code of Christian morality, come within the legitimate sphere of the priest's instructions. With regard to the observation of some not being amenable to the discipline of the Catholic church, I have only to remark that justice and humanity do not exclusively belong, or at least should not, to any peculiar body of Christians, and that the inculcation of those duties should form the theme of every pastor's instructions. True, the Catholic pastor cannot subject the violators of justice or humanity not belonging to the Catholic church to its rigorous penances and satisfactions, but that does not preclude his right of denouncing aggressions on the rights of justice and humanity belonging to his flock from any quarter. Such was the feeling, such, too, the practice, of the ancient fathers, who denounced the cruelties and persecutions of pagans and heretics against their flocks without thinking they were guilty of any inroad on the rights of others.”

As far as we can understand the facts of Major Mahon's case (above alluded to) among so many contradictions they are these: Mr. M'Dermot, the parish priest, disagreed with Major Mahon on some matter relating to the poor. The priests of course, as a body, have no interest in keeping down the rates, as they hold no land, but they have a direct interest in raising them, as their support is derived from the poor, and the more the paupers can obtain from the poor-rate, the more they will be able to give to the priest. Shortly after, a friend of Major Mahon's, a Roman Catholic, told him that Father M'Dermot had denounced him from the altar. We suppose, from the strong denials which have since appeared, that the name was not mentioned, but allusions and descriptions are quite as forcible as names. He spoke of Major Mahon's oppressions of the poor, and concluded his speech with these emphatic words: “This man is worse than Cromwell, and he lives.” Within two days, Major Mahon was murdered.

Dr. M'Hale, who, of course, is surrounded by his own flatterers, only takes his own side of the question, and asserts the right of a priest to denounce oppression, saying that the state of Ireland is very different from England, and therefore requires very different treatment; in other words, that circumstances justify Mr. M'Dermot in his denunciations, and circumstances excuse the murderer of Major Mahon. The sensation which these and other letters produced in England was entirely different from what the writers expected; they had told the truth without intending it, that the Repeal party in Ireland, with the Roman Catholic clergy at their head, are ready to aid and abet the murderer just so far as the law will not hold them personally responsible, and that, whatever crime may be committed, they will excuse the peasant, and throw the blame upon the Saxon oppressor. The party then took another turn; when "the Lion of the fold of Judah" (as Dr. M'Hale is profanely called) had failed in his purpose of justifying Mr. M'Dermot, and when the English press joined in the outcry against him, Dr. Browne, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Elphin, (whom O'Connell surnamed the Dove,) comes forward and denies the whole charge. This denial, however, has come too late, as all England, except those who are wilfully blind, now believe that Major Mahon owed his death to the denunciations of the parish priest. Had the Roman Catholic bishops known their own interest, they would at once have called M'Dermot to account, and then have removed or suspended him; but the attempt to justify his acts has placed the whole system in its true light, and shown that the Irish murders are not mere outbreaks of revenge from an injured peasant, but that the murderer is only an instrument in the hands of an organized party who have their own objects, and are determined to carry them at all hazards. To show the spirit of this party we quote a few paragraphs from some of their journals. The "Nation" of the 24th of December, 1847, thus commences its leading article:

"There have been no murders for three weeks. The pretence for the coercion bill is gone—but the coercion bill itself remains."—*Nation*.

"The oppression of the landlord class is the natural parent of agrarian crime.

"A few landlords have been slain by the hand of assassins, whose guilt no man can palliate; and the whole empire has been moved, and the executive has been armed with unusual power to prevent a repetition of the crime; thousands and tens of thousands of the poor have been slain, and not an effort is being made to avert a repetition of the slaughter."—*Weekly Freeman's Journal*, Jan. 1, 1848.

This latter journal seems to keep in type a set of words, "Saxon

thugs hounded on against the Catholic clergy." "English misrule and Irish misfortune." "The English press could not do less than halloo its moral assassins, the thugs of the dice-room, on the priests," &c. &c. All this, and much more, is in the same style as the celebrated speech of Archdeacon Laffan, who tells his audience that nothing but the want of personal courage prevents the English from being murderers as well as the Irish, and that if they were only used half as badly they would resent it in a much more savage manner.

Though late events have turned the current of public feeling in England, and attention is now drawn to the elements of discord which are at work in Ireland, we only wonder that the event had not sooner arrived. Let any one look over the Irish radical papers for the last twenty years, and see the way in which agrarian outrages have been treated, and he must be convinced that the readers of these papers are advocates of the system. Thus, when the conservative papers usually give a list of outrages under the head of "state of the country," we see in the opposition press the same facts headed "state of the country journals." And then as above, "murder is certainly inexcusable, but we do not wonder, where the poor are goaded to madness by oppression, that they take the only means of relieving themselves by the wild justice of revenge." "A single murderer is hanged, and perhaps he deserves it; but what shall we say of the legal murderer of thousands who exterminates his tenants, and then leaves them to die of starvation?" The late Mr. O'Connell often told his hearers that there were two evils in Ireland, landlord murder and clearance slaughter; and when Lord Norbury, a kind-hearted and improving landlord, was shot on the 1st of January, 1839, in his own demesne, Mr. O'Connell first spoke of the various oppressions of which he had been guilty, and then threw the blame on Lord Norbury's own son, saying, that no peasant ever committed the deed, that the foot-mark bore the trace of a gentleman's boot, and that he who had the greatest interest in the death of the deceased, was most likely to have been the assassin. For several weeks, his great subject was abuse of Lord Oxmantown, the friend of Lord Norbury, who carried on the investigation; thus drawing off attention from the murder to the person who was seeking for the truth; he denounced him as the slanderer of his country, said he was taking every means to screen the guilty, and impeach the innocent, and loudly called upon the government to dismiss him from the magistracy. The people of Ireland understood their leader well, the newspapers wrote up the principle, and agrarian outrages continued unchecked.

But while the Repeal party thus agree in the attack made upon



the property of the country, while they agree in calling murder the wild justice of revenge, and stimulate an ignorant peasantry with a history of wrongs real or imagined, we must not suppose that there are no shades and degrees of party among them. They present certainly a bold and formidable front at a distance, but on nearer inspection we find them split into factions among themselves, agreeing indeed in hatred to England, thirst for plunder, and anxiety for a revolution, but differing considerably as to the means by which they propose to attain these desirable ends. Daniel O'Connell was the general who led his forces to victory, he organized them in the struggle for emancipation, and he continued at their head after his object was attained. To keep up his power and levy his tribute it was necessary to open a new question, and this induced him to raise the cry of Repeal of the Union. At his death, however, rival leaders have sought in vain for his supremacy, and, like the successors of Alexander the Great, in the struggle for pre-eminence, the empire is dismembered. There are at present at least three parties among the Irish repealers, each expressing its opinions through its natural organs, the daily and weekly newspapers; let us observe the state of public feeling in each. In the first place we have the old Romish party which is represented by the Conciliation Hall, and guided by the priests and bishops, who now style themselves "the Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland." They have assumed a tone of superiority to all law, and hold themselves quite above reproof or question. We extract the following from Dr. M'Hale's letter to Lord Shrewsbury, dated "The Feast of the Chair of St. Peter, 1848."

"The staff, too, is for winning back, for sustaining the weary, and sometimes, but seldom, thank God! is there any such necessity, for correcting proud and incorrigible delinquents.

"It is on those great occasions, when the sanctuary is invaded—when justice, and humanity, and mercy are trampled on—when the flock is doomed to slaughter, and the dignity of the pontiffs either insulted or attempted to be seized by profane and sacrilegious hands, that religion displays itself in all its majesty. I have heard of a St. John Chrysostom denouncing with staff and crozier the sacrileges of the circus, and the unfeeling profligacy of the nobles of the imperial city. But you do not relish any ample references to those holy fathers. No matter; it may be well for your lordship and brother peers to get out of the murky medium of London, and breathe the purer atmosphere of those ancient times. I have heard of a St. Ambrose denounce, with staff and mitre, the master of the Roman world, the great Theodosius, for the murder of the citizens of Thessalonica, and forbid him to defile the sanctuary by his presence until he had atoned for his deeds of blood. I have heard of a St. Patrick, with staff and mitre, denounce the cruelties of Coro-

ticus, a British prince, who made an onslaught on his flock, and threaten the tyrant—pardon the uncourtly epithet, it is not mine—with the vengeance of Heaven. Nay, his zeal rose to an unusual height of indignation when he found this cruel tyrant aggravating his cruelty with insult, and treating the Irish (it seems the practice is not novel) as if they were not worthy to be treated like the Christians of Britain. You have just heard of a St. Hilary denouncing Constantius for his hypocritical attention to the bishops, with a view of sapping by fraud the faith which his predecessors could not subdue by violence. I have heard of a St. Leo, with mitre on head and staff in hand, checking the march of the chief of the Huns, and threatening him with the vengeance of Heaven. Should he not halt in his fiery career. We are told by that delightful writer, the author of the '*Mores Catholici*,' who has collected, like a truly pious pilgrim, the fragrance of ancient times, whose works I should peculiarly recommend to the English aristocracy, and Irish too, that there was at Troyes, a tower representing in a piece of sculpture Loup, its sainted bishop, with mitre on head and staff in hand, staying the march of the same wrathful Attila. In fine, I have heard of St. Laurence, the Archbishop of Dublin, denouncing, like another John the Baptist, the adulterous connexion of Morochad, who, to protect himself in his crimes, allied himself with those alien robbers, who let loose a brood of exotic vices on the land; and, like the great and holy Pontiff, Gregory the Seventh, Laurence, because he loved justice, died in exile; yet, in all their denunciations, they wielded only their spiritual arms, and, like the Irish calumniated clergy, calming and soothing the spirits of their suffering flocks to resignation, whilst they failed not to denounce against crime the vengeance of the Almighty.

“You have insulted the majesty of Rome—Catholic Rome—when you laboured to tarnish the fame of one of the fairest, assuredly one of the most faithful, of the daughters of the Roman church, ‘the mother and the mistress of all churches,’ and added another poignant grief to the many others by which the Holy Father is bowed down, in attributing to the guilty connivance of the hierarchy of our country, those disorders which they labour incessantly to correct, and which, had you sufficient candour or moral courage to avow it, you should rather have traced to the uniform misgovernment of your own. You have represented this hierarchy ‘as an accessory to crime—as a pestilent sore in the commonwealth.’ And you have, as far as in you lay, accredited the misrepresentations that are hourly sent forth to the ‘Eternal City’ for the purpose of enslaving the Irish hierarchy.”

The priests have held meetings all over the country, no less than four such appear as advertisements in the “*Weekly Freeman*” of the 22nd of January last. We quote the following examples:—

“At a meeting of the Deanery of Boyle, January 17th,

“Resolved—That our unbounded gratitude is eminently due to the

two great champions of the Irish Church, namely, our own revered Archbishop, and the excellent Bishop of Derry, who have so triumphantly vindicated the calumniated priesthood, thus making the cause of truth and justice shine even brighter than ever in the effulgence of their matchless eloquence; whilst, on the contrary, the *vile reptiles*, who attempted to stab in the dark, unprotected innocence, have cowardly skulked behind the hedge, not daring to confront in open day the defenders of that insulted body, whose reputation with fiendish malignity they strove to destroy.

"Resolved—That John O'Connell, the son and chosen successor of our great departed leader, has justly entitled himself to our confidence by a life of labour and honesty; and that he has covered himself with honour by the part he has so prudently and manfully taken during the last eventful session of parliament; himself and that little band of patriots, the forlorn hope of Ireland, surrounded as he was by a host of open foes, and, worse still, betrayed by *domestic* enemies; that we therefore consider it a duty to him, to ourselves, and to our helpless flocks, to sustain, as far as our poverty will permit, that bulwark of Ireland's rights and liberties, the Repeal Association, with the son of O'Connell at its head, to teach the people those holy lessons of peace, order, and sound morality, which have been always taught and practised by his illustrious father, the immortal architect of that association."

"At a meeting of the clergy of Killala, January 11th,

"Resolved—That the afore-mentioned hostile spirit of the English people towards the Irish priesthood is further evinced by the fact, that the reiterated denunciations poured forth at the last session in parliament against the inhuman oppression, the systematic tyranny, and the grinding injustice of the Irish landlords are passed over in silence, while certain members of parliament are reported slanderously to inveigh against the more temperate, and *certainly* the less inflammatory language of the priest, and try to avert attention from the real cause of the evil, by fastening the guilt on the shoulders of those who are now, as well as on every other similar occasion, the best conservators of the public peace.

"Resolved—That the result of the special commission now sitting, will prove, as the experience of ages hath already too clearly proved, that the relations between landlord and tenant are the never-failing sources of the miseries, as well as, of the murders of Ireland; and that parliament, if it sincerely wishes to alleviate the former and prevent the latter, must devise some means by which the woe of the poor, as well as the rights of the rich, may be secured.

(Signed)



THOMAS FEENEY, Chairman.

PATRICK MALONE, C.C., Secretary.

We could easily multiply such extracts to show that though the priests now deny that they encourage crime, yet they put forward very good reasons to show that they are not surprised at it:

“the people are oppressed; the relations of landlord and tenant are all wrong; let the legislature amend these before they try the assassins for murder.” Now it is a fact, which few Englishmen believe, that every Roman Catholic is bound to obey his spiritual superior in all spiritual matters, and that every spiritual superior is to judge as to what is a spiritual matter. The pope, or the bishop, issues his order, and the inferior clergy convey it to their flocks. If they question it, they do so at the peril of their salvation; and the laity must obey under the same sanction. The religion, then, of the great body of the uneducated Irish consists in obedience to the dictates of the priest. “He who will not hear the Church is to be as a heathen;” in each parish the priest personifies the Church, and to disobey him is equal to the sin of apostasy or heathenism. The priests, therefore, hold the key to every man’s conscience; they may blame the famine, or say that the false position of the tenants stimulates them to revenge; but it is nevertheless true, that if the hierarchy were to publish a circular, saying, that no murderer should receive the rites of the Church, that those who protect him should be excommunicated, agrarian outrages would cease at once.

Some years ago there was a great demand for scriptural instruction, there is still in many places the greatest desire for the Bible; but the spiritual guides have denounced the readers of the Scriptures, they have refused the rites of the Church to those who send their children to Protestant schools; in many places the priest orders the employer to dismiss a labourer who proves contumacious, and thus by a concerted system, by putting one man to be a spy upon another, and by holding fast the consciences of all, they can, in a great degree, frustrate the efforts of Protestants, and retain their flocks in spiritual bondage. If the same plan were adopted with regard to crime in the county Tipperary, it would, in a few years, be as peaceable as any part of England. There is, however, a good reason why the Bible and the landed interest should be equal objects of jealousy with the priests: their great object is power; few of them can ever accumulate wealth; if they do so, a considerable portion must always be left to the Church, and they have no families to provide for; a priest is a sort of abstraction, his personal identity is absorbed in his sacerdotal office. Power for their order is, therefore, what they most desire, and they are at this moment the strongest body in Ireland; but one obstacle remains between them and universal sway, and that barrier is the landed property. The occupancy of land, except in Ulster, is almost exclusively Roman Catholic; whatever, therefore, gives the occupier stronger rights than the proprietor, strengthens the power of the Church. This, whether

called by the name of tenant-right, fixity of tenure, or fair rents; is a matter of the deepest importance to M'Hale and his clergy. We have often felt surprised at the inconsistency of the Roman Catholic party. Popery and arbitrary power are naturally connected; and of all religious denominations they are the most absolute in enforcing their decrees. It is, therefore, a most anomalous position for the ministers of a tyrannical church to be found united with dissenters, infidels, and radicals; but we must recollect, that, before they assumed this position, they had first established their spiritual tyranny over their own subjects, they have organized them as an army ready to obey all orders; the tendency of the age is democratic, and where they expect to gain a victory they do not scruple to take advantage of the assistance of such allies as they can find, without inquiry whether they agree in principle or practice.

Liberty of conscience is a word easily used; but, the moment a Roman Catholic begins practically to apply it, the whole spiritual authority of Rome is brought to bear against him, the priest lays his curse upon him, and every neighbour becomes his enemy. With the great body of the population, therefore, under such obedience, we cannot wonder that the priests should cry out for democratic institutions; as long as the multitude obey them the voice of the people must be paramount; and the grand object of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is, to place the people in subjection to the priests, and the institutions of the country in the hands of the people. The landlord, however, has still great power; his interests are so closely connected with those of his tenants, and he has so many opportunities of serving them, that while his property is large, his temporal influence must be in proportion to it. If any portion of his property can be diverted into another channel, or if he can be kept in fear of the people, the priest has gained so much in power. It is most remarkable, that, during the late struggle between the agricultural and manufacturing interest on the repeal of the Corn-laws, Ireland, an exclusively agricultural country, should have supported the party opposed to herself. Religion was here unquestioned, the only consideration for the farmer was, Shall I have a lower price for my grain if the protective duties be removed? and thousands of Irish farmers felt this. The priests, however, thought otherwise, they looked to the repeal of the Corn-laws as a blow to the antagonist power, and they therefore told the people they must vote for their abolition. "Shout for cheap bread," said Mr. O'Connell; and the farmers took up the cry, and voted for the reduction of their own produce. In this matter, the present Pope seems to have taken a lesson from Dr. M'Hale and his party, he

has encouraged democracy in politics, but he is still absolute in religion, expecting to subdue the nobility through the blind devotion of the people. We think they are both mistaken, and that ultimately they will frustrate their own ends.

While the Roman Catholic Church continues to hold a nation under spiritual bondage, they must, of course, be the most powerful body in the world; but when the people are taught their own strength, they sometimes rebel against their spiritual guides, and, becoming tired of blind subjection, they endeavour to strike out a course for themselves. This brings us to the second party of repealers, who are commonly called Young Ireland. This is a much less numerous, worse organized, and less dangerous body than the former, they are simply radicals, led by a few interested men, who stimulate their passions and flatter their weakness, either to obtain seats in Parliament, or to circulate a newspaper. While the Old Ireland party have an agent in every parish, educated and sworn to obey orders, while he is supposed to hold absolute power over the salvation of every individual in his flock, and can therefore guide them as he will, the party called Young Ireland are endeavouring to get up a sort of democratic organization in party clubs, repeal reading-rooms, national schools, and patriotic speeches. The great organ of this party is the "Nation" newspaper, their leader in Parliament, Mr. Smith O'Brien. To these representatives we therefore look for the expression of public opinion as entertained by the second body of the Irish repealers.

Mr. O'Brien voted against the coercion bill, for so far showing his opinion on the lawfulness and expediency of unrestrained murder; but the "Nation" is perhaps a better index of the peculiar feelings of this party; we turn to the last number for the year 1847, and we find there, what we never knew before, that there are now a great number of *confederate clubs* in Ireland. Besides five or six in Dublin, there is the Sarsfield Club in Limerick, at which "Dr. Daniel Griffin delivered a very able and interesting lecture." There is the Desmond Club at Cork, at which resolutions were passed to the effect "that England was determined to extend nothing to Ireland but brute force and violence," (they forget last year's alms,) "and that her measures have been characterized by rancorous hostility and contemptuous indifference." The President of the Davis Club, about the same time, lectured on the growth and decay of Irish trade. The same newspaper tells us of the confederates of Ardfert, in the county of Kerry, who met, "not to oppose the Conciliation Hall, but to obtain just rights, and to resolve that these rights, this Parliament, and the green flag, can be best restored by the measures adopted by the Irish confederation." These confederates have

also (as the "Nation" tells us) extended their clubs to England; we have the Brian Boru Club at Southampton, and the O'Connell Club in London, at both of which sundry extracts from the "Nation" were read. These meetings, of course, tend to keep up discontent, and to circulate the "Nation." This party is strictly republican, they are anxious to throw off British control, and, as far as they dare avow it in the present state of Ireland, they are equally jealous of the tyranny of the priests: their policy for the present is to praise them, and to make common cause with them against England, but, if they had the power, they would soon show that democratic infidelity is as impatient of spiritual despotism as of political control. The whole strength of this party consists in words, "Liberty," "National independence," "Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori." They have a vast desire after great names, and constantly attempt to attach importance to some thing or some body about whom no body hears, or no body cares. They remind us of Martin Chuzzlewit's friends in America, "Have you seen our Elijah Pogram?" "What's that?" "Have you never heard of the Pogram defiance?" "How little the Britishers can appreciate our institutions!" Elijah Pogram turns out to be a flaming patriot who is on board the steam-boat, who has abused the gentry, hates England, advocates repudiation and slavery, upholds free institutions, chews extensively, and bullies his fellow passengers. The "Nation" and its party remind us also of the ancient idolaters; the heathen seem to have had something left of the organ of veneration, but as they repudiated the legitimate worship of the true God, they sought out other objects of respect, and bowed down to stocks and stones, the work of their own hands. Thus the "Nation," like all ultra-republicans, reject the legitimate honour due to the king and his representatives, they scorn to submit to lawful authority, but at the same time they exalt some silly or self-interested demagogue as the god of their idolatry.

The praises of "Davis," once one of their contributors, who wrote rebellious songs, and advocated physical force, "the examples of" "Dathy, and Columbanus, and Brian, and Wolfe Tone," whom the editor professes to emulate, are all sounded forth in their articles. As the three former of these worthies belong to the period when good king Arthur ruled England from his round table, we do not exactly know how we are to follow their example, but the history of the last is a melancholy one; he led a French invasion into Ireland in the year '98, he was taken prisoner, and anticipated a traitor's death, by suicide, at the age of six-and-thirty. Of course he is an example for Irish patriots. So great an evil is English power in Ireland, that the invasion of a foreign

enemy would be a light misfortune in comparison : the weakness of England's defences, the probability of a French army landing in Ireland, are all discussed with a coolness which leads us almost to question the sanity of the writers ; and they are continually propounding the doctrine, that " England's weakness is Ireland's opportunity." Those who know any thing of the horrors of war, the country desolated, the people leaving all their property and escaping for their lives, the number of innocent men slain or wounded in battle, and the vast amount of physical suffering entailed upon the seat of war, must look with horror upon the calm and dignified hopes expressed by Irish patriots, that a French army may yet rescue Ireland from the hands of its imaginary oppressors. Our readers will find the subject treated with a great deal of humorous truth, in a book published last year, " the Falcon Family." The author has seen clearly the absurdity of Young Ireland, the shadows for which they are ready to fight, and the folly with which they pursue them. Imaginary grievances, the absurd attempt to attach importance to fabulous characters, and the vast desire for self-exaltation, which is the real object of the party, are all well depicted. If it were not that we occasionally see a number of the " Nation," we should have thought that the folly had passed away with the monster meetings and state trials of 1843 and 1844.

Public opinion, however, in Ireland does not stop here ; as Young Ireland split from O'Connell, on the grounds that it was hardly fair that one man should have all the talk and all the tribute to himself, and that the priests possessed too much power, so now a younger party, whom we may call Old Ireland's grand-child, is now making its appearance. The beginning of sin is as when one letteth out water, when the barrier is broken the torrent soon forces its own way ; so, while the " Nation " was going a step further than O'Connell, some of the " Nation's " disciples consider that they are not going far enough, and naturally desire to set up in the sedition line on their own account, and on thorough-going principles. Mr. O'Connell depends upon the priests ; Mr. Duffy of the " Nation " on some of the landlords and some of the middle class ; but Mr. Mitchell, late an editor of the " Nation," cannot agree with either, so he is determined to have an organ of his own. We extract a portion of his letter to the editor of the " Nation," explaining his reasons for leaving that publication. It is dated January 7, 1848.

" I desired to say all this to the people plainly. I desired to point out to them that this infamous bill, falsely entitled ' for the prevention of crime,' was merely an engine to crush tenant-right, and all other



popular right, and to enable the landlords to eject, distrain, and exterminate in peace and security. I desired to preach to them, that every farmer in Ireland has a right to his land in perpetuity (let 'law' say as it will);—that no landlord who denies that right ought to receive any rent;—that tenant-right, however, though the universal right of all Irish farmers, never had been, and never would be recognised or secured by English law—that there was and will be no other way of establishing and securing that right, except, as in Ulster, by successful intimidation, that is to say, by the determined public opinion of armed men:—that, therefore, the power calling itself a 'government' which called upon the people of Ireland to deliver up their arms under any pretext, must be the mortal enemy of that people, their rights, their liberties, and their lives. I desired to warn my countrymen accordingly, that if they should carry their guns to the police stations when ordered by Lord Clarendon, they would be putting weapons into the hands of their deadly foes, and committing virtual suicide. I desired to preach to them that the country is actually in a state of war—a war of 'property' against poverty—a war of 'law' against life; and that their safety lay, not in trusting to any laws or legislation of the enemies' parliament, but solely in their determination to stand upon their own individual rights, defend those to the last, and sell their lives and lands as dear as they could.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Therefore I desired that the nation and the confederation should rather employ themselves in promulgating sound instruction upon military affairs—upon the natural lines of defence which make the island so strong, and the method of making those available—upon the construction and defence of field-works, and especially upon the use of proper arms—not with a view to any immediate insurrection, but in order that the stupid 'legal and constitutional' shouting, voting, and 'agitating' that have made our country an abomination to the whole earth, should be changed into a *deliberate study of the theory and practice of guerilla warfare*; and that the true and only method of regenerating Ireland might in course of time recommend itself to a nation so long abused and deluded by 'legal' humbug."

This letter was followed shortly after by the following prospectus of a new paper. This it would be a pity to mutilate, so we give it entire.

"On Saturday, the 12th day of February, will be published the first number of a Dublin Weekly Journal, entitled 'The United Irishman,' edited by John Mitchell, aided by Thomas Devin Reilly, John Martin of Loughorn, and other competent contributors.

"Our independence must be had at all hazards. If the men of property will not support us, they must fall: we can support ourselves by the aid of that numerous and respectable class of the community, the men of no property.'—*Theobald Wolfe Tone*."

“The projectors of ‘The United Irishman’ believe that the world is weary of Old Ireland and also of Young Ireland—that the day for both these noisy factions is past and gone—that Old and Young alike have grown superannuated and obsolete together.

“They believe that the public ear is thirsting to hear some voice bolder, more intelligible, more independent of parties, policies, and cliques, than any it has heard for a long while.

“They believe that Ireland really and truly wants to be freed from English dominion.

“They know not how many or how few will listen to their voice. They have no party prepared to halloo at their backs; and have no trust, save in the power of truth, and the immortal beauty of freedom. He that hath ears to hear, let him ear.

“The principles on which ‘The United Irishman’ will be conducted are shortly these:—

“1st. That the Irish people have a just and indefeasible right to this island, and to all the moral and material wealth and resources thereof, to possess and govern the same for their own use, maintenance, comfort, and honour, as a distinct sovereign state.

“2nd. That it is in their power, and it is also their manifest duty to make good and exercise that right.

“3rd. That the life of one peasant is as precious as the life of one nobleman or gentleman.

“4th. That the property of the farmers and labourers of Ireland is as sacred as the property of all the noblemen and gentlemen in Ireland, and is also immeasurably more valuable.

“5th. That the custom called tenant-right, which prevails partially in the north of Ireland, is a just and salutary custom both for north and south; that it ought to be extended and secured in Ulster, and adopted and enforced, by common consent, in the other three provinces of the island.

“6th. That every man in Ireland who shall hereafter pay taxes for the support of the state, shall have a just right to an equal voice with every other man in the government of that state, and the outlay of those taxes.

“7th. That no Irishman at present has any ‘legal’ rights, or claim to the protection of any law; and that all ‘legal and constitutional agitation’ in Ireland is a delusion.

“8th. That every free man, and every man who desires to become free, ought to have arms, and to practise the use of them.

“9th. That no ‘combination of classes’ in Ireland is desirable, just, or possible, save on the terms of the rights of the industrious classes being acknowledged and secured.

“10th. That no good thing can come from the English parliament, or the English government.

“To enforce and apply these principles—to make Irishmen thoroughly understand them, lay them up in their hearts, and practise

them in their lives—will be the sole and constant study of the conductors of 'The United Irishman.'

"For the rest, 'The United Irishman' will be regularly supplied with historical and literary articles, and reviews of all books published in Ireland, or specially relating to Ireland. As a newspaper, it will be carefully selected and compiled, so as to present its readers with a complete summary of each week's news.

"Subscription (payable in advance)

Yearly	..	..	..	£1	1	0
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Office, 12, Trinity-street, Dublin.

"Agents for all the towns in Ireland wanted."

This is bold and plain speaking, but, like Dr. M'Hale's letters, it tells the truth, and honest men should be much obliged to them both. There are at this moment many thousands, we might say a million or two, who coincide with these sentiments. A respectable farmer, in a peaceable district, in commenting on the late murders, coolly said, "When a few hundred more are shot we shall have tenant-right;" and this feeling among the peasantry is very general. The priests, agitators, and newspapers have taught them that they are the finest and the most oppressed peasantry in the world, and they are naturally eager to rid themselves of their tyrants. They believe that they have a right to carry arms, and to practise the use of them; and, if this has any meaning, it is, that shooting an oppressor is a justifiable action. Thus we see that public opinion among the repealers, divides itself into three classes,—the supporters of the usurped authority of the priests, the advocates of democracy, and the preachers of guerilla warfare and open revolution.

As yet, however, Ireland is controlled by the stronger force of public opinion in England; when murder is practised in the open day-light, and approved by the inhabitants of a district, that district must be re-conquered, and, if one prime-minister is not strong enough to do it, another must be found to take his place. For many years Whig ministries in England were blind to the real state of Ireland. The tithe agitation of 1832, and the murders of the clergy which followed it, were winked at or passed by as easily as the law would allow. Roman Catholic magistrates, many of them noted agitators, were appointed in order to have the confidence of the people, and they were ready with plausible excuses for every act of violence.

When Lord Normanby was Lord-Lieutenant, he forbid the crown lawyers to challenge jurors at the assizes; and he allowed the juries to be selected from the lower class of farmers. A prisoner, therefore, by challenging as many as the law allows, could go through the panel until he got a friend or accomplice on the jury, and he could then be sure there would be no conviction. In some instances, the sub-sheriffs were accused of being parties to these arrangements, but in all cases it was evident that a paternal government had no desire to convict. When, as rarely happened, a criminal was convicted, the crown either ordered a light sentence, or Lord Normanby pardoned him altogether at the recommendation of the priests.

So the reign of Lord Normanby was a sort of jubilee to all the ill-disposed in Ireland, and Mr. O'Connell gave the government his support in return for the impunity which they conferred on his followers. The Irish evidently expected a renewal of the same terms of peace on the accession of Lord John Russell to office; and the foolish declaration of Mr. Labouchere, that "every Irishman now possesses the right to carry arms for lawful purposes," only confirmed their expectations. Public opinion in England has in this instance grievously disappointed them; Lord Clarendon really understands the state of the country, and is determined to enforce the law: the law officers of the crown have got a strong hint that they must do their duty efficiently, and the special commission has returned from the trials at Limerick, Clare, and Tipperary. By a short summary of the facts elicited on the trials, our readers will be able to appreciate the fruits of Irish agitation, and the teaching of the priests; they will also see what the people are for whom Mr. John O'Connell claims the right of self-government, and for whom Mr. Mitchell asserts the right to carry arms and practise their use.

The first case brought up for trial at Limerick was that of the murder of John Kelly, of Knocksantry, a farmer of the lower class, on the 22nd of July, 1847. It appeared in evidence, that William Ryan, commonly called Puck, or Ryan Puck (the Irish give very expressive nicknames), entered Kelly's house in the evening, while he was sitting at the fire with his nephew, a boy of twelve years old, beside him, and his wife, and other inmates of the family, in the kitchen along with him: Ryan came close up to him, so that all persons present could distinguish his features, and fired a blunderbuss loaded with eleven bullets into Kelly's body; one of these passed through Kelly and wounded his nephew in the leg. Ryan was well known to several inmates of the family, and was not disguised. As the quarrel arose about dispossessing a tenant, he plainly calculated on the power of the Ribbon system

of intimidation, and that none of the witnesses could be prevailed on to swear against him. Several of these, whose evidence on the trial was stronger than before the magistrates, declared that when first called upon they were afraid to speak the truth. Ryan was afterwards taken in the house of John Frewen; he was concealed on the top of a bed, and had his blunderbuss again loaded with eleven bullets in his hand, and had it not been for the determined conduct of the sub-inspector, he would probably have shot some of the police who came to arrest him. He was sentenced to be hanged; and Frewen, who concealed him, is to be transported for life, as an accessory after the fact. William Ryan was engaged in another murder in the county of Clare, as appeared on the trial of his brother, Patrick Ryan, at Ennis. It also appeared, that, five days before the murder of John Kelly, he had attempted to murder his brother, Michael Kelly. He was evidently a most determined ruffian, and ready to murder any one for hire, though only about twenty years of age.

The next trial was of Andrew Dea, aged 17, for the murder of Edmond Murphy, on the 9th of June, 1847. It appeared that the father of the prisoner had been ejected from some land by the Court of Chancery, about the end of last May; and that his successor was a man named Noonan. A few days after, Andrew Dea and his brother Patrick went towards Noonan's house armed with pistols, and met Noonan and his brother-in-law, Edmond Murphy, on the road. Patrick presented his pistol at Noonan, and it missed fire; for this he was transported at the last assizes; at the same time Andrew Dea fired at Murphy, and shot him dead.

The third capital conviction was in the case of Thomas Renahan, aged 21, for the murder of John M'Enery, on the 3rd of October, 1847. The prisoner was one of a gang who were engaged in robbing for arms; they had obtained what fire-arms were in the house, and they then dragged the unfortunate man from under a bed where he had concealed himself, and beat him so severely that he died the following day. The reason assigned for this barbarous murder was, that the prisoner, who held thirty acres of land, had impounded some cattle belonging to M'Enery, that a quarrel had ensued, and that M'Enery had prosecuted him at the petty-sessions for an assault on a young man in his employment; while in the act of beating him to death, Renahan used the expression, "Remember the last court-day."

When the judges returned to Limerick, after holding the court at Ennis, James Skehan was brought in guilty of the murder of Mr. Ralph Hill, on the 18th of November, 1847. The prisoner in this case was servant to John Quan, a farmer,

whose haggard had been distrained for rent, and, from a difficulty in finding purchasers, Mr. Hill, a land-agent, had brought a number of persons in his own employment to bid for the corn, which they bought the day before the murder. While they were engaged in removing it, the prisoner concealed himself behind a ditch, and fired two shots at the party from a double-barrelled gun; both shots took effect; Mr. Hill died instantly of his wound, and one of his men, named M'Mahon, was wounded, but escaped. Immediately after, a third shot was fired from the same place, and a man, named Tobyn, severely wounded. The bailiffs then retreated, leaving Mr. Hill's body and Tobyn behind them, until they could procure assistance. A little boy of nine years old proved that he saw Skehan making bullets, and that several persons had spoken of the murder the day before: on that occasion the prisoner had said, "it is a murder not to kill Hill;" and John Quan, the master of the farm, assented. Quan was afterwards put on his trial, and convicted of aiding and abetting in the murder; he had openly declared his intention of resisting the removal of the corn; he had advised the carmen to keep out of the way, or they would be sorry, and he was standing close by when the shots were fired. Both these men were left for execution.

The next case is one of peculiar atrocity, giving us an idea of fierce determination and murderous revenge, for which we were altogether unprepared, even in Limerick. It appears that in the month of November, 1846, a man named Philip Hourigan had been attacked and beaten so severely as to endanger his life: he had convicted four of the assailants at the subsequent assizes; ever since he had lived in perpetual apprehension of being murdered, and, having made known his fears to the authorities, he had been allowed to have a guard of two or three policemen to sleep in his house. According to the "Times' Commissioner," it is no uncommon sight in Tipperary to see a workman ploughing, or a tradesman following his business, attended by two Government officers dressed in uniform, and supported by the country—nothing less will give the poor man security for his life. The guard, however, were in the habit of retiring for an hour or two in the morning to get their breakfast, and the ruffians, taking advantage of this unguarded hour, entered Hourigan's house about seven o'clock in the morning of the 6th of April, 1847. Hourigan was at a little distance, and, seeing that the party were armed, and had their faces blackened, he first concealed himself, and then went to call for assistance. Disappointed of their intended victim, the murderers determined to have their revenge; they found the wife and daughter of Hourigan sitting by the fire, and his son, a lad of seventeen years of age, in bed, in fever. They deli-

berately shot the woman in presence of her daughter, and then struck her on her head with their guns till she fell into the fire, and died in a few minutes : they then proceeded to the bed-room, where Cornelius Hourigan was ill ; one of them lifted him up, and set him against the wall as a mark, and another deliberately shot him dead. The party then proceeded leisurely through the country ; they were seen by several persons, and easily described to the police. For this deed, one man, named Michael Howard, was hanged at the last assizes, and another of the same name is now under sentence of death.

The trials at Ennis are somewhat to the same effect ; the first case was the murder of Mr. James Watson, agent to Mr. Arthur. It appears that Mr. Watson had distrained a farmer, named John Crowe, about the beginning of May, 1847. It was proved that shortly afterwards, William Ryan (Puck), who was sentenced at Limerick, Patrick Ryan (Small), and James Hayes, were brought to Crowe's house ; that he used threatening language regarding Mr. Watson, and prevailed on these three men to undertake the murder for a sum of money. Patrick Ryan received 5*l*. They met Mr. Watson on the 17th of May last, in the middle of the day, as he was riding on a road where it was known he must pass. They fired at him, and he fell ; they then attacked him with their guns, the stock of one was found broken, and Mr. Watson died in four days of the injuries he had received. This murder was committed within a few yards of a national school, several of the most important witnesses were pupils, and it does not appear that the murderers took any means of concealing themselves ; they seem to have trusted to public opinion, or Captain Rock's reign of terror, as their safeguard. For this offence the two men who committed the murder, and John Crowe who paid them for it, are sentenced to be hanged.

After the murderers of Mr. Watson, the next important trial was that of Michael Butler and William Hourigan, both about forty years of age, for the murder of William Cleary, a man in very humble life, on the 6th of November last. The deceased had prosecuted some persons for an outrage at the Spring assizes, and the prisoners shot him for revenge, as he was on his way home from the village of Broadford ; Cleary lived till the 21st of the month, and the prisoners were convicted on his dying declaration, supported by the testimony of persons who saw them on the road. The Chief Baron passed sentence of death on both the prisoners.

Thomas M'Enerney was next convicted of the murder of Martin M'Mahon, which took place while the prisoner was attacking a dwelling-house, on the 3rd of January, 1848, the day

before the Special Commission opened at Limerick. As it appeared to the court that there was no premeditated intention of murder, as the guns were not loaded, the prisoner and his associates (the latter pleaded guilty) will be transported. Michael M'Mahon was also convicted of a conspiracy to murder Mr. Matthew Bolland. The chief evidence against him was Michael Hawkins, who proved that the prisoner had asked him to collect money, as 9*l.* would be sufficient to have Mr. Bolland shot. The reason assigned was, that Mr. Bolland had prevented the labourers on the public works from getting their diet; also, that Mr. Bolland held a good many farms, and if he were out of the way, some poor man would get them. Another witness proved that the prisoner had offered him 5*l.* to shoot Bolland. Another, that he had asked him to subscribe, because if his (witness's) land were vacant, Bolland would take it. It seems that one of the witnesses would have joined in the conspiracy, but he grew frightened, and consulted his priest, who dissuaded him from it. The fact of consulting a spiritual guide on such a subject, shows rather an extraordinary state of society, and, at least, argues that the witness did not feel quite sure of the view which the Church might take of the morality of the case, or the expediency of the act. As Mr. Bolland, however, appeared as a witness, and had received no hurt, the prisoner will only be transported. Sentence of death was recorded in these two cases.

England has heard much of the murder of landlords, and certainly many of them have lost their lives; but let us recollect that all the foregoing cases, except two, were men in the humble walks of life. Mr. Watson was a land-agent, and Mr. Hill seems to have been an under-agent; but, with these exceptions, the murdered men were all in the rank of small farmers or labourers. Let this be a lesson to the agitators and demagogues who so powerfully uphold the rights of "the men of no property." If Englishmen read of such events, they often pass them over as matters of little consequence; it is only the murder of a gentleman's steward, or a bailiff, shot while distraining. When, however, a gentleman, or one whose name is in some degree known, falls a victim to the Irish agrarian law, a greater sensation is created; among these we may number Major Mahon, the Rev. Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Hassard, in the north; and the late Mr. William Roe in the south. Mr. Roe was a gentleman of small but independent fortune, he had been called to the bar, and generally resided near Dublin, but used to spend a portion of every year on his property, at his mother's house, Rockwell, in the county Tipperary. He was son-in-law of the late Mr. Patrick Clarke, who was murdered about four years ago in the same



county: this murder was committed (as our readers may recollect) in the field with six or eight of his own labourers, who never left their work, or attempted to assist their master, or pursue the assassins. In the month of August last, Mr. Roe had ejected a family who had not paid rent for some years: Mr. Roe had said some time before, that Lonergan's family were likely to give him trouble, but that he was not afraid, as he understood the management of the country so well. However, on the 2nd of last October, as he was passing through his property at Boytonrath, John Lonergan, one of the family who had been ejected, waited for him behind a hedge, he fired at the distance of about six or seven yards, eleven large swan-drops entered Mr. Roe's head and the back of his neck, and he died instantaneously. Lonergan had been heard to say, that "there were some black birds in the country, and it would be a mercy to shoot some of them." He had also been seen to watch Mr. Roe for several days. When the deed was done, he coolly returned to his house, and said Mr. Roe had shot himself. This is the approved formula in Ireland whenever an outrage is committed, "Oh, the villain, sure he did it himself!" and lately a bench of magistrates were convinced that a complainant, who was frightfully mutilated, had actually cut off his own ears! It was proved on the trial, that Mr. Roe's gun-cane was found charged, and the shot entered his back. A little girl, whose evidence was wrung from her with great difficulty, told the magistrates that her aunt, the wife of Lonergan, had said, on hearing the shot, "Come in, Mary, for Johnny has just shot Mr. Roe." This same woman, since her husband's conviction, has said, "he did a good job any way;" and his brother has remarked, that "many a better man has been hanged." The police discovered a paper on the scene of the murder, which was torn from a copy-book in Lonergan's house, and he was seen near his place of concealment by numbers of people. The jury found him guilty, and sentence of death has been passed on him. From the publicity of the place, close to a number of houses, it is quite evident that Lonergan, like most of the perpetrators of agrarian outrages, calculated on the state of public opinion in his favour, and that either the witnesses would not come forward, or the jury would not convict him. Lonergan left home until Christmas-day, he then supposed the matter was forgotten, but was taken by the police. This was the first trial at Clonmel.

Two brothers, named Philip and Henry Cody, were next convicted of the murder of Edward Madden, an under-steward to Lord Ormond, on the 9th of July, 1847. It appears that the deceased was assisting John Kelly, a steward or overseer of work-

men. John Kelly stated, that Lord Ormond had 166 persons at work that week in a wood; they were employed in felling trees, stripping bark, and removing brush-wood. That at about half-past five o'clock in the morning he was proceeding to the wood to call over the men, when he heard a shot, and heard Madden cry out; he then saw a man come from behind a heap of brush-wood, and fire a second shot; another man then fired a third shot at Madden, while he was endeavouring to reach a gap in the ditch. Neither Kelly, nor any of the men who were with him, attempted to pursue the murderers, the reason which he assigns is, that he thought they would have been out of sight before he could reach them. All this took place about half-past five o'clock, and before six; more than a hundred people were at their work. Many of these, who were assembling from all parts of the country, must have heard the shots, and met the murderers, as they were making their escape—as no one, except the men who fired, was going *from* the wood. Henry Oody did not appear that day; but Philip came at one o'clock, and earned half-a-day's wages. All this transaction shows a coolness and disregard for human life which we can scarcely realize in England. An overseer sees his assistant killed within a few hundred yards of him; he sees two shots, and hears a third fired at him; yet he takes no means of ascertaining who are the murderers, but goes quietly to his work within half-an-hour, and sets his labourers to their business as if nothing had happened. We suppose the deceased had had some dispute with the workmen as to their wages, or the quantity of their work; he could not have been much above the rank of a labourer, as he could not write, and his dying deposition, which identified the prisoners, was signed with a mark. Here, as in Mr. Roe's case, it is quite evident that the murderers rightly calculated on the assistance or connivance of the whole body of the labourers; that the hundred men who were at work at six o'clock, or a large proportion of them, are accessaries to the crime, and morally guilty of murder; and that even the steward, who ought naturally, from personal motives, to have assisted the sufferer, or pursued the murderers, was afraid to stir in the business, and seemed to consider the whole transaction as a matter of course.

Terence Corboy, the murderer of Patrick Gleeson, seems to have committed his crime with the same cool expectation of impunity. Gleeson was a process-server, and employed to serve notices on defaulters in rent; on the 17th of October, 1846, he attempted to serve notices of ejectment on the lands of Gurtna-fauna between the hours of eight and nine in the morning; he was pursued by a crowd consisting of three or four men, and the rest women and children, who, according to one of the witnesses,

"were shouting him off the road." He was inquiring for the house of John Commins, when the prisoner came up and said, "You have had your life long enough," and then fired the contents of a blunderbuss into his body. Though wounded, Patrick Gleeson did not fall immediately; but the prisoner, in the view of several witnesses, and close to the crowd above mentioned, came up, and first knocked him down with his blunderbuss, and then struck him on the head till his skull was fractured. The unfortunate man lived for five days, but his evidence was inadmissible, as his medical attendant could not prove that he had seen him in his senses; he was described as shot through the liver, and his skull smashed in. Conscience, however, in the case of Terence Corboy was not entirely asleep; he fled to Wales, and being overtaken in a storm, he confessed to one of his companions that he had been engaged in a murder; he said also that he had received 5*l.* 16*s.* which was subscribed to pay him for his deed. This instance affords us another melancholy proof that the agrarian outrages of Ireland are not the work of one disappointed tenant, or one desperate villain rendered reckless of life by ill-treatment, (as some of the newspapers would lead us to believe,) but they are the natural effect of a regularly organized system, and that the whole district participates in the guilt of the perpetrator by assisting, rewarding, and concealing him.

The attempt to murder Mr. Baillie is the last of the capital crimes, and with it we shall conclude our detail of the Special Commission; like the murder of Mr. Roe it is still fresh in the recollection of our readers. Mr. Baillie and his brother-in-law, Mr. Head, were returning from Nenagh in a gig, about five o'clock in the evening of the 13th of November, 1847. It appeared that John Daly (who has been convicted) had been arrested for the sum of 70*l.* due to a Mr. Rowley, for whom Mr. Baillie was agent. It was shown, on the testimony of two approvers, Garrigan and Dwyer, that Daly, with men named Carty, Rowan, and Connors, had spoken to them of the murder, that some of the party had offered the price of a suit of clothes to one of the approvers to shoot Mr. Baillie. Here are six men at least implicated in the conspiracy. Daly, it seems, not being able to find a deputy, undertook the business himself. In company with two or three others, he waylaid Mr. Baillie, and shot him as he was passing by. One of the bullets struck Mr. Head's hat, and for several weeks Mr. Baillie's life was in the greatest danger; his jaw was broken, and his face shockingly disfigured; and he was unable to appear at the trial. There is one feature in this case of peculiar enormity, which we have not seen in the public prints, but which has been given us on unquestionable authority. The shot was fired close to the house of a tenant or dependent of

Mr. Baillie, who had received several marks of kindness from him; among other trifling attentions, some of the ladies of his family had lately given them a present of some delft and other articles of furniture, which Mr. Head recognized on entering the cabin, and supposed he was among friends; he carried the wounded man into the house and laid him on the bed, but not a single individual of the family would go for a surgeon. All his threats and entreaties were ineffectual, he was obliged to leave his dying brother among his enemies, and proceed two miles back to Nenagh himself; passive resistance was the order of the day, and Mr. Baillie had been shot by the combined people of Ireland. In Mr. Head's absence, the violent thirst, which often follows the inflammation of a gun-shot wound, had set in, and Mr. Baillie entreated the woman of the house to bring him a glass of water; though several women were present they all refused, and the wounded man, apparently dying, being unable to stand upright, was obliged to crawl on his hands and feet along the ground, in the darkness of a winter's night, to a ditch in the neighbourhood of the cabin, and drink the dirty water out of his own hand! Let Ireland boast of her kind-hearted peasantry after this; the barbarity of such conduct is we believe unparalleled in the annals of human ferocity, but it is only a part of the frightful system where men and women are inured to the perpetration of crime, and taught to consider themselves bound to oppose a common enemy. The light that is in them is darkness, and how great is that darkness! We cannot forget that on this latter trial, Nicholas Garrigan, the approver, declared that, being a friend and relation of Daly, he was quite ready to shoot any one whom Daly should point out to him; and when the counsel for the prisoner asked if he would have murdered him at Daly's desire, he replied that he certainly would. Daly is now under sentence of death, and Rowan, who was acquitted of the murder, will be tried at the next assizes for a conspiracy<sup>1</sup>.

The production of such hardened villains as Garrigan, as crown witnesses, has been much canvassed, and some have found fault with the crown prosecutors for using them at all. We think, that, like Lord Clarendon's other acts, it has been one displaying sound judgment; combination is the great evil, and nothing so effectually tends to break up combination as distrust of each other and the treachery of accomplices. The Chief Justice put this strongly forward, showing the people that the moment detection was expected, there was a sort of competition among the guilty which

<sup>1</sup> The result of the Special Commission is as follows:—To be hanged, 16; to be transported for life, 10; for less periods, 19; to be imprisoned for various periods, 36. This return does not include those sentenced to imprisonment or transportation at Clonmel.

should first turn informer, and escape his share of the punishment by betraying his friends. We would therefore severely punish all accessaries, and reward the traitors, not for their own sake, but for the interests of society at large. Hundreds must have been aware of the truth in several of the murders which we have narrated; the hope of a reward, and the fear of punishment, would soon stimulate some of these to give information, and, above all, it would infuse suspicion into the minds of those about to commit a crime, so that they would no longer calculate on an accomplice and supporter in every man they might chance to meet.

The Commission closed on the 2nd of February, and the sixteen criminals above mentioned were left under sentence of death. The cry of "saints and martyrs" has not been raised by the priests, as was done in the case of Brian Seery, who a few years ago was hanged for the attempt to murder Sir Francis Hopkins. Public opinion was rather too strong for this move, or we should doubtless have heard of it again. "Sainted Seery," and "martyred Seery" were repeated, till England almost believed that the man was not really guilty. The public opinion, however, of the party, which wishes to see the murderers escape, has found means to give vent to itself in another way. A public meeting was called in Dublin, on the 3rd of February, for the purpose of petitioning the Lord-Lieutenant to commute the sentences; and though, when the meeting assembled, the speakers did not think it advisable to ask for a reprieve in the present cases, yet they have petitioned parliament to abolish the punishment of death: they state that capital punishment is an interference with the prerogative of God, repugnant to the duties of a Christian state, and does not tend to the suppression of crime. There were of course resolutions observing "that murder is not justifiable;" such a salvo is quite necessary, but the real object evidently is that the people may feel that their leaders sympathize with them, and that they are quite ready to enter their protest against the penalty which God denounces upon him that sheddeth man's blood. Let us remember that the Lord Mayor of Dublin, who took the chair at the meeting, represents the feelings of the radical corporation, that he sits in the civic chair, first occupied since corporate reform by Daniel O'Connell himself, and that, besides a few priests and quakers, (who always seem to study a sort of false philanthropy,) the chief speaker was Mr. John Reynolds, the new Repeal member for the city of Dublin. This gives us a fair index of public opinion, that a large proportion of the corporators and electors of the second city in the British dominions are desirous, if they dare say so, that sixteen open assassins should not receive the due reward of their deeds. The Roman Catholic priesthood always avoid taking part

in a trial where a capital conviction may follow : this is a rule of their church, which they are ready to admit. A few years ago, from the disturbed state of the country, a difficulty arose in conveying the mail-bags to a remote village in the county of Kerry. One of the hostlers, a Protestant, who knew the country well, volunteered to carry the letters, but was attacked by a large crowd, and murdered on the road. The parish priest was riding by at the time, and either could not or would not interfere to save him. He was, however, as it was well known, perfectly cognizant of the facts, and could have given the best evidence. The post-office prosecuted for the murder, as well as the crown, and their lawyer (who is now a judge) called upon the crown prosecutor to insist upon the priest being produced as a witness : as Lord Normanby was in office at the time, this suggestion was refused, and the prisoners escaped for want of evidence. Here is another instance in which the laws of Rome are at variance with the laws of England, and another means by which the system now dominant in Ireland contrives to screen the guilty, and to leave the innocent at their mercy.

From these facts we have arrived at the following conclusions as to the state of religion and politics in Ireland.

1. That universal dominion over soul and body, conscience and property, is the object of the "Catholic Hierarchy;" that nothing else will satisfy them; and that all further concessions, short of giving them their desires, are worse than useless.

2. That, holding the vast powers which they have, the priests as a body are morally responsible for an overwhelming proportion of the evil now at work in the country; that they have the power to restrain the violence of the people, while they claim and exercise the right to increase it; that they hate the landed interest, and are continually opposing it by their writings, speeches, and denunciations from the altar; that their organization, and the fears of the ignorant, have for a while enabled them to defy the law, but that England is now beginning to see the question in its proper light, and to lay the blame where it is most deserved.

3. That, so far from possessing a power of self-government, Ireland is at this moment in a state of national insanity; that public opinion among the multitude and their leaders is so far perverted, as to have lost the natural distinctions of right and wrong; that, containing in herself a controlling power which claims authority above law, and can persuade men at any moment to act contrary to their plain temporal interests, she must be treated as a lunatic by her more sober and more powerful neighbours; that if the authority exercised by the priests were not enough to convince us of this, the absurd ravings of the Young Ireland press would lead us to the same conclusion.

4. That there is no use in talking of constitutional rights to men who declare their determination to set authority at defiance, and combine, by districts and counties, to support their claim to the land by "guerilla warfare;" and that to leave such ruffians in the enjoyment of free privileges is an injustice to the loyal and well-disposed of the community.

5. That the payment of the priests, which some politicians advocate, as a matter of expediency, is a mere cowardly concession which the party repudiate, and will only receive as it is given; they will give nothing in return, and will neither thank England for it, nor place themselves in a more friendly position towards the landed proprietors.

6. That God has laid down certain rules for the conduct of nations as well as individuals, and that, by joining any religious society, or, above all, by giving money for its purposes, we commit ourselves to their doctrinal errors, and give a sanction to their national sins; and that he who puts weapons into the hand of his enemy, and then tells him not to use them against himself, is only like the man who takes fire into his bosom, and then expects to escape unhurt.

7. That Lord Clarendon has so far acted the part of a consummate statesman and a determined warrior; that he has feared neither the slanders of the press in Ireland, nor the cold support of his own party at home; that he has earned for himself the good-will of all the honest portion of the Irish, of whatever shade of politics or religion; that he ought to be highly gratified by their approval which they have testified on all public occasions; and we sincerely hope that the reaction which has taken place in English public opinion will give him and the supporters of the law in Ireland the assistance which they require and deserve; and that, though England is sometimes slow in perceiving the truth, yet, when really convinced of it, she will act steadily, and endeavour, as far as possible, to give justice to Ireland.

*NOTE.*—While these sheets were in the press, we have heard that the Lord-Lieutenant has commuted the sentence of death in the cases of James Hayes, Michael Butler, and James Hourigan. The former was at some distance from the murder, though assisting in it. In the case of the two others, a point was raised as to Cleary's knowledge of approaching death, when he gave his evidence. As four out of the twelve Judges gave their opinion in favour of the prisoner, Lord Clarendon has remitted the extreme penalty of the law. Of the remaining convicts, two have been hanged at Ennis, and five at Limerick. The execution of Michael Howard has been deferred, and the five prisoners at Clonmel are still under sentence of death. It is remarkable, that confessions of guilt have been very general, and the criminals have attributed their fate to "the want of taking the advice of their clergy." This is a great change from the declarations of innocence common a few years ago, and shows that the priests are obliged to alter their game, as public opinion is now ready to mark them out as screening the criminal, and participating in the crime.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The Christian State ; or, the First Principles of National Religion.* By the Rev. T. R. BIRKS, M.A., Rector of Kelshall, Herts. London : Seeleys.
2. *Germany, England, and Scotland ; or, Recollections of a Swiss Minister.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, D.D. London : Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.
3. *A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P., on the admission of Jews into Parliament.* By the Rev. T. R. BIRKS, M.A. London : Seeleys.
4. *Relations of Church and State, &c.* By J. R. PRETYMAN, M.A., Vicar of Aylesbury. London : Masters.

THE question of the relations of Church and State is one which has at all times attracted much of the attention of thoughtful men ; but, within the last twenty or thirty years, it has been gradually acquiring continually increasing importance in England, partly from the efforts of Dissenters to convince the nation and the legislature of the truth of their views, which would lead to the destruction of the Church's temporalities ; partly from a growing distrust, on the part of the Church herself, of the State's intentions in regard to her. At the epoch of the Reform Bill, Dissenters imagined that the time had come to realize their great object of the separation of Church and State, and the attainment at once of perfect equality with the Church ; but in this they were disappointed, for the Whig ministers of the day threw cold water on their attempts, and the Church, instead of falling, only gained to appearance renewed stability, by the removal of its more unpopular defects. The tide of argument, too, was overwhelming. The Dissenters were beaten out of the absurd positions they had taken in denying even to a Christian sovereign the right to promote Christianity, and in refusing to Christians the right of giving property for the endowment of their churches. Old Thomas Chalmers came to the rescue—before his secession from the Kirk. In short, for a time, the dissenting argument broke down. Then, on the other hand, we know that there have been and are amongst the members of the Church some ardent and zealous minds, to whom the total separation of Church and



State seems in itself desirable, as opening the way to the restoration of the Church's powers of action in synod, and the free election of her ministers, which is precluded under the present system. Such earnest and zealous men look only on the benefits to be obtained by a total separation of Church and State, without sufficiently considering its dangers as regards the failure of provision for clergy in rural districts, which might thence ensue. We say this only on the supposition, that such is really one of the results contemplated at all by those of whom we speak; but we apprehend that there are persons to be found who wish for the separation of Church and State, without giving themselves the trouble of examining the question in any very practical point of view. The desire, however, for a moderate and limited freedom of action and self-government, in connexion with the State, has been and is widely felt in the Church, and by no particular class of men. Archbishop Whately is as much a supporter of the principle of self-government, to a certain limited extent, as the Bishop of Exeter. Dissatisfaction at the prevalent system of disposing of Government patronage in the Church, is to be found in all quarters, though it may be expressed in somewhat different terms, and with different views; but there is undoubtedly a general uneasiness in the mind of the Church regarding the exact position in which she is at present placed with a State, which, in its every day proceedings is proclaiming more and more distinctly that it wishes to be neutral between truth and error in religion.

We are living amidst the shadows of by-gone days. Antique forms, from which the spirit has long departed, still surround us, and persuade many of us in some sort that we are still under the system of three centuries ago. The English sovereignty—that power still so absolute and infallible in the fictions of the law—is little more than a high remembrance of former power. Its powers have passed to its ministers: the once absolute monarchs of England have nearly taken the place occupied by the last princes of the Merovingian dynasty. “Mayors of the palace” (but nominated by the *Parliament*) transact the affairs of the Crown for it, and exercise all its powers. An aristocracy, without its ancient feudal powers, shorn of the influence which it so long exercised over the representatives of the people—a State, *nominally* the protector and defender of the Church; supposed to be professing to follow the example of Hezekiah, Josiah, Constantine, and other defenders of the faith; and yet, in point of fact, profoundly indifferent to true religion, and willing to promote error in place of truth, at the demand of political expediency—such is the

strange state of things in which we find ourselves. In the midst of visions of the past, we do not quite look on the realities of the present; we imagine ourselves under a different system.

In our Church offices and canons, we are transported to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the sovereign was really, and not nominally, the ruler and governor of this country, and when his ministers were simply his counsellors,—when he was not obliged to consult the will of Parliament in appointing those ministers. We are carried to those times when God was “the *only* ruler of princes;” when it was of vital importance to religion that *princes* should “incline to the will of God, and walk in his way;” when the sovereign was indeed our “governor,” and had continual occasion to remember “*whose* minister” he was; when princes could, “by their thoughts, words, and works, study to preserve the people committed to *their* charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness;” when we were governed by the prince, and by those put in authority “under” him. These and similar expressions are still true, we know, according to the *theory* of the constitution; but we also know that they do in *fact* relate to a very different order of things, when Tudor and Stuart sovereignty fulfilled all the ideas of the pious compilers of our formularies; when ministries and parliaments did not rule sovereigns.

If any one will look soberly, and as a matter of fact, upon the *real* relation of the State in England to the Church, as distinguished from mere theories, he will see from the broad and simple facts of history, that a change in the ecclesiastical policy of the English government took place a century and a half ago, which could not fail to have immense consequences, however gradually developed. We must go some way back, in order to lay the state of the case fairly before the reader. We must begin at the Reformation, when our present system of relations between Church and State may be considered to have commenced. We need not enter into the peculiar and specific political or religious views which may have guided Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, or the Stuarts, in their ecclesiastical actions; each had some under-current of special intention or theory in his day: but there was one grand principle and feature in their policy throughout; it was their object *to repress and to exterminate all dissent from the national Church; to make that Church literally and strictly co-extensive with the nation.* This was undeniably the policy of the State in England from 1531 to 1688. Now, then, mark its necessary result. The State, which was anxious for the predominance of the Church, had a *distinct policy and object in maintaining that Church in*

*a state of the highest efficiency.* To promote the well-being of the Church, was to promote directly the views of the State; and accordingly, while the royal prerogative in religious matters was strained to the highest pitch, and frequently indeed became absurd and ridiculous in its pretensions; still the steady purpose of sovereign after sovereign was to appoint able bishops and clergy; to encourage wholesome reforms in discipline; to provide ample endowments for all important posts. Look at the series of illustrious bishops who filled the episcopal thrones of England for a century and a half; men, indeed, amongst whom we may trace varieties of sentiment, but men of faithfulness, learning, sincerity, zeal; men recommended by no *parliamentary interest, or noble birth, or popularity*, but by their *high qualifications for office*. Look on such men as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Jewel, Parker, Whitgift, Ussher, Andrewes, Laud, Hall, Beveridge, Reynolds, Sheldon, Sanerost, Ken, and others, who crowd upon the memory of the English Churchman. *That was our episcopate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries! We look back to those times as the brightest of the English Church; and we think of the age of lead which followed. And whence arose the difference? The State, for a hundred and fifty years after the Reformation, wanted to crush dissent, and to place the English Church in exclusive power,—to be, in its turn (we admit), ruled by the State; but the moment that the State had arrived at the conviction that dissent was too strong to be repressed either by force, or by promoting the efficiency of the Church, its whole policy necessarily underwent a change: the efficiency of the Church was no longer an object in State policy.*

We maintain, that, although it would have been the *duty* of Christian rulers to endeavour still to promote the efficiency of the Church, yet, taking statesmen as they commonly are,—men to whom the possession of political power is the great and sole object of ambition,—it could not be expected from such men that they would continue to feel any zeal for the welfare of the Church, when the great political stimulus was at an end. As soon as the State had made up its mind that it must be on amicable terms with the Dissenters, and allow them to follow their own views, the only object from that moment was to make the Church *useful* to the State, as far as it might be, *by employing its patronage for State purposes generally*. This patronage aided in maintaining the influence of the ministers, and in rewarding the efforts of the political parties of the day!

But we must not omit to take some notice of the labours of the authors whose works appear at the head of this paper. Mr. Birks is engaged chiefly in opposition to such writers as

Dr. Wardlaw and other Dissenters, in pointing out the duty of a Christian State in connexion with religion. His views, though proceeding from a very different school, agree in great points with those which Mr. Gladstone, in his earlier years, put forward, but which he now regards as impracticable. That is to say, they point out, in the fullest and most decided way, the duty of the State to maintain Christian truth, and advance it, *totis viribus*. We hail as brethren all those who in the present age of indifference, persist stedfastly in entering their protest in this matter on the side of truth. Nothing can be more clear, more certain, than the Christian ruler's duty to promote Christianity whenever and wherever he can. But what we have to deplore is, that this doctrine—so clearly written in the Scriptures and the conscience, is nationally rejected, and borne down by the contradictory principle, which is anti-Christian. Such faithful and honest writers as Mr. Birks may warn the statesman that he ought to encourage Christian truth—to discourage error, Romanism, idolatry, and all that is contrary to God's word. But these writers *have not the slightest effect upon the course of State policy*. Year after year, notwithstanding these protests, the State develops more and more the system on which it is acting—a system, not of Christianity, but of indifference to all Religion. Most devoutly do we wish that the State could imbibe the views of writers like Mr. Birks on the subject of its religious duties generally; but the evil is far too deeply seated for any mere literary efforts to assuage; it has been rooted in the general policy of the State for a century, and is expanding and bearing fruit amidst the revolutionary ideas and popular movements of the nineteenth century.

We may say that the Church of England generally—that is, all those of its members who are under the influence of religious feeling and principle—agree substantially with such writers. We all take the same view of the duties of the State; and we think it a grievous violation of those duties when we see acts of the State which evidently proceed on a wholly different view. We have been watching for thirty years the gradual development of that view in successive governments. For a time the principle of Religion held its ground against Emancipation. From the moment of emancipation a new order of things arose. The maxims of the Church of England on these points, and the ancient principle and aim of the State itself, are now limited to the more earnest and faithful members of the Church. They are actually *forgotten* by statesmen. Sir Robert Inglis, and the few who think with him in Parliament, are regarded by statesmen as

representatives of an obsolete and exploded system, not worth attending to.

In fact, if we contemplate the general state of the Empire, it is undeniable that the representatives of the old Church and State system, though standing on the basis of *Truth*, are reduced to the extremity of *political weakness*. The principles of the legislature of England from the time of the first great concessions to Romanism are wholly against their views. The whole tide of government practice is against them. Every young man of rising talent has deserted them. Then look at the actual power acquired in the House of Commons by Romanism, radicalism, dissent, liberalism—by all those influences which combine to proclaim liberty and equality in religion, and to pledge the State to absolute indifference or impartiality between the Church and all other forms of religion. Who could for a moment imagine that a Ministry, formed on the principles of "Church and State,"—the principles of discouraging Romanism and dissent, would be able to hold its ground in a House of Commons led by Peel and Russell; or even a House of Lords, comprising such spiritual peers as a Wilberforce or a Thirlwall?

The system of government in this country is fixed. There is but one way to alter it. The Church is now *passive*; she remains in the hands of the temporal Ministers. She *looks* to them—if not to the Minister of the day, to his successor. She can conceive no other protection. She trusts that Peel may be less dangerous than Russell, or Gladstone than Peel. She does not see that *all Statesmen are involved, voluntarily or involuntarily, in a system*. They cannot escape from it in their general policy. They must attend to the claims of the parties which press on them. The Church does not in any way press on them. It remains *passive*; and therefore it cannot, and will not be considered. When the Church ceases to be *passive*—when it becomes a power in the State, with a *will* as well as a *principle*, it will influence statesmen; but not till then.

If strangers are liable to error in detail in treating of our institutions, they may sometimes, however, be enabled to perceive more clearly than we ourselves do, the more prominent and striking features of our condition—those features which arrest peculiarly the attention of other religious communions. Dr. Merle D'Aubigné is one of those intelligent observers whose remarks are at least worthy of attention, whether we may agree with them or not, and his view of the English Church, gathered during a visit recently paid to this country, are not without instruction. We need not say that Dr. Merle D'Aubigné's views are of the

most liberal complexion in reference to Christian communities, and that all assumption of "hierarchical" claims is the subject of his severest reprehension. Let us hear, then, this intelligent foreigner's opinions on the Church of England :

" Looking through the various parts of the constitution of the Church of England, I find certain institutions, which, according to my convictions, are not what they ought to be in a Church, and these I consider it my duty to point out. If there is a process termed *development*, to carry us away from Evangelical simplicity, ought there not to be another called *reformation*, to bring us back to it ?

" Reformation should begin with the institutions destined to train up the Ministers of the Church. The Church of England is essentially an aristocratic Church. The members of the English clergy are taken from all ranks of society, and the sons of British peers sit sometimes as Ministers beside the sons of artizans. In this there are no doubt advantages ; but there are also inconveniences. The worldliness of the clergy has long been a general complaint in England."—p. 129.

Dr. D'Aubigné recommends to the " Evangelical " party a greater attention to theological study. He remarks, and justly, on the defective study of theology in England, as compared with the study of the " philological, mathematical, physical, and economical sciences," and then proceeds thus :

" Not only at the basis,—in the Universities, is a reform needed, but also at the summit, in Church government.

" I might here instance one of the first elements of this government—the elections. The Church members in England have no choice in the election of their ministers, and what takes place in the election of bishops is still more extraordinary. When a vacant see is to be filled up, the chapter receives from the Crown a *congé d'élire* : but this writ is accompanied by another (a letter missive), in which the Crown designates the person whom the chapter is to appoint. If after twelve days the election does not take place, the king nominates the bishop by letters patent, and the chapter, if it opposes this, exposes itself to the penalties of *præmunire*, which renders the members liable to imprisonment ' during the king's pleasure.' At the same time the king takes possession of the revenues.

" But it is, in particular, of the supreme government of the Church that I would speak. In this the rights of the Church are still more completely sacrificed. The Church of England is composed of two Archiepiscopal provinces, Canterbury and York. Each of these has from very early times, probably since the reign of Edward I., held convocations or ecclesiastical synods ; which being called to grant taxes to the Crown, levied upon Church property, always met at the same time with the parliament. . . .

" To these convocations once belonged, saving the king's prerogative, the government of the Church. But in 1717, at the time of the Jacobite

troubles, the debates having displeased government, the convocation was dissolved; and now it no longer exists. It is true that whenever a new parliament meets, the elections again take place; the convocation assembles at Westminster:—after this it adjourns *sine die*. . . .

"The Crown might convoke the synods; but it never calls them together, and thus, by maintaining the *status quo*, it seems, in my opinion, to show that this right ought not to belong to it. A right which is never made use of is an absurdity. Can such a Church government subsist?

"I have often met with two very different opinions with regard to the Church of England—that which would preserve every thing in it, and that which would entirely abolish it. Neither of these opinions is mine. This Church, it must be owned, is dear to the people of England; and it has never ceased to bear valuable fruits to Christianity in general. But I do not think that in the present age the Church of England can preserve the institutions which she owes to the middle ages; and I am of opinion, that the changes, more or less violent, which the State introduced into it during the eighteenth century ought to be revised and corrected under a more Christian influence.

"I believe in the preservation of the Church of England; but I also believe in her transformation. The State has hitherto gagged and stifled her. I think that the Christian element within her ought to disengage and develop itself, and create a new independence and a new life. Of all evangelical churches, that of England is least ripe for independence . . . But the force of times and circumstances is bringing about a revolution which England little thought of. It is evident that since the Emancipation and other acts have given Roman Catholics and Dissenters seats in Parliament, it is an unreasonable and humiliating thing for the Church that Parliament should rule over her. Only think of the *tail* of O'Connell, of Young Ireland, those headstrong Papists being placed by law among the heads of the Protestant Church of England. It is one of those monstrosities which can only last a few years. The principles of eternal justice will soon set it right.

"The Anglican Church was formerly governed, as we have seen, by a body purely clerical—the convocation of the bishops and other members of the clergy. All were sensible of the immense abuses arising from this state of things, and, at the beginning of the last century, it received a government essentially lay—the Parliament. Every one feels, at present, that this state of things, also, cannot exist. There evidently must be a third. The Church of England must have a government independent of the Parliament, a government in which, doubtless, the bishops will sit; but in which will appear also the ordinary clergy, and wherein deputies from the parishes will have an influential voice. Every true Protestant should reject the hierarchical course, which may be very serviceable, perhaps, for ancient Egypt, or modern Rome, but is unsuited to Great Britain."—pp. 132—136.

We commend to the especial attention of the reader these extracts, and the remainder of the context. We can pardon Dr.

Merle D'Aubigné a few mistakes, for the substantial truth and clearness of his statements on these important subjects.

And now to revert to our subject. In what has been said we trust that our meaning has been made sufficiently plain. We are very far indeed from concurring with those who look on union between the Church and State as a thing *unlawful* or *undesirable* in the abstract, or as it *has* existed in England. Every churchman would doubtless be in a dilemma if he were called upon to approve every *single act or declaration of Henry VIII., or his Tudor or Stuart successors*, in ecclesiastical affairs, or to accept every declaration on the subject of ecclesiastical power in *Acts of Parliament* as a matter of faith; but, happily, we are in no such dilemma. Our Romish and Dissenting antagonists would pin us to every saying of our Tudor princes, and every line of the Statute Book, as if we acknowledged them as articles of faith; but with all deference we must decline the somewhat motley code of belief imposed upon us. Admitting that there were defects in the legislation of those times, and in the views of sovereigns, still we can on the whole fully and entirely enter into the views and feelings of churchmen in those times, and can see the reason of their attachment to the union of Church and State. The union *then* implied a conscientious and earnest watchfulness on the part of the State over the spiritual welfare of the Church. Give us those times again. Give us rulers whose avowed object is to make the Church co-extensive with the nation. Give us rulers, whose appointments of bishops and clergy are designed *on system* to promote the efficiency of the Church. Give us rulers, whose anxiety it is that the synods of the Church should be active in purifying abuses, in maintaining sound doctrine, in discouraging nonconformity and schism. Give us back such rulers as these, and we shall feel towards them as Andrewes, Hooker, Laud, and Cranmer felt.

But it does not follow that we should retain the same feelings when the State *retains* the powers which it acquired at the Reformation, without performing its *duties*—when it retains episcopal appointments, but has long ceased to act on the principle which alone justified its acquisition of them—when it retains the sole power of convening synods which it then gained, and only employs it for the purpose of extinguishing synodical action altogether—when it retains the authority and influence of supreme governor of the Church, given on the assumption of its zeal and interest to promote that Church's welfare; and has long since proclaimed its indifference to all forms of religion.

It is the vast change in the *actual* state of the case, which makes the forms and doctrines of the sixteenth and seventeenth century inapplicable to us.



Let us come to the actual state of things. For a century and a half the Church has been to the ministers of the day little more than an engine of state policy in the lowest sense. Its dignities and emoluments have been useful for promoting political objects. Judicious disposal of Church preferment has assisted in gratifying political adherents, or in silencing troublesome priests; it has also enabled a minister to keep under his immediate control one "arm of the public service," the Church, by appointing bishops, and other dignitaries, of known pliancy of character, and of a principle which depends on contingencies. There is also the subordinate advantage of enabling the statesman of the day to gratify any private friendships or claims of family connexion, by pensioning them on the Church. This latter point of view is, we are aware, one to which the vision of ministers of state rarely condescends to contract itself. Mere personal gratification is an object too insignificant to attract particular notice from men whose minds are fixed on the great and leading point of retaining power, either for the benefit of the nation, or of a great party in it. The "responsibility" which such statesmen feel in disposing of bishoprics is very high indeed in their own opinion—the interests of a *government* are concerned in it! If patronage be so dispensed as to injure in any way the interests of the ministry or party in power, a grave and serious charge may be made on so indiscreet an act,—the interests of the *public service* may suffer in consequence! Ministers probably, in general, are under the influence of a feeling of "responsibility" of this kind in making Church appointments. It is a responsibility which has doubtless pressed alike on the minds of such conscientious statesmen as a Peel or a Russell, a Walpole or a Bolingbroke.

Ireland affords at this moment an illustration of the principle to which we have alluded as actuating our statesmen, and their broad and simple view of the duties of Government in the disposal of the Crown patronage. It happened that, some years ago, the Government of the day deemed it expedient on political grounds to withdraw all support from a system of education grounded on the study of the sacred Scriptures, and with a view to gratify the Romish party in Ireland to establish a national system of education, in which it announced that Romanists and Churchmen should be educated *without* studying the sacred volume. To this plan the infinite majority of the Irish prelates, clergy, and laity declared themselves opposed, on grounds of religious principle. They distinctly and repeatedly took this ground, and have never receded from it.

The Government conceived that such an opposition as this was calculated to embarrass the plans which they had formed for the

benefit of Ireland. And they have, accordingly, under a deep sense of the "responsibility" attaching to the dispensation of Church patronage, systematically, and notoriously, for several years, made the acquisition of bishoprics and all other benefices in Government patronage, *contingent on the relinquishment of those principles which the Church of Ireland regards as identified with religious Truth*. Clergymen are, in fact, offered high preferment in the Church, if they betray what the Church believes to be her cause. The most deserving and worthy clergy are excluded from the possibility of rising in their profession, simply by retaining the opinions conscientiously held by the great majority of the Bishops and Clergy of Ireland. This may seem to some persons rather more than a hardship on individuals. There may be persons who look on such a line of conduct as unjust to the Church at large. But it is evident that Government has wholly different views; it contemplates the subject simply as a matter of State policy; and acts boldly and consistently on its views of responsibility in this respect. We have not the slightest doubt that Lord Clarendon, or any other Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, whether of Whig or nominally Conservative appointment, would act on this rule with a feeling of most cordial self-satisfaction.

The Rev. Dr. Miller, Vicar-General of Armagh, in a pamphlet recently published, observes in several places on the present system of Church patronage in Ireland, as a matter of notoriety<sup>1</sup>. He observes, that, although the Government does not present to as many parochial benefices as the Bishops do, the Bishoprics, and other dignities of the Church, are "the great prizes in the lottery of advancement, and to them, accordingly, will the views of the able and the eminent be directed,"—that if a clergyman "is uneasy in his exposure to the general imputation of cupidity for attaching himself to the National Board, he should address his complaint to the Government, which has so limited its ecclesiastical patronage, *that none except the adherents of the Board can hope to share it.*"

A beneficed clergyman of the diocese of Limerick, in consequence of his endeavours to check flagrant abuses in a Relief Committee, became exposed to popular odium, and his life was endangered. He made application to Government to facilitate his removal to an equivalent benefice elsewhere. His application was favourably received at first; but *inquiry was made into his sentiments as regarded the National Board of Education*, and, on its being ascertained that he adhered to the views of the Church of Ireland, his request was refused.

<sup>1</sup> *Supplement to the Case of the Church Education Society in Ireland, &c.* By George Miller, D.D., Vicar-General of Armagh. Dublin: Oldham. London: Seeleys.

So notorious is the practice of the Ministry in employing the Church preferment of Ireland to bribe the clergy to adopt the Government views on education, that a "Letter to the Lord-Lieutenant on National Education," recently published by some advocate of the Government, openly *justifies* the practice of coercion, in administering the ecclesiastical patronage of the Government, as agreeable to "the rules of common prudence and common policy."

A communication from a correspondent of the "Morning Post," dated Cork, Feb. 6th, states some very remarkable facts on this subject:—

"Perhaps your readers are not so generally aware of the fact that by the conscientious refusal to take an active part in the proceedings of the Education Board—that by such a refusal every clergyman writes himself down in a proscribed list, the names upon which are inexorably shut out from all Church preferments which the political minister can influence. It is so, however. Learning, piety, and eloquence are alike subservient to the indispensable preliminary. 'Is he one of our men? Is he one of those who will say aye to our aye, through whatever evolutions we may choose to order his conscience, in compliance with the enlightened spirit of the age?' It may be incredible, but it is not less an indisputable fact, that, at the moment I am writing, *the main body of the Irish clergy are in this state of proscription.*

"I must give you one speaking example. The Rev. Mr. Brady (by the bye, a brother of the present very respectable lord chancellor,) for a number of years performed the most laborious duties of the sacred ministry in this neighbourhood with a self-denying zeal, whose reward won the respectful gratitude of his ecclesiastical superiors, and of the needy and numerous charge to whom the labour of his life was devoted. Some time ago he was apprised that a preferment was open to him, the emoluments of which, modest enough, would still have made his position one of those rare exceptional ones that afford something like a gentlemanly subsistence to the incumbent. The offer was not refused, arrangements seemed all completed, and Mr. Brady prepared to move to his new sphere of exertion. But now came the gently intimated expression of official conviction, that 'of course' the reverend gentleman would have no objection to make himself generally useful in *supporting the views of the Education Commissioners.* This, he lost no time in protesting, was one of the things which, equally 'of course,' he would have no hand or part in, as it was entirely opposed to what he believed was his paramount duty. *The objection proved an insuperable bar against the efficacy of Mr. Brady's undoubted and acknowledged claims!!*"

In truth, this mode of dispensing Government patronage in Ireland is one with which history is perfectly familiar. Every one knows that the union of Ireland with Great Britain was carried by Mr. Pitt, by a large distribution of rewards and

promises. We do not bear in memory the exact number of *bishoprics* which were promised to the younger members of noble families, in addition to peerages, places, and sums of money to the elder branches; but this we do know, and all the world knows the same, that for a long series of years vacancies on the Episcopal bench in Ireland were filled by the scions of her aristocracy, in consequence of Union pledges, without reference to character or conduct,—and that many persons were then appointed bishops, who were very far indeed from being an honour to their profession.

These are well known facts, illustrative of the views and principles on which Ministers generally act in dispensing their Church patronage. We have no doubt that some weighty reasons of state induced the appointment of such a man as the Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, who spent his life in foreign travel; or of Agar, Archbishop of Cashel, and other money-loving prelates, who accumulated enormous fortunes from their ecclesiastical benefices.

The Irish Episcopate has been regularly applied by the government for a long series of years, to provide for the younger brothers of the Irish nobility and minor aristocracy. At this moment even, the Irish prelates are almost all members of noble families. The deaneries have been uniformly disposed of by Government on the same principle. “Lords” and “Honourables” have occupied every post of enolument or dignity, except in those cases in which promotion has been the reward of political services rendered by individuals to Government.

We speak of matters which are perfectly notorious; it would be unnecessary and unadvisable to enter into further details, which would be painful to individuals. That in a few rare instances, men of eminence without aristocratic claims have been raised to the Episcopate in Ireland is true; but if it has been so, they have generally established some political claims on Government, or on some of its members. Magee would never have been a bishop, if he had not been an able electioneerer; Jebb owed his advancement quite as much to the policy of “Conciliation,” as to his admirable writings. Learning and piety have rarely been dreamt of by the Irish Government as qualifications for promotion. Within our recollection, Lord Liverpool was the only minister who ever dwelt on such matters *when* he was unfettered by the claims of party, or the promises of preceding ministers.

Persons who look at this systematic exercise of Government patronage, simply as bearing on the interests of Christianity, will of course take one view of such transactions. But then ministers in general take these matters in a different point of view To

them the whole question of patronage is simply political : religion has nothing, and ought to have nothing to do with it. Here are certain places and dignities, to which certain legal duties are annexed, and which are only tenable by persons in holy orders. These are the sole conditions. The duties are a "bagatelle," in the opinion of ministers (Sir James Graham's opinions here occur to us), and the qualification does not require any examination into any other fitness. If once a clergyman, a person is eligible to a *bishopric* : nothing more is requisite. This is the broad and simple view of statesmen<sup>2</sup>, and on this they generally act without attempting any such superfluous refinement as inquiring into the *fitness* or *worthiness* of persons named for the Episcopate, or for promotion generally.

We have been hitherto chiefly referring to the exercise of Government patronage in the Irish Church. And we have done so in order to show the operation of the ministerial principles where they have had the amplest scope for their exercise. Unchecked in Ireland by the formalities of election by Dean and Chapter, and Archiepiscopal Confirmation ; the minister nominates his bishop by letters patent, and presents him to the Archbishop, demanding his consecration. If the Archbishop refuses, he falls under *Præmunire*. So that in Ireland the minister has the fullest scope for the development of his view of the question ; and accordingly the Irish Episcopate has all along exemplified those views in a more marked and striking manner than the English Episcopate.

In England, there has been some check upon the ministerial appointment, not merely from the preservation of the ancient forms of election and confirmation, though oppressed by the legislation of King Henry VIII., but there has been a far more important check in *public opinion*, on which ministers themselves are at all times more or less dependent for power. The Church of England, strong in its numerical force, constituting by far the majority of the English nation, was a body which ministers could not venture to outrage grossly by making scandalous appointments, because the result would have been dangerous to their own power. The case was widely different in Ireland, because the Church being very much in the minority there, public

<sup>2</sup> Such also would seem to be the view of the Bishop of St. David's, if report speaks correctly of what his Lordship recently advanced in the House of Lords, on occasion of the Bishop of Exeter's presenting a petition for the repeal of *Præmunire*. This reverend prelate stated the principle of the law to be, that "when the Crown exercised this power it was limited to a certain class of subjects, and those in the eye of the law were all equally qualified to exercise the functions of the *Episcopal office*." To this principle his Lordship expressed no dissent!

opinion was never opposed to bad appointments. The Romanists were not displeased at them, nor the Presbyterians; and the aristocracy, who were all gratified in succession, were all, of course, in favour of so convenient and accommodating a system.

In England, however, the Government is always obliged to be more wary, because the Church is or was a body which could support a government or endanger it. Sound policy, therefore, dictated to successive ministries some regard to public opinion in their episcopal appointments. In England, consequently, it has been generally customary for prime ministers to lay before the Archbishops of Canterbury the names of persons designed, in the ministerial mind, for promotion to the Episcopate; and this may, perhaps, have proved not inconvenient to the minister, on various occasions, in saving him from the awkwardness and even risk of making decidedly bad and *unpopular* appointments.

But let us here pause a moment. *Public opinion* has been and will be in England some protection to the Church. We fully admit the truth of this. It has been the *only* safeguard, humanly speaking, that we have had for a century and a half. If this safeguard had not existed, we know not how the Church could have conscientiously submitted so long to the law of Henry VIII. Let us, however, look more closely at the actual benefits which have arisen from the influence of public opinion, and let us see what it does not and cannot do for us. We see then, that, as a general rule, it has prevented the appointment of bishops of notoriously immoral character, or of openly unsound doctrine. But, on the other hand, this system has left the minister with ample liberty to employ the patronage of the Church for the broad and simple object of promoting the benefit of the *Government* only. Guarded by private consultation with the chief bishop of the Church, against any appointment which might be *dangerous to the Government*, and having always to deal with a Metropolitan selected by Government for pliancy of character and subordination to the State, he is free to permit his choice to rest on such individuals as may present claims founded on high political connexion, on relation to families whose influence or votes in either House are of importance to the Government, or on services rendered to such families in the capacity of tutors, schoolmasters, &c. One prelate, accordingly, attains the Episcopal bench because he has been tutor to a prince or a marquis; another, because his relations command votes in the House of Commons; another, because it is desirable to gratify the universities, and so a professor or a head of a house is selected. One has been the tutor of a prime minister; another, a brother of a lord chancellor. One has done some service to a royal

favourite; another has rendered political service and made political friends by electioneering, or by some declaration of opinion in favour of Government at some important crisis; another is merely a brother and cousin to a certain number of influential noble families. These, we say (and the matter is too notorious to be denied), have been and are the simple grounds and reasons which have very commonly influenced successive ministers in their appointments of bishops. The motives have been wholly and entirely secular (as a general rule); the Minister has always looked solely to the welfare of his government and of the State as dependent on it.

We are unwilling to refer to particular cases; but in the present position of the Church of England, no ill-timed delicacy must prevent the open expression of opinion on questions of vital importance. To speak of Dr. Hampden's appointment would be superfluous, after all that has passed; but the appointment at Manchester appears to us little less blameable. Who ever heard of Mr. Lee as a clergyman before his recent appointment? We do not dispute his qualifications as a *schoolmaster*, but no evidence has ever yet appeared of his qualifications as a *bishop*. As a preacher, we learn from published statements that he is inefficient; as a pastor, he has had no experience; and as a divine, he is unknown. What, then, are his qualifications? In both these appointments, and in others which are hinted at as probable, we seek in vain for those characters of high and holy devotion, those earnest exertions and labours, not in the cause of the science of this world, but in the service of Jesus Christ, which ought to be the *first great* qualifications for the Episcopate. What has the mere restoration of churches, the writing of histories, or mathematical attainments to do with such things as this? Are these the qualifications of *bishops*? Are these the qualifications REQUIRED BY GOD'S WORD?

We do not mean to say that there have not been exceptional cases in which some minister has been influenced by religious feeling in making Church appointments; and we are also aware that from time to time, and of late, perhaps, more frequently, ministers have sought to make occasional *popular* appointments to benefices. We have seen them encouraging "learning," by appointing Greek scholars, schoolmasters, and *geologists*, to bishoprics and deaneries! These latter cases are, however, simply in accordance with the general views of Government in disposing of Church preferments. They are intended to strengthen a government by the weight of public opinion. And now let us look at the result.

We have, in the first place, possessed for a century and a half a series of bishops, who have been on the whole men of respect-

able character. Nay, beyond this, we may and must say that men of superior character and ability have been found on the Episcopal bench, though such qualifications were not sought for as a general rule. On the whole, however, we must in candour and Christian sincerity say, that many men have been appointed bishops in England, whose qualifications for the office would never have been discovered by any one but by a minister. We have possessed (we make many exceptions, of course, and rather refer to the past,) a series of bishops of aristocratic habits or connexions—bishops who have been rather temporal lords than ministers of Jesus Christ—bishops who have rarely in any point exceeded the precise limits of their duty prescribed by law—bishops who have neither possessed the power nor the inclination to preach the Gospel—bishops whose apparent object has been too frequently to throw a damp on any exhibition of *zeal* in the Church's cause, and to discourage methodism, evangelicalism, or any other system which exhibited life and energy—a series of bishops whose primary object and leading policy was to “keep things quiet,” and preserve the “peace” of the Church at almost any sacrifice. To say that our bishops have not often been good men, well-meaning men, sometimes excellent men, would be an injustice; but in very many cases they have been men who have more or less exhibited traces of the source from which they derived their appointment.

Hence even now, when great measures are brought forward which the Church in general, both clergy and laity, are strongly convinced will be most injurious to the interests of the Church and religion, a portion of the Episcopate *uniformly* sides with some political party which is engaged in attempting to carry such measures. We only remember *one* case in which the whole Episcopate of England opposed a Government measure—the abolition of Church-rates. So it is, that the Episcopate has regularly furnished votes in favour of such measures as the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Romish emancipation, the suppression of the ten Irish bishoprics, the endowment of Maynooth, the “godless” Colleges Bill, the suppression of protective duties on corn, on the price of which the incomes of the *parochial clergy* are dependent. Every ministerial measure, however much calculated to injure the Church, finds some bishops to support it! If Government proposes plans of education with a view to draw more entirely the control of the youth within its own power, it is always certain to find some prelates willing to credit its professions, and to promote its views.

We feel that it would be most uncharitable to imagine for a moment that these worthy prelates are not satisfied of the rectitude of their conduct in such matters; but this we do say, that



many bishops have a very singular facility in being convinced, that the Government which has promoted them, or may promote them, is always in the right, and that the majority of the Church, when opposed to ministerial measures, is in the wrong, and does not understand its own interests. The majority of the prelates were exceedingly anxious to retain Sir Robert Peel in power, and supported him very steadily, even to the last, notwithstanding all his measures in favour of popery! No matter what may be the course of Government policy, it finds support from bishops who have been made by the political party which is in power, or who are anxious for some reason to support it. In *one* case, however, qualifications of a certain kind have been usually sought for by ministers.

It has been notoriously the policy of the Government always to place prelates of yielding and timid characters in the office of *metropolitans*. These prelates being in frequent intercourse with the Ministers, who have managed the Church through them, have been generally under the influence of the Government of the day, however much they may have persuaded themselves that they were merely doing their duty in promoting the harmonious action of Church and State. We conceive that the *continual intercourse* of the heads of the Church with the State, when those prelates feel that their appointment is derived entirely from the State, and when the State has selected its own instruments for those high offices, is not much calculated to promote an independent tone of mind, or to inspire any single-minded devotion for the cause of God. It is apparently calculated to create useful auxiliaries to ministries. It is not so certain that it will promote a resolution to "render to God the things that are God's," as to "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

With metropolitans of such a character as we have had for a century, ministers have found it easy to manage the Church. Fearful of *experiments* of any kind, such good men would retain matters as much as possible in their actual position, which, however, throws *every thing* into the hands of the Minister and the political parties of the day. Such metropolitans would prefer the system of making Acts of Parliament, and nominating royal or parliamentary commissions, to the perilous experiment of convening a synod of the Church, and restoring those functions which have gone out of use, since ministers have acquired the absolute and undisputed control of Church patronage. Such metropolitans are ready and willing to become, with the Bishop of London, or one or two other prelates, the *only* spiritual body whom the Government thinks it advisable to consult. They are willing to imagine, that a system which in fact concentrates all power in their own hands, to the *exclusion* of the bishops and other members of the Church,

(to whom it equally belongs by the laws and customs of England,) and in the hands of the Minister, is more convenient, works better, and so forth. Such metropolitans gradually acquire such notions of their exclusive power from their *continued association with Government*, that when ecclesiastical commissioners are appointed for the purpose of re-arranging all the dioceses of England and Wales, and taking the cathedral property; or for creating new dioceses; or, again, when plans are propounded by a foreign sovereign for founding a bishopric abroad, on the provisions of which much and most serious difference of opinion exists; the metropolitans, and one or two other distinguished prelates, accept without difficulty the office of regulating all these important affairs on their own responsibility, to the exclusion of their right reverend brethren and the Church generally. Under the present system, indeed, the authority of the Episcopate has been for a long series of years virtually concentrated by the policy of Government in a few prelates; the remainder, though retaining seats in parliament, are not called into council, but are left to manage the affairs of their own particular dioceses. The government of the Church at large has been permitted to fall into the hands of a very select body.

The Government influence has been, and continues to be, very great, more especially over the Heads of the Church; and this feeling extends to all who are connected with them and under their influence. The very men who, apart from such associations, would look primarily to the welfare of the Church, are fascinated as they come within the sphere of the higher dignitaries of the Church; and, like them, become deferential and pliant to the wishes of Government, deceived by its professions, and attached to the established system. Principle becomes, to some extent, replaced by policy; and aspirations for reformation are laid aside as impracticable.

We might trace the results of this system of appointment still further: but we forbear. We fear that our remarks might do more harm in one way than good in another. We do not wish to probe the evil of secularity too deeply. At the same time, when we refer to the system which has in too many instances prevailed in the disposal of Episcopal patronage, and in which claims founded on long and faithful services to the Church in the office of curate, have been postponed to the ties of family connexion or interest, we feel assured that the reader will agree with us, that the example of secularity set by the State has not been without imitation. We refrain from more than a mere allusion to the combination of the system of plurality in benefices with that of Nepotism, or the disgraceful and dangerous results which

have thence arisen. In examining the catalogue of canons and dignitaries of cathedrals, these thoughts will present themselves with peculiar force; and, in fact, it was the notorious *abuse* of that patronage—patronage divided between the Government and the bishops—which brought about in the end a sweeping measure for the reduction of chapters.

Such are the results which have followed from ministerial patronage in England. The reference which has been usually made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, has protected the Church, as a general rule, from the appointment of bishops of notoriously heretical doctrine, or of corrupt morals. But we must take leave to say, that it has permitted much of secularity, much of indolence, much of incapacity, to take its place on the Episcopal bench. It has brought into the sanctuary a great deal of the spirit of the world. It has created a subservient, timid, and divided Episcopate; an Episcopate which, by its divisions on great questions, almost always in effect injures and destroys the cause of the Church whenever it is the Minister's policy to introduce measures dangerous to that Church.

We say this in a spirit not only of the highest reverence for the apostolical office to which these prelates have been called, but with general respect for the actual occupants of Episcopal sees, and sincere veneration for some of them. With all that deference and respect, however, we cannot close our eyes to certain truths which the history of a century and a half have sufficiently established, and which the events of the day press forcibly on our notice. Some churchmen perhaps may not agree in some theological points with the Bishop of Calcutta; others, perhaps, may feel something of the same kind with regard to the Bishop of New Zealand; but every one must feel, that if something of the apostolical sincerity and zeal which those bishops manifest were uniformly *sought for* in making appointments of English bishops, religion, at least, would be a gainer.

And now to turn to another view of the question. Hitherto we have looked upon the subject chiefly as bearing upon politics or external matters. We have shown the principles and maxims on which statesmen, as a general rule, always have gone, and always will go in their use of Church patronage—we have shown the mere secularity of these motives, and the secularity which has followed in their train. We have traced the too frequent character of the Episcopate created under this system, and its results. But we now come to look upon the Episcopate in its true light. We turn from the merely political view of the subject—to contemplate it in the aspect which it ought to present to the Christian.

To the Christian, the Episcopate, and, in general, the offices of the Christian ministry, present a totally different aspect from that which they present to the statesman and the politician. He believes—it is an article of his faith—that the orders of the Church did not derive their origin from the State, but from the will and appointment of God—that their end is not to support human governments, or to maintain political parties or ministers, but to promote the salvation of souls. To assert that elections to the Christian ministry of any order or degree, ought to be directed primarily and chiefly to the maintenance of some political system, or the welfare of some political party, would in his view be scarcely short of infidelity. What is it, in fact, but setting the interests of the men of this world above the interests of souls—subjecting the kingdom of God to the kingdom of this world?

The Christian sees in the Scriptures certain qualifications for the office of bishops and ministers in the Church of God. He sees those qualifications recognized as the leading principles of the Church at all times. He finds them in the most solemn and forcible manner contained in the formularies of the Church of England. In the Office for the Consecration of Bishops, prayer is first made that all bishops, “the pastors of thy Church,” may “*diligently preach* thy word.” Then we are reminded that a bishop must be “apt to teach,” “vigilant,” not “covetous,” one “that ruleth well his own house ;” that he must take heed to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made him overseer, “*to feed* the Church of God ;” that he must follow the example of Simon, and “*feed* the lambs” and the sheep of Jesus Christ, if he would prove his love ; that he is sent to teach and baptize, teaching men to observe all things which the Lord hath commanded him.

Then the Bishops present to the Metropolitan one whom they describe as a “*godly* and well-learned man.” The Archbishop invites the congregation to prayer in *imitation* of our Lord, who continued a whole night in prayer before HE “*chose and sent forth his twelve Apostles.*” Prayer is then made “before WE ADMIT AND SEND FORTH this person presented unto us, to the work *whereunto we trust* THE HOLY GHOST HATH CALLED HIM.” We need not pursue the subject further in the Consecration Service, which breathes throughout the same spirit. The Church evidently believes that she is discharging a great and responsible *duty* in consecrating bishops. She supposes that the Crown presents to her persons chosen with reference to their spiritual qualifications. Her exhortations, lessons, prayers, &c., would be a mere mockery if they had not been written on the supposition that bishops have been chosen with an especial view to their

fitness for the office. Such *was* doubtless the view which was taken at the period when these solemn offices of consecration were prepared and revised. The Church rightly believed that the Sovereign was desirous to appoint worthy bishops. Ministers and politics had nothing to do with those appointments. They were made by the Crown either directly or by royal commission, or by the Heads of the Church with the Crown. "Godly and well-learned men" were then *on system* appointed to Episcopal sees. The Sovereign was, in more than name, "Defender of the Faith."

But this has long passed away. The Church has for a century been the chief branch of ministerial patronage. And it now constitutes almost the only patronage in which the Minister may attend to political claims, *without regarding qualifications for office.*

And yet, when we look on the Episcopal office in its real point of view, disengaging it from the mere trappings of temporal rank, wealth, and patronage, which have clung round it in the course of ages—so solemn and sacred is its responsibility and dignity, that, in the comparison, the soul revolts with a kind of impatience from those wretched outside trappings as things beneath contempt. What are all the pomp and grandeur of this world—the princely rank and wealth—in comparison with the high mission of the Christian bishop to feed the lambs of Jesus Christ—to teach the words which He has entrusted to him—to save his own soul in so doing? How earthly is that heart which can dwell upon the one as if it were the sum and substance and vitality of the Episcopate; and can put the other—with its awful responsibilities—its sublime rewards—its toils, labours, anxieties, self-denials, prayers, watchings, and fastings, out of sight and out of mind! "Who is sufficient for these things?" was the question of an Apostle. But, oh! how would that Apostle have reproved this Church and this nation, if he could have looked upon our fallen state for the last century—if he could have seen bishop after bishop called to the apostolic office with no view except to uphold some ephemeral and unprincipled government of this world! In looking on these sad times, our only consolation is, that the Church has been rather deceived by the State than voluntarily acquiesced in such a state of things. She trusted that the Sovereign would discharge the duty to which he was bound by so many solemn responsibilities. She trusted still, when the power of Sovereigns had passed away to their subjects. She trusted that Ministers themselves would, in their ecclesiastical appointments, as they did in their political professions, promote the true welfare of the Church. When one minister after another failed, she still

looked, and—strange to say—still continues to look to some future minister as her patron and her friend! Surrounded as she is by the fading images of times in which the State was indeed, for its own interests, her strenuous advocate and reformer, she can scarcely open her eyes to the tremendous change in the relations between Church and State. Uneasy she has been at the legislative acts of thirty years—but she has not mentally combined them, and seen the system on which they were proceeding. We cannot excuse the Church for this want of perception. And yet amidst her failings she has been preserved.

Nothing but the special interference of Divine Providence could have given us the many good bishops we have had, and prevented the Church from perishing utterly. Yet how grievous were her losses—Wesleyan Methodism expelled from her bosom, which might, by a more highly-qualified Episcopate, have been preserved and reformed—dissent and infidelity increasing, while the Church lay still, waiting for help from the State—then Romanism gaining new strength and vigour—the Church divided by controversies—and the State on which the hierarchy always leant, turning steadily towards a course of openly irreligious policy, casting down all the bulwarks of the Church, throwing open the flood-gates to the tide of Romanism, dissent, Methodism, Judaism, and Infidelity.

There are those who may look on such sentiments as proceeding from mere “troublers of Israel.” We take up the phrase which has been lately applied in another way, and ask wherefore should we cry, “Peace, peace, when there is no peace?” To the Christian, and to the man of the world, the system of Church appointments must necessarily appear in a different point of view. We cannot have peace while the land is filled with the evil results of a long-continued system of corruption. We ought not to sit still and permit the Lord’s cause to be given over to the destroyer. Our Episcopate must be multiplied,—and if so, the source of its nomination must be purified from the venality and corruption which always attaches to ministerial patronage. The rights of the Crown must be respected and maintained<sup>3</sup>, but the Episcopate must be liberated from its subserviency to the

<sup>3</sup> While we say this, we would caution all those who are interested in obtaining for the Church *real securities* for the appointment of good bishops, against any expressions which might be understood as recognizing the right of the Crown, *under all circumstances, and at all times*, to appoint to bishoprics. Be it remembered, that there was a time when no sovereign appointed to bishoprics,—that Christian sovereigns *only gradually* acquired the privilege,—that the sovereigns of England *have not at all times* appointed,—that cases *may be conceived*, in which the Church could not consent to the continuance of this privilege, but must reject it at all hazards. It is sufficient to say, that we *do not* contemplate any removal of the appointment of bishops from the Crown.

ministry of the day. Its members must be selected for merit, not for connexion,—for piety and Christian zeal, not for pliancy of character. While the nomination of bishops is vested, in *the first instance*, in the ministry of the day, so long, we fear, will all the abuses we speak of continue. It would be in vain to give Chapters or Archbishops the power of rejecting, at election or confirmation, ministerial nominees, if the only ground of objection were some *positive and proved* error in doctrine, or immorality in conduct. Would this guard the Church against what is, in our opinion, an evil as great as immorality of life, or error in doctrine,—and that is, a *worldly-minded, lukewarm, time-serving* Episcopate? Certainly not. Would it save the Church from the system of ministerial corruption, which has so long paralysed her energies, and secularized to so great an extent her Episcopate and her priesthood? Would it create an Episcopate free from the trammels of ministerial and political obligations, and at liberty to exert its powers with undivided energy for the welfare of the Church? Would it give us holy, apostolical, zealous, humble men? No—we have had a century's experience of what ministerial patronage can do; and that we have survived it—is a miracle. We cannot *trust* it. We may be compelled to yield to it; but do not let us *voluntarily* sanction it.

There is, in our opinion, only one mode in which the Church could be rescued from the danger of receiving a series of worldly and unworthy bishops from ministers. If some Body were elected by a national synod, to which all ministerial nominations should be subjected, with *full and unlimited power* of rejecting all nominations of persons whom it did not consider *worthy* of the office of bishop, without the necessity of assigning *any specific objections to doctrine or morals*,—in such case an effective check would be established against the appointments of bishops who have no merit or qualifications. But any such contraction of the ministerial power would be nearly as unacceptable as the entire removal of the nomination to some other hands; and elsewhere we are convinced that it ought to be removed, and can safely be removed. Let us not be misunderstood as suggesting any diminution of the royal authority, such as it is. Let the Crown *retain the powers which it now possesses of appointing bishops*. But let such powers as *ministers* have appropriated to themselves, in appointing to bishoprics, be put in other hands, under the Crown, but independent of the Minister. Let the synod of the whole Church of England, both clerical and lay, nominate a select body to the Queen, as her advisers in ecclesiastical appointments. Let those representatives of the Church, selected for their devotion to religion, present to the Minister, or the Crown, the names of

persons thoroughly qualified for promotion to vacant benefices, and let the forms of confirmation become a reality, under proper regulations; and we think that all parties, except the Minister of the day, would be satisfied. The danger of popular elections would be avoided; the right of the Crown would be preserved, and the Church would be in perfect security. We feel assured that the claims of the Church for proper securities of *some kind* cannot be long or effectually resisted. We are of opinion that no measure which would not *wholly* exclude the ministry of the day would be fully sufficient: but we trust that any measure presenting a real check on the ministerial prerogative, would be supported.

It is high time for churchmen to open their eyes to the progress of events. The whole course of State policy in ecclesiastical matters has changed within the last century and a half. The effects of this change, however, have only gradually developed themselves. Still retaining the vast body of the population—still retaining the energies which persecution in the Great Rebellion, and subsequent perils, and a succession of illustrious bishops had implanted within her, the English Church long retained some influence, even after Government had changed its ecclesiastical views. Popery lay crushed beneath penal laws, as a dangerous faction, opposed to the Protestant succession of the throne. But in time Popery and Sectarianism gained political influence, by dint of agitation, and the aid of political partisans, who raised themselves to power by their advocacy of pretended popular rights. The French Revolution, operating, in its principles, on the enormous multitudes of our manufacturing population, left without any effectual provision for their spiritual welfare, raised a mass of radicalism and infidelity, which, combined with the revived powers of popery, and the active energies of dissent, have totally changed the face of things. The mob who in 1791 burnt Dr. Priestley's chapel, and assailed the friends of the French Revolution, have now become Chartist, Radical, and Socialist.

And now, for a long series of years, government after government has been engaged in breaking down all the restraints by which the legislation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sought to discourage separation from the National Church. The whole system of successive governments ought to be to the members of the Church a convincing proof of the *fundamental change* which has taken place in the views of the State in England. The Church is still recognized nominally, and by the forms of the constitution, as the National Church—the Church to which the State is more particularly allied—which it prefers in some sort to other religious communions; but the spirit of these forms is



extinct; the Legislature shuns every act by which it might testify its adhesion to the Church or its interests. It is content to let certain forms and privileges remain for the present. It does not seek to confiscate Church property, or to expel bishops from Parliament; but it will not take a single step in *favour* of the Church, unless equivalent concessions are made to the enemies of the Church. They would fain endow Romanism, if it could be induced to accept the bribe. *Equality* of all religious communions in the eye of the law, is the doctrine which has been, year after year, advocated in Parliament. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the emancipation and endowment of Romanism, the admission of Jews, the thousand other acts and proceedings at home and abroad, in the colonies and in Ireland, ought to bring conviction at length to the most prejudiced mind that the State in England has totally changed its views with regard to the Church; that there is no political *principle* which now leads it to uphold the National Church. Mr. Birks has referred to this state of things in the excellent pamphlet on the admission of Jews into Parliament, which we have placed at the head of our remarks:—

"A further reason for the removal of Jewish disabilities has been shown from the course and tenor of recent legislation. Its whole tendency, it is said, has been in one direction; to remove all civil distinctions, founded on the difference of religious creeds and opinions. . . . It is true indeed, and may be owned without scruple, that the changes of the last twenty years have been such as the objection implies. The fact is plain, but the inference which has been drawn from it is utterly groundless. . . . The principle which advocates the admission of Jews into Parliament, because it agrees with the course of previous legislation, would have equally justified the crucifixion of our blessed Lord. . . . Our nation, like Balaam, may be suffered for a time to walk in the way of *its own choice*, while its statesmen echo boldly the scornful question of Pilate, and worldly wealth is nationally coveted and followed, at the sacrifice of truth and righteousness. But those who can read the signs of the times will only tremble at the dangerous permission."

These are the words of truth and soberness, but they fall on ears that will not hear. The "god of this world" has blinded the English State. To the State the Church is no longer, except in antique and obsolete forms and phrases, the National—the true—the Church of England. It is merely a sect amongst others—a sect possessed of temporal advantages which others cannot boast,—a sect which is, through its heads, under the sway of the Minister, and which affords him some of his best patronage. In this point of view, its existence is convenient to

the State; otherwise, the State would not care if the Church were to pass away from the face of the earth!

We are speaking of the State in its collective capacity, as guided by a certain policy and principle. STATESMEN there may be and are, who from time to time endeavour to persuade themselves and others that this or that specific act of State policy, in reference to religious questions, is founded on some Christian or philanthropic motive,—who always ridicule the notion of any injury being *intended* to the Church. And they are right. They are not actually hostile to her; they are simply *indifferent*, as politicians. But we must be permitted to look somewhat beyond these specific acts, or the individuals who take part in them, and connect the system which is really working in them, and in which every statesman is sooner or later involved. Look at our *rising* statesmen,—even men who set out in life with high notions of the duty of the State to protect and befriend the Church above all others,—have not all these men in succession been absorbed into the opposite system? Has not Mr. Gladstone been obliged at length openly to avow that his early views are impracticable? The truth is, that no statesman in these days *can* uphold the principles of Church and State, which the Church would fain see recognized. *To do so would be a manifest disqualification for office.* The whole system is vitally and fundamentally changed.

It may be that the reader will not have gone along with us in every expression which we have employed, but we do think it impossible that any man of sober mind and of sufficient information, of whatever party he may be, can fail to admit the substantial truth of what has been stated.

Now, then, let us calmly and soberly survey our position. The State, such as we have described it, holds by the forms of the constitution a power of the most comprehensive and stringent character over all that relates to the Church. In its policy avowedly indifferent in the questions between the Church and all the sects which have separated from it—avowedly and on principle indifferent whether the sects make converts from the Church, or the Church makes converts from the sects—avowedly willing to place all sects and communions on a level with the Church—thus, utterly indifferent to religious creeds, the State nominates the bishops of the Church,—nominates large masses of her clergy,—legislates for the Church in all her concerns, both temporal and spiritual,—and extinguishes all power of spontaneous legislative action and reform in the Church. The Church alone, of all religious communities in England, is absolutely subject to the State; and to a State which avows its indifference, *as a State*,

in all religious questions! And amidst this state of things we have remained passive. Our watchmen have not awakened to the real state of things, but have been soothed by the silvery professions of ministers of state. The very patronage of the Church is employed to keep her in silence and in submission. The ascendancy which it gives to ministers enables them to check and restrain her efforts for freedom. The power of the State is employed to extinguish her synods, and thus cause the very notion of united action in God's cause to die away. Without any spiritual legislature competent to decide controversies as they rise, or to promote improvements and uniformity in practice, the Church becomes the prey of parties and divisions which divert her attention from questions affecting her existence as a Church, and leave her helplessly in the hands of the Minister. Meanwhile blow after blow descends upon her defences; breach after breach is effected; her position daily becomes more contracted; but still she remains passive; for even within her ranks are found those who tell her still to lean upon the Government, and cling fast to it unto the end. We have been kept passive by such means, and yet each day ought to have shown us the hollowness of such advice, or its deep error, in applying obsolete maxims to present dangers. We have not known whither to turn for aid. Our professed political defenders have deserted us one by one. Their voices, once raised in our defence, gradually sank into feeble whispers; and then they sided with the hostile cause. The spoilers, deeming their prey nearly exhausted, are gathering around the Church. The State, her ancient protector, and still her master, stands ready to deliver her into their hands, when they have gained power to demand her sacrifice.

That time may still be far off. The Church has yet remaining gigantic strength and power, when fairly roused; and therefore all her assailants are gradual in their advances, and look to gaining their end by a process of exhaustion rather than by open attacks. Some few years ago they ventured too far in proposing the abolition of Church-rates; but for once they found that they had miscalculated the strength of the Church: they found a united and an indignant Episcopate; and they found the whole population, laity and all, rallying around their Church. The rate-payers would not take the bribe that was offered them. From that moment governments, and the opponents of the Church, have forborne experiments which were likely to end in defeat.

Now then let us take another view of the position of the Church. Suppose that the Church, which has been so long a passive instrument in the hands of the State, seeing herself, we will not say enslaved, but dependent on a State utterly care-

less of her welfare, and on the will of political parties; suppose, we say, this body, now in bondage, by some means or in some way, to become active in the pursuit of those capacities of self-control and self-legislation, which she formerly possessed; suppose her to seek for securities—definite, clear, *bonâ fide* securities, for the appointment of bishops truly worthy of their office—what would be the feeling and position of the parties by whom she is opposed, and of the State?

In the first place, she would be encountered with resistance by the State—i. e. by the Minister of the day and his party, including a certain number of bishops—probably also by other political parties. In this opposition, the Government would, we presume, be backed and supported by many of those classes and denominations of religionists who are opposed to the Church, and by all those who have no religion at all. The Minister would try to raise some cry for the purpose of intimidating weak men. The reason of this opposition would be, first, the jealousy and reluctance of the Minister and of political parties, at any interference with the patronage, and consequently political power, which they possess in connexion with the Church; secondly, the jealousy which the temporal Government always feels at any interference with power of any kind that has once become centralized under the State; and, thirdly, the apprehension of the sects, that if the Church were at liberty to act for herself, she would become too strong for them all, and would recover the ground she has lost.

For these and other reasons any movement of the Church of England to resume the spiritual liberties which she formerly possessed, would be likely to be viewed with disapprobation, both by the Government and by a motley array of its supporters.

As far as the State is concerned, we suppose that any reform in the present system would render it even more indifferent to the Church than it now is; and that such indifference and its possible results might be employed to detach timid men from the cause of the Church, and induce them to leave things as they are.

But in reply to all such anticipations, or any other which may be founded on mere temporal considerations, we must say, that we cannot consent to accept any impediments or difficulties founded on such considerations, as any objections against the discharge of duty to God and His Church. No Christian can have any doubt that it is the duty of the Church to seek in the first place the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and, if necessary, to seek it at the hazard of being deprived of all her earthly possessions. In these days, the only strength of the Church lies in this spirit of simple devotion to her most sacred duty. The Church has no earthly friends: she has put her trust in the “children of

men," and they have failed one by one. She must look in future more singly to the solemn responsibilities entailed by her existence as a Christian society, leaving her temporal fortunes to the care of her Heavenly Protector and Spiritual Head.

But there are some considerations as regards the supposed dangers, which are perhaps not undeserving of consideration. If the Church were strong enough to establish her constitutional liberties in opposition to the will of statesmen, political parties, and her opponents, would she not also be strong enough to protect her temporalities? If she could do the one, we think that she would be far more able to defend her temporal position than she now is. Once free the Church from her present trammels to successive ministries, and she would recover a united Episcopate. She would become an object of respect and even of fear, instead of being an object of contempt. She would hold her natural and rightful position in the country as by far the most numerous and powerful community of professing Christians within it; she would have advocates in Parliament; and if assailed, she might be able to beat back the attempt so effectually as to teach her opponents moderation for the future equal to her own.

Supposing therefore the Church to have actually carried against ministers the recovery of her Christian and constitutional rights, there would not be, in our opinion, much danger of her losing her temporalities, excepting, of course, in the case of a revolution, in which she would suffer with all holders of property. In the ordinary course of events, we think that her temporal prospects would be improved; for as matters are now proceeding, the day must come when her temporalities will be invaded, and when she will be without power of resistance.

Such anticipations will probably be treated as absurd by mere politicians. They will ask triumphantly, "Who is seeking the confiscation of Church property in England?" These sage and honest advisers of the Church would argue, that because there is no present cry for the overthrow of the Church, there will be none hereafter! Churchmen will not, we hope, be deceived by the hollow assurances of statesmen. They ought not to forget the unceasing effort of all sects in the empire, backed by the revolutionary faction, and by every successive government, to establish the principle of *religious equality*. That principle is every year more and more distinctly recognized by the Legislature. At the same time, the Legislature asserts its claim and its right to dispose of Church property according to its own judgment. Parliament has already struck off twenty-five per cent. from the Church property in Ireland, and given it to the landlords. It has, by its subsequent legislation, taken almost all of the remaining seventy-

five per cent. to support the poor. It has extinguished the Church-rates in Ireland, and confiscated the property of ten bishoprics to make up the deficiency. The literary organs of that Liberalism which has gained permanent ascendancy, declare that "it is puerile to expect that the Roman Catholic body of Ireland will ever permanently acquiesce in seeing the *entire ecclesiastical endowment appropriated exclusively to a small minority of the population*, while the Church of the large majority is wholly unendowed<sup>4</sup>." The measures of the Legislature have left little for the spoiler to take.

There are some persons who would bid us look with indifference at the destruction of the Irish Church. "The case of Ireland," they would say, "is peculiar; it affords no precedent for England." They are greatly mistaken in such views, as they may find hereafter to their cost. If by any conjuncture of events a parliament were returned, which was desirous of interfering in a hostile spirit with the endowments of the Church here, what has been done, and may be done in Ireland, will be unscrupulously quoted by Government and by the other enemies of the Church, as having established the principle of interference with the property of an "*established*" Church, or, rather, the right of disposing of "*national*" property in the manner which the State deems most advisable. If there should ever be the *will* in Parliament to interfere with English Church property in a hostile spirit, there will be precedents and principles to support their proceeding in the case of the "Established Church" in Ireland.

We may be mistaken in our view, but it does seem to us that it were more wise in the Church not to await the day when her enemies may have gained irresistible strength, and when Government will betray her into their hands; but to bestir herself at once to meet the dangers before her, by cautious and judicious organization and action. To depend any longer on the State's support, would be mere dreaming. We do not, we again remind our readers, live in the *seventeenth* century. We must now look only to God, and to ourselves: the State has betrayed us, and is ready to sell us. Care should be taken to divest the movement as much as possible of points on which its enemies might fix for the purpose of exciting popular clamour or angry passions. Partizanship of every kind should be as far as possible avoided, demands should be conceived in a tone of moderation, though firmness, on grounds of justice and Christian truth, on principles which the simplest could understand and feel, and in which almost all the members of the Church will join. Sedulous care should be taken, to guard against the notion of the assump-

<sup>4</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1840, p. 159.

tion of spiritual power with any view to deprive the laity of their Christian liberties. On them especially, in *all classes of society*, the success of the cause of the Church must very greatly depend; without their zealous support, no progress can be made; and as doubts have been *widely* spread amongst them of the meaning and intentions of the clergy, as if the object were to establish a system of "priestcraft" and dominion over their consciences, we think that Christian policy would suggest a mode of proceeding which would put an end to any such suspicion, by associating the laity, *under due and right restrictions*, with the clergy in the legislature of the Church, and in its local tribunals of discipline. In fact there is nothing alien to the practice of the Church in such union of lay and clerical members in synods. Almost all the synods of Europe, from the seventh to the eleventh century, were of this mixed character, at once Parliaments and Church synods. It is traceable in our own Anglo-Saxon history. It has been adopted in America; and to our mind it seems necessary in the peculiar circumstances of the Church of England, with reference to the independence of the national character, and the suspicions which have been assiduously instilled into the popular mind. A Church legislature fairly representing the laity as well as the clergy, would, in our opinion, possess tenfold influence over one composed of clergy alone. It would be looked to by all the members of the Church as their ecclesiastical representation, as the House of Commons is looked to by the nation at large as its political representation.

The plain and straightforward avowal of such perfectly fair, just, and reasonable objects, as removing the discussion and determination of our doctrine, discipline, and worship, from a parliament including "Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics," to some body consisting of churchmen only, and fairly representing the Church—the acquisition of really efficient securities for the appointment of bishops worthy in all respects of their office, and qualified to carry out its spiritual duties with power and effect—the multiplication of a laborious, working Episcopate, and of the clergy in populous places—these and such as these are objects so reasonable, so incapable of affording just grounds of offence to any sincere member of the Church, that we cannot think there would be danger in advocating them, if the advocacy were temperate, firm, and free from all appearance of party spirit. Let any such movement be conducted with prudence and *perseverance*, and it will continually gain adherents who are at first afraid to join it.

The late controversy on the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the Episcopal see of Hereford, has been the means of awakening public attention to the real position of the Church in connexion

with the State. The opposition to that appointment has been throughout conducted with a temper, moderation, and substantial success, which exceeded all expectation. We cannot of course predict what will be the results upon the mind of the Church at large. But we should think that there are many persons who will be able to look somewhat beyond this particular case—who will look on Dr. Hampden's theories, or Lord John Russell's conduct, as of little moment in comparison with the greater and more momentous questions involved in them. Some, who have been excited by what seemed to them a positive outrage, may be disposed to look on it as an exceptional case, and to relapse into their usual passive dissatisfaction; but there will be, we presume, others, who will turn their thoughts to examine and to reform the whole system with which such acts are connected.

Be this as it may, however, we again express our solemn conviction, that unless the Church becomes organized and active in pursuit of her great practical objects, such as Church-extension, an increase in the Episcopate, and the restoration of a national synod—and unless in so doing she act independently of the State, *not in opposition to it*, but with a distinct object of *influencing* the State, just as all other religious bodies in the country influence it; unless the Church pursues her way steadily to this object, without regarding the promises of statesmen, the timidity and apathy of some of her own members, or even the tacit disapprobation of some of her rulers under State influence, she will be compelled ultimately to relinquish the whole of her temporalities to the State.

Thirty years ago this language and these anticipations might have been deemed extravagant; but can they be called so now? Is it nothing that the State has distinctly taught the doctrine that, as a State, it holds out equal encouragement to all religions? Why does it admit persons of all religions amongst its members? Why does it provide for Jewish, Dissenting, Romish, members of Parliament, and *ministers of the Crown*? why does it thus *identify the Crown itself with indifference to all religion*? If the ministers of the Crown, *by whom alone the royal prerogative is exercised*, may be openly and by legal enactment, Jews, or Dissenters, or Romanists, what principle is there on which to maintain the restriction on the religion of the sovereign? Mark the composition of the House of Commons; and the political influence in English and Scotch boroughs, and in Ireland, gained by the *enemies of the Church as an establishment* within fifteen years. Mark the regular *organization* of all the opponents of the Church, and the perfect harmony with which they hang together (however different their views may be on other points) for carrying measures adverse to



the Church; opposing her wishes, and breaking down her defences. Mark the uniform *success* which attends their efforts; and the uniform neglect experienced by the Church. On one side, the tide is always advancing; on the other, always receding. The one cause is always gaining; the other is losing its place inch by inch. We have seen much lost; we daily see more departing; we cannot tell the hour when the whole will be snatched from us. Religious equality demands it; and the principles of the State are so utterly and hopelessly gone, that *no minister could any longer, except on grounds of expediency, defend the Church.* Let us not be lured into destruction by the language of such advisers as Sir Robert Peel, who would fain convince us, that after all that has happened, we are "stronger than ever." Our strength, such as it is, does not consist in sitting still, depending on the protection of the ministers of the day, and waiting to be sold piecemeal; we *have* strength, weak as we are from divisions, caused by the intermission of synods, and by Government influence over some of our bishops and clergy; still we *have* strength—the strength of the most sacred cause of truth—the strength of duty—the strength, we believe, of the Divine protection which has not left us; though earthly rulers and their partisans have long forsaken our cause. But it behoves us to use that strength while we may; for the decisive conflict is drawing on.

We address ourselves to those who are faithfully and sincerely devoted to the great truths which the Church of England enshrines; those who are detached from the influence of the temporal government, and who can, in simple sincerity, look to the welfare and the preservation of the Church as the chosen instrument of God's grace for the welfare of this kingdom. We address ourselves only to those, with whom the safety of the Church is, next to their own salvation, the central point of their wishes, and their hopes, and their fears. We ask of them to look soberly and calmly upon the real, actual state of things. What prospect has the Church before her? Is she gaining the kind of power which will enable her, *in the Legislature*, to maintain *permanently* her present position? Has not her position been gradually changing? Has she not to look for a rival hierarchy, usurping English titles, evidently expecting more than protection from the State,—a hierarchy which, ere long, will be admitted into high places with its rival titles and dignities? Has she not narrowly escaped the prospect of a papal nuncio residing permanently at the English court, and urging the interests of his communion, by playing on the fears of government through Irish Romanism? And what is the meaning of all this, and of the innumerable measures, actions, concessions, in favour of the

Church's enemies? Churchmen! all this has a mighty meaning. The tendency of the whole is to the destruction of your Church. Statesmen would, in various cases, shrink from such a consummation. They do not, themselves, see whither their movements are tending: they have no *hostility* to the Church: it is an engine of State, which they would rather preserve. But, nevertheless, they are steadily advancing in that current of progress which carries our destruction along with it. They are engaged with the passing struggles of party; and either cannot, or will not, see the certain tendency of the whole.

We have to deal with a Government which holds powers over the Church in ways which are not easily discernible.

When we learnt the lamented death of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, we ventured to form a conjecture as to the *kind* of appointment which ministers would be likely to make, in consequence of this vacancy. We said to ourselves, "The Government is manifestly embarrassed and alarmed to the greatest degree by the recent proceedings in the case of Dr. Hampden. It dreads the commencement of a movement for the purpose of removing from the Ministry the appointment to bishoprics: it knows that disgust at the system of appointing bishops, and the odiously secular motives which always prevail in it, have long been general, not merely amongst those whom it considers to be 'Tractarians,' but amongst large bodies of the clergy *and laity*, most opposed to those views: it has seen, with terror, a real union between men of very different views in the Hampden controversy: *it will therefore endeavour to dissolve this union*,—so threatening to its power,—by appointing to the Episcopal see, which will be vacated by the promotion of one of the most subservient Whig bishops,—a prelate, whose appointment will be so acceptable to *the Evangelical section of the Church*, as to be *calculated to detach them from any movement which may be made in restoration of the Church's rights.*"

Matters have not happened exactly as we anticipated; for the *primacy* has been filled up on this view, and not the vacant Episcopal see. We sincerely respect the excellent prelate who has been appointed; and, as far as his appointment is concerned, we have reason to congratulate ourselves, when we look on others who *might* have held that seat; but we cannot, for all this, help seeing clearly the ministerial craftiness which has dictated that appointment. Dr. Sumner might have remained at Chester for the remainder of his days, had not the legal proceedings in the case of Dr. Hampden taken place.

The minister has appointed Dr. Sumner, in hopes of preventing a *general* movement of the Church against the corrupt system of

ministerial patronage. The appointment of Dr. Hampden, and the admiration expressed by the premier for *Tillotson*, Arnold, and Archdeacon Hare, is a sufficient proof, that Dr. Sumner's appointment has not arisen from any concurrence with his *theological* views; that it is simply a stroke of State policy. We cannot think so meanly of the sense of religious men, (of whatever school they may be,) as to suppose that they can be deceived by any such appointment as this into the belief that the minister of the present day has any higher notions and views in exercising the patronage of the Crown than his predecessors have had. The very ministry which makes Dr. Sumner archbishop, opens the Legislature to the Jews; has no objection to see Mahomedans and Brahmins legislating for the Church of England; opens communications with the pope; is anxious that the Legislature should recognize him as "sovereign pontiff;" wishes for the residence of a papal nuncio or legate at the court of St. James's; is most desirous of being allowed to establish and endow popery in Ireland, and to govern Ireland through the Romish priesthood; recognizes popish prelates as "lords archbishops and bishops;" aids and supports popery in the colonies; employs all its patronage for the purpose of *exterminating Scriptural education* in Ireland; aids and abets in the removal of all legal penalties, restrictions, or discouragements to the progress of Romanism in England; is willing to aid *Romish* schools in England; permits the appointment of a Romish hierarchy usurping English titles; and, in fine, is leagued with those parties, whether political or religious, whose main object is the destruction of the "Established Church."

We presume, then, that it is sufficiently evident that no partiality for Dr. Sumner's *theological* opinions led to his appointment to the See of Canterbury. The mode in which the See of Chester has been filled up confirms this view. The minister has, in this instance, been careful to nominate a bishop of whom the world has never heard, except as a head of a House at Cambridge. If the object was to make an appointment which was likely to create *no disturbance*, that object has been attained; and the minister at least, if not the Church, will in this instance have profited by experience. But still the worldly system and principle of statesmen remain unchanged.

We say, then, that the Church would be most criminally indifferent to the sacred cause intrusted to her, if she were any longer to "put her trust in princes." In trusting statesmen, she trusts herself to persons influenced by all the uncertain and changeable democratical feeling of the country—to persons who, as regards their *general policy*, have no liberty of action themselves. To trust in the

*Crown* is still more delusive. What powers does the *Crown in itself* now possess? The *Crown* is *irresponsible* and powerless in itself; its powers have fallen *entirely* into the hands of responsible ministers. It is almost amusing to read, as we continually do, of the anxiety of statesmen to preserve the *prerogative of the Crown*! These gentlemen are very earnest that the *Crown* shall retain without diminution the power of appointing bishops—that the *Crown's* rights shall not be interfered with—that the *Crown* shall be absolute and unrestricted by the laws of God or man in making Episcopal appointments—that the *Crown* shall be at liberty to enter into whatever relations it pleases with the See of Rome! If there be any attempt to secure the appointment of good and holy men as bishops, it is an interference with the *Crown's* prerogative! The *Crown* should be considered *incapable* of appointing bad bishops. It is quite unloyal to imagine such a possibility!

When we remember that by the English constitution, the Ministers are responsible for all exercise of the royal prerogative, and that they are liable to impeachment for *abuse and wrong exercise of that prerogative*—it is plain that the whole outcry which is made by statesmen on the subject of preserving the royal prerogative is, simply, in so many words, a struggle to maintain *their own patronage and powers*. The sophistry is so miserable, that every one can see through it; and not all the oracular sayings of statesmen or field-marshal on this subject, can long prevent the truth from being seen and understood. For ourselves we are disgusted at the perpetual talk of statesmen of all parties about “the royal prerogative;” seeing that their whole language on the subject is founded on fallacies and delusions of the most palpable kind. We have no fancy to see the Minister of the day maintain or enlarge his *own* power under pretence of respect for the Sovereign, whom he at the same time leaves *without power*, and recognizes as little more than the registrar of his acts.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. *The Wood Spirit—My Life—Jones's Chartist Lyrics*, and *Lord Lindsay*. 2. *Tupper's Hactenus*. 3. *The Collects in Verse*. 4. *Elrington's Life of Archbishop Ussher*. 5. *Allies' Church of England cleared from charge of Schism*. 6. *Cope and Stretton's Visitation Infirmorum*. 7. *Davis's Principles of Nature*. 8. *Ecclesiæ Dei*. 9. *The Duke of Manchester's Finished Mystery*. 10. *Thornton's Plan for Peasant Proprietors*. 11. *Froissart's Chronicles*. 12. *Mrs. Gray's History of Rome*. 13. *Tales of Adventure*. 14. *Constance, a Tale*. 15. *Gatty's Bel*. 16. *Things after Death*. 17. *Martineau's What is my Duty?* 18. *Carleton's Emigrants of Ahadatta*. 19. *Warren's Now and Then*. 20. *Humphry's Commentary on the Acts*. 21. *Hall's Prayers*. 22. *Surtees on the Ministry of the Word*. 23. *Salwey's Gospel Hymns*. 24. *Boyd's England, Rome, and Oxford*. 25. *James on Passages from the Fathers*. 26. *Fewell: Opinions for Churchmen*. 27. *The Cemetery*. 28. *Hardinge's Election of Grace*. 29. *Philo-Biblia on the Communion Services*. 30. *Neale's Stories*. 31. *Lawson's Sermon*. 32. *Reeve's Power of Divine Grace*. 33. *R. Montgomery's Great Salvation*. 34. *German Tales from Hauff and Tieck, and Beauties of German Literature*. 35. *Kennaway's Sermons*. 36. *Sheppard's Christian Obligations of Citizenship*. 37. *Heygate's Godfrey Davenant*. 38. *Emily Vernon*. 39. *Loos and Galt*. 40. *Grover's Voice from Stonehenge*. 41. *Bishop of Tasmania's Charge—Viscount Campden's Chaplaincy in Madeira*. 42. *Baxter's Village Sermons—Newman's Gospel the Power of God*. 43. *King's Little Red Book*. 44. *William's Gospel Narrative of our Lord's Ministry*. 45. *Webb's (Mrs.) Beloved Disciple*. 46. *Nash's Scriptural Idea of Faith*. 47. *Wakeman's Archaeologia Hibernica*. 48. *Webb's Continental Ecclesiology*. 49. *Cust's Noctes Dominicæ*. 50. *Miscellaneous*.

- 1.—1. *The Wood Spirit. A Romance*. In 2 vols. London: Boones.
2. *My Life. A Poem*. Newby.
3. *Chartist Lyrics. By ERNEST JONES*. McGowan, Great Windmill-street.
4. *Lord Lindsay. A Poem. By ERNEST JONES, Esq., Barrister-at-Law*.

ALL our readers have, no doubt, heard of Chartism; and this subject, ever a serious one, is replete with more solemn interest, now that Democracy is enthroned triumphant in a neighbouring land, and threatens all the monarchies of Europe. It is a sad, but certain truth, that vast masses of our labouring population, some hundreds of thousands in number, are banded together in an association, which professes, for the moment, only to seek for Universal Suffrage, and the centralization of all power in the working classes; but which at the same time demonstrates, through all its organs, its impatient eagerness to overthrow every institution of our country, and create an absolutely despotic democracy on the ruins of individual freedom and imperial greatness.

We cannot for a moment disguise or withhold our opinion, that

no man or men should be entrusted with absolute power ; and that it is equally dangerous to place this in an individual, as in the despotism of Russia, or in the one majority of the mass, as in the United States. Liberty, true liberty, and the division of power, we regard as synonymous terms. Our existing constitution secures this division. Public opinion is virtually omnipotent in this country, but its expression is controlled by various highly-important barriers from all national precipitations or other excesses. The working classes or masses have vast power, being directly represented by public meetings, the right of petition, the show of hands at nomination, the press, &c. ; indirectly, they are further represented by Crown, Lords, and Commons. The middle classes are directly represented by the Commons ; and the higher classes, or aristocracy, by the Lords ; the Crown, as the executive, acts for and represents all. Here we have an equilibrium of power, which can never indeed be perfectly maintained, as momentarily Crown, Lords, Commons, or people *must* preponderate in the scale. The observation of this fact has led M. de Lamartine, now at the head of the Republican movement in France, to deny the possible existence of any so-called balance of power ; but his remarks on this subject are childish in the extreme, he having altogether failed to observe, that although aristocracy and democracy cannot preponderate at once, the first may be in the ascendancy to-day and the second to-morrow.

But in this projected critical sketch it must not be our task to examine the influences for good and evil of various systems of government. We content ourselves with asserting the infinite superiority, in every point of view, of a division of power, such as is realized in the British constitution, to an absolute democracy, which is fatal to individual freedom ; and pass to the consideration of the very remarkable democratic and chartist orator and poet, the titles of some of whose productions we have placed at the head of these remarks. Ernest Jones is now, after Fergus O'Connor, the most popular man in the Chartist movement ; he is by far the most brilliant democratic orator this country has ever known, and he is further recognized as the Chartist laureate ; the author of "The Purgatory of Suicides," whom some of our readers may remember, having been almost unanimously dethroned to make room for this new monarch. Our readers will probably be surprised to hear that in his own peculiar line Mr. Ernest Jones is positively a true poet ; a certain artistic finish, which might be little looked for, distinguishes even his most rabid strains, and the wild imagination displayed in them is only equal to their destructive power. We can conceive such strains working an infinity of mischief amongst our labouring fellow-countrymen ; and we have no doubt that the

poet, who is, we understand, both a gentleman and a barrister, despite his democratic frenzy, would receive this acknowledgment on our part as the highest compliment we could possibly pay him. His first publication was a romance, entitled "The Wood Spirit;" replete with the fire of genius, but partially indistinct and misty, both in conception and execution. This was followed by the first part of a poem, entitled "My Life," first published anonymously, but since acknowledged, purporting to be an account given by an aristocrat of his life-long experience within his conventional circles. Some of the satire introduced in this was powerful; but we were especially struck by the pathetic beauty of some passages, which appeared to proclaim that the author had something higher than mob-worship in his soul. In saying this, we mean not to affirm that the people are not capable individually of the noblest sacrifices; nevertheless, the adulation tendered to the working classes by each and all of their self-constituted Chartist leaders, must be revolting to every lover of independence and hater of servile idolatry.

Mr. Jones's last poem, entitled "Lord Lindsey," appears, strange to say, almost aristocratic in its tendencies. The hero is a nobleman of an ancient line, and no little stress is laid on his resolve to maintain his ancestral dignity. Owing to a want of due confidence in his fellows, his cause, and himself, Lindsey fails in life, despite of glorious opportunities of the attainment of happiness and glory, and dies in doubt, and almost in shame. There is nothing democratic here; and though there is great power, vivid and picturesque imagery, mature thought, and lofty purpose, we cannot linger on the contemplation of this remarkable poem, being anxious to pass to the consideration of those democratic lays, which are, after all, most characteristic of this author's aims and powers, and of more pressing import at the present moment, from the alarming aspect of the political world. We would beseech our readers to awaken to the urgency of the hour's demands, and work upon the labouring classes, the masses of this empire, by every means within their power, teaching them to prefer the true individual freedom they at present enjoy, which could not be enhanced by any *political* change whatever, to that democratic despotism, which must almost inevitably terminate in the elevation of some one individual, by the voices of the many, to absolute supremacy.

We do not say that the people should be told it would be unconstitutional or impracticable to extend the suffrage at some period; but they certainly should be made to feel that the possession of the suffrage is in no way essential to the enjoyment of liberty, or even of a due degree of power. We have now nearly

a million electors, out of six millions of operatives, who might be qualified under universal suffrage. France, out of nearly ten millions, had about two hundred thousand; so that the cases of the two countries were in no degree parallel. The five millions in our country, who are not directly represented, may and do exercise a vast influence on public opinion, and consequently on the Legislature; nay, we are prepared to affirm, that no war could be carried on for any length of time to which they were, as a body, opposed. The last great war, as is well known, was generally popular, and therefore was it so long continued, and ultimately so triumphant. Again, the Ten Hours' Bill was carried, entirely owing to the expression of opinion of this class; and were they to unite against the Poor Law in the same way, it is highly probable that that act would not long disgrace a Christian Legislature. The power of the working classes then is virtually great without the suffrage; with the suffrage it would be absolute, and the single despotism of one majority would be substituted for the action and counteraction of democracy, aristocracy, and royalty, all influenced and ultimately controlled by so-called public opinion.

But to the Chartist Lays. We will cite one, or at least the larger part of one, as a sample of the spirit unfortunately prevalent amongst our masses. It is entitled "*Our Warning.*"

"Ye lords of golden argosies,  
And prelate, prince, and peer!  
And members all of parliament  
In rich St. Stephen's,—*hear!*

"We are gathering up through England,  
All the bravest and the best,  
From the heather-hills of Scotland  
To the green Isle of the West;

"From the corn-field and the factory,  
To the coal-belt's hollow zone;  
From the cellars of the city  
To the mountain's quarried stone.

• • • • •

"And, if ye mean it truly,  
The storm may yet be laid,  
And we will aid you duly,  
As brothers brothers aid;

"But if ye falsely play us,  
And if ye but possess  
The poor daring, to betray us,  
Not the courage to redress:



"Then your armies shall be scatter'd  
If at us their steel be thrust,  
And your fortresses be batter'd  
Like atoms into dust!

"And the anger of the nation  
Across the land shall sweep,  
Like a mighty devastation  
Of the winds upon the deep."

We shall not extract more. This is amply sufficient to call attention to a movement of a most dangerous order, and to a democratic orator and poet, of whom we may be destined to hear far more than we should wish, at a future day, unless we also buckle on our armour, and appeal to the people's nobler sympathies and better reason. The social battle may yet be won; but it must be fought, and speedily. The people must be taught to love our Church and State; or dread, indeed, will be the consequences. In the approaching war of nations, though England may strive to stand aside, she will be constrained, and that probably very soon, to take an active part. It is her destiny and duty, whilst promoting constitutional liberty, to struggle against democratic despotism; but to do this with any hope of success, she must have a loyal and loving people at home. The English people are naturally conservative, naturally reverential, naturally noble in their impulses, but left to themselves, or rather abandoned to the teachings of eloquent and ardent democrats, (with whom, be it observed, the Romish priesthood almost invariably co-operate!) the eventual result can only be a rebellion and a civil war! The Church is responsible. To the clergy we look for succour in the hour of need. The people may yet be won!

II.—HACTENUS: *Sundry of my Lyrics Hitherto.* By MARTIN F. TUPPER, author of "*Proverbial Philosophy*," "*The Crock of Gold*." London: Hatchards.

THE character of a nation should and must be reflected in its poetry. The gloom, and spleen, and discontent, which exercise, unhappily, too wide an influence over the minds of our countrymen, have found their poetic expression in the works of Byron, where, sublimated and idealized in semblance, they are almost the only genuine sources of inspiration. On the other hand, that cheerful content, that practical wisdom, that genial love and reverence for the good and beautiful, to which our real greatness as a nation must be attributed, has found its literary realization or embodiment, primarily and mainly, in the immortal Shakespeare;

whose world-dramas, as they have been not inaptly designed, are no less wonderful for their power, than for their moral, and indirectly religious, healthfulness. In the present century Southey has been the chief poetical representative of the more healthful and genial attributes of the Anglo-Saxon race; though Scott may perhaps also claim, in his degree, to share this glory with him.

The principal work of Martin Farquhar Tupper, "*Proverbial Philosophy*," is instinct with this spirit of genial hopeful love; and to this mainly should be attributed the vast amount of sympathetic admiration it has attracted, not only in this country, but also in the United States; where, through many shades of national peculiarity, not especially amiable in our eyes, still beams forth the star of Anglo-Saxon buoyant life. "*Proverbial Philosophy*" has, indeed, much poetic beauty; we were about to say, independent of this healthful spirit; but we feel the expression would not be justifiable, so inextricably interwoven are the twain. Farquhar Tupper is not only a most genial representative of that happy freshness of heart and soul, which earned for our country the appellation of "*merry England*" in the olden days; but he is also in his degree a representative of the English Church; distinctively anti-ascetic, but imbued with cheerful, hopeful piety, and the true spirit of catholic forbearance.

We find, indeed, some of the practical errors or shortcomings of our Church only too faithfully reflected in Mr. Tupper's effusions. There is to be discovered, what a great reaction from asceticism but too generally leads to, almost too keen an enjoyment of the happiness of this world, which, "*as a shadow, passeth away*;" unrelieved by that chastening influence of penitential sorrow, or at least of its remembrance, which should never be wholly absent from any mortal joy; which is as the dew upon the flower, through which, however, the flower but shines the purer. The English Church we hold to be the great witness appointed by Heaven to manifest, in word and deed, that the highest earthly life is not only compatible with, but is only duly realized in, the lawful use of this world; that the duties of the husband, the father, and the active citizen, whether lay or clerical, are spiritually higher, when rightly appreciated, than the self-allotted tasks of the monk and hermit. As the spirit of false asceticism corrupted ancient Christianity, checked, and eventually all but destroyed, European civilization, and, sending the best and wisest and bravest of mankind to selfish seclusion, left the world orphaned to sink beneath a thousand years of barbarism; so was it essential that, prior to the last dread contest betwixt the powers of good and evil, living faith, realizing the sublime verity that "*in Christ*" all things are

hallowed to the true believer, should seek for and find its embodiment in some great branch of the Church Catholic, which could thus alone be enabled to fight with success against the Pantheistic utopianism of the last days. This we have, and praised be our gracious God for it, in the English Church ; but, as of necessity, earthly imperfection will enter with its alloy wherever the ideal is realized in a practical form ; and thus we cannot conscientiously acquit the Church of England of tendencies to worldly-mindedness and a too great love of this life. And these tendencies we also suspect at least to be the source of inspiration of some of Mr. Tupper's minor lyrics. There is too much of "joy and gladness," too little of penitential sorrow, in this poet's strains. He appears too anxious to express his conviction, that this world is not only not a vale of tears, but a glorious paradise, to all who will receive it as such. Grief, in his philosophy, appears as the tender shadow cast by happiness, almost refreshing in its stillness and purity. No doubt, there is a sense in which much of this is true : nay, we are ready to admit, that holy joy is in itself a higher thing than holy sorrow ; for "perfect love casteth out fear." But, at least until this perfect love is attained to, and it is very questionable whether it ever can be literally and strictly attained in this world, a deep unconsciousness of our own imperfections and sins, and a holy sorrow for them, as well as for those of our brethren, (this latter cause of grief existing indeed even for Christian perfection, could such perfection be realized,) must sway our souls, and prevent our indulging in too bright conceptions or realizations of the existing state of society in the world. We do not think Mr. Tupper has sufficiently remembered this. Nevertheless, we rejoice in the calm and yet blissful content in which his soul appears to dwell ; and can well believe that it is not from any want of sympathy with others that life appears so fair a thing to him, but because he has been endowed by nature with a happy temperament, disposed to bask in faith and love, and has found peace for his soul in glad yet humble homage to his Maker.

Closely connected with the error we have above alluded to, the excess of joyfulness, stands that of self-exaltation and excessive confidence, which the most careless reader cannot but recognize in the collection of lyrics entitled "Hactenus," now under our consideration, and which few perhaps would be disposed to treat with as much mildness as ourselves. We believe, however, that Mr. Tupper really feels himself a poet, and therefore in some sense a man raised above his fellows. Very great misconceptions prevail on this subject. It is supposed that the man of genius must be necessarily very humble in the estimation of his own capacities, and

consequently more distrustful of himself than his neighbours. This is by no means the case. No doubt, there are moments at which he will doubt his calling, and frequent occasions when he feels his own insufficiency to realize all his ardent fancy has conceived. Nevertheless, he cannot well be unconscious of his superiority to the herd of men, and no doubt the constant remembrance of his moral weakness or positive sinfulness is requisite to keep down the intellectual pride, which might otherwise elevate him in his own esteem above the level of mankind. It would be absurd to imagine, as some critics have done, that Shakspeare, for instance, was not aware of the greatness of his plays, or preferred his "Venus and Adonis" to them. The assumption of such an error is tantamount to converting the highest intellectual power into a species of inspired idiotcy. But, to resume, Mr. Tupper is not only too openly conscious of the reality of his genius, but has also far too frequently proclaimed it in the little volume now before us. We beg him, for his own sake, as for that of the Christianity he has so nobly vindicated, to be more chary of self-assertions for the future.

The reader who has not seen "Hactenus" may ask for some sample of our author's happiest moods. They shall have it in what many might consider a strange subject for a poem, "The Early Gallop," replete with healthful genius, and fire, and Christian exultation, and altogether most characteristic of this fortunately joyous poet. This little lyric is, in our estimation, worth a thousand common-place sentimentalities; it sends a thrill of cheerful vitality to the sympathizing heart, and of itself demonstrates, and perhaps vindicates, the special mission of its author. We would entreat Mr. Tupper, if possible, to cultivate the vein in which this effusion was composed, and we can promise him the increasing sympathy and admiration of his fellow-countrymen, if he thus progresses.

### THE EARLY GALLOP.

*(Written in the saddle, on the crown of my hat.)*

At five on a dewy morning,  
 Before the blazing day,  
 To be up and off on a high-mettled horse,  
 Over the hills away,—  
 To drink the rich sweet breath of the gorse,  
 And bathe in the breeze of the Downs;  
 Ha! man, if you can, match bliss like this  
 In all the joys of towns!

With glad and grateful tongue to join  
 The lark at his matin hymn,  
 And thence on faith's own wing to spring  
 And sing with cherubim!  
 To pray from a deep and tender heart,  
 With all things praying anew,—  
 The birds and the bees, and the whispering trees,  
 And heather bedropt with dew,—  
 To be one with those early worshippers,  
 And pour the psæan too!

Then off again with a slacken'd rein,  
 And a bounding heart within,  
 To dash at a gallop over the plain,  
 Health's golden cup to win!  
 This, this is the race for gain and grace,  
 Richer than vases and crowns;  
 And you that boast your pleasures the most,  
 Amid the steam of towns,  
 Come, taste true bliss in a morning like this,  
 Galloping over the Downs!

We have many favourite poems amongst the collection before us, but will content ourselves with specifying "*Farley Heath*," which is couched in the same genial strain, and has the same marked originality, both of conception and execution.

Every reader must feel at once that none but an Englishman could have achieved the little poem we have just transcribed, and, we think we may add, none but a Christian. Mr. Tupper has yet a noble future before him. In beseeching him, despite all critical admonitions and remonstrances, to follow out his own fresh impulses, we believe that we pursue the course most advantageous to the poet and the public. The serious sonnets in the collection before us have merits, but are not equal to the more characteristic strains above alluded to. Various stanzas for music we cannot at all approve of: they appear to us to be merely written to task. We would have Mr. Tupper a little less self-confident, and yet as buoyant and cheerful as ever: a little more humble, and yet displaying no mock-modesty. It may seem hard to realize apparent contradictions, yet we are sure Mr. Tupper has it in his power to attain such an end. But, as he is, the author of "*Proverbial Philosophy*" may well command our respect and sympathy. He is a valorous fellow-combatant with us in the cause of Christianity, and therefore of right and truth: and amongst her laity, it would not be very easy to discover a more valuable member of our Church than Martin Farquhar Tupper.

III.—*The Collects for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the Year, in the order in which they occur in the Book of Common Prayer, rendered into Verse.* London, 1848.

THE author of this neat little volume, whose modesty has prevented him from prefixing his name to a performance which could only redound to his credit, has accomplished, in a most happy manner, a task at once novel, and by no means easy. The title-page sufficiently explains its nature; we have, therefore, only to speak of the mode of its execution. If simplicity of diction, faithful adherence to the thoughts, and for the most part to the very words of our beautiful Liturgy, combined with a purity of versification, and a correct poetical ear, are recommendations in an attempt of this kind, the little volume before us is certainly entitled to its fair meed of praise. The poet takes his inspiration from the Prayer Book, and renders its strains of devotion in a series of stanzas which, though necessarily differing in merit, are on the whole very beautiful, and singularly appropriate for the object which the author had in view, that of familiarizing texts for liturgic anthems. We give as a specimen one or two stanzas which happen to catch our eye as we turn over the leaves.

THE PURIFICATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

Almighty God, we humbly pray,  
That, as thy blessed Son this day  
Was to Thy holy temple brought,  
In substance of our flesh, so taught,  
We, in like wise, may there be seen,  
With thoughts more pure, and hearts more clean.  
By the same Jesus Christ, Thy Son,  
With Thee, and with the Spirit One. Amen.

ST. MATTHIAS'S DAY.

O God, by whose o'erruling grace,  
Faithful Matthias did the place  
Of traitor Judas fill;  
Grant Thou unto Thy Church, to be  
From false Apostles ever free,  
And to be order'd unto Thee  
By faithful pastors still,  
Through Jesus Christ, Thine only Son,  
With Thee and with the Spirit One. Amen.

We shall be happy to see, as the preface leads us to hope, some skilful composers of church music taking up the subject, with a view to make this poetic paraphrase of our Collects available for congregational purposes. In the mean time the little work may serve as a pleasing addition to domestic worship.

- iv.—*The Life of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D.D., Lord Archbishop of Armagh, &c.* By G. R. ELBRINGTON, D.D., *Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin.* Dublin: Hodges and Smith. London: Parker.

THIS volume deserves a far more extended notice than our present space permits us to offer. To all who are interested in the past state of the Church of Ireland this memoir of Archbishop Ussher will be extremely acceptable, entering as it does with faithfulness and accuracy into the details of the eventful period during which its illustrious subject's life was protracted. We have, in fact, within the compass of this single volume the history of the Church of Ireland from the reign of Elizabeth till the accession of Charles II. The state of things which it discloses is deeply painful, more especially as evidencing the hateful system of sacrilege and corruption which was permitted to mar the work of the Reformation in Ireland. Archbishop Ussher, with all his learning and great merits, yet sat still amidst corruptions and abuses which ought to have induced him to resign his see rather than consent to them. If persons in the position of Archbishop Ussher could not or would not move boldly for the reform of abuses, who could wonder at the irregular attempts of Puritans and others to purge the sanctuary of its corruptions? The heads of the Church, in abdicating their functions when they are called for by the highest necessities of religion, virtually hand them over for the time to inferior agents.

- v.—*The Church of England cleared from the charge of Schism, &c.* By T. W. ALLIES, M.A., &c. *Second Edition.* Oxford: Parker.

WE have on a former occasion borne testimony to the learning which Mr. Allies has brought to bear upon the great question in controversy between England and Rome. We have now to thank him for a revised and enlarged edition of his volume, which bids fair to become a standard work, and which we strongly and unreservedly commend to our readers as comprising a great range of sound argument and well-digested learning. The ease with which Mr. Allies has demolished the arguments of Mr. Thompseon, a recent convert to Romanism, who had attempted to reply to his work, is almost amusing. We do not think that Mr. Allies will find any further attempts to answer his work. It is one of those works, in its present state, which Romanists are usually in the habit of *forgetting to notice.*

VI.—*Visitatio Infirmorum ; or, Offices for the Clergy in Praying with, Directing, and Comforting the Sick, Infirm, and Afflicted.* By W. H. COPE, M.A., &c., and H. STRETTON, M.A., &c. London : Masters.

THIS is, without exception, the most valuable work, as a companion for the parochial clergy in their important and difficult duty of visiting the sick, that it has ever been our fortune to meet with. It supplies indeed a want which has been long felt,—the want of a book framed on the model and in the spirit of our office for the Visitation of the Sick, carrying out the design of the Church into all those details and varieties of cases which present themselves in the course of pastoral duty.

The work contains a great variety of offices for cases not expressly provided for in the Prayer Book. It enables the clergyman to combine instruction and variety with suitable devotions ; and it is replete with practical suggestions which will be found eminently valuable to the young clergyman, conceived as they are in accordance with the spirit of the English Church, and with a careful regard to her guidance.

VII.—*The Principles of Nature, her Divine Revelations and a Voice to Mankind.* By and through ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, the “*Poughkeepsie Seer,*” and “*Clairvoyant.*” In 2 vols. London : Chapman.

“THE Poughkeepsie Seer” possesses, if we may judge from his portrait prefixed to these volumes, a highly-intellectual exterior ; but we confess, that with all the agreeable impressions produced by pale brow, black hair, good eyes, well-tied neckcloth, &c. &c., we were not exactly prepared to find Mr. Andrew Jackson Davis presented to us literally and simply as a PROPHET, fully qualified to correct all the mistakes into which Moses and the Apostles have fallen ! The volumes before us purport to be a new revelation, in which the defects of the present revelation, more especially as regards the botany, geology, and physiology of the sun, moon, and planetary system, are supplied ; and the history of the creation of this world and of man is fully cleared up. Mr. Chapman, the publisher of this highly curious affair, while announcing himself a philosopher and liberal (in religious matters) of the first water, shrinks from the positive assertion of his *belief* in the Divine inspiration of the volumes, as they are “full of errors ;” but suggests the very ingenious theory of their proceeding from some beings of an inferior order, but superior to man, who are



liable to make occasional *mistakes*! This is a saving clause somewhat needed by our "Poughkeepsie Seer;" and we highly commend the ingenuity of a gentleman who, by this clever expedient, avoids the apparent absurdity of rejecting the Divine authority of the Apostles and Evangelists, while he accepts that of a "Clairvoyant."

There seems at present rather a "hitch" in the whole matter, from the fact that the witnesses who attest the circumstance of this work proceeding really and simply from the "Poughkeepsie Seer" in a state of clairvoyance, and without subsequent retouching by his friends, are Americans, whose names are "unknown in this country." This, however, does not prevent the publisher from printing a *stereotype* edition of the work, in the hope that sufficient evidence will be afforded in a *future edition*!

We must enlighten the reader a little as to the inhabitants of the *planets* with whom we here become acquainted for the first time. In these descriptions we find a want of variety. The inhabitants appear to be invariably two-legged animals, with no more than one head. This is far too common-place.

We extract the following description of the men of Saturn:—

"The following class in order, of animal organization, is the ultimate of this planet, and the perfection of all below it; and this class is *MAN*. His form is perfected in its developments and adaptations to its uses. His limbs are very straight and round. His joints and their appendages are composed of *fine materials*, and display in their perfect adaptation *original design*. . . . The sternum is oval and full, joining the costals with a kind of brace-work, which gives full space and free action to the viscera system. The lungs, which are divided into two hemispheres, are composed of an adipose and elastic, active substance," &c.—Vol. i. p. 180.

Now for the human inhabitants of Jupiter:—

"Their form is full, and well sustained by inward and physical powers. Their size, symmetry, and beauty of form, exceed those of the earth's inhabitants. Their mental organization corresponds to their physical developments. Smoothness and evenness are apparent upon their form generally."

It is to be regretted that these fine men "assume an inclined position, frequently using their hands and arms in walking," from "a *modest* desire to be seen only in an inclined position!" We wonder what the inhabitants of Saturn, who are always looking through their telescopes at what is going on, think of these inhabitants of Jupiter. If risibility constitutes any part of their "moral and intellectual development," we should imagine

that it is immoderately excited whenever their telescopes are turned in the direction of Jupiter.

These profound lucubrations form the prologue to a new theory of creation, in which the human being is agreeably and naturally developed through the successive stages of zoophyte, cod-fish, donkey, and ouran-outang; while the philosophic mind is taught to expatiate over the field of sacred history, expunging such facts as may be fairly considered as "awkward" ones, and resolving all the rest by the aid of natural philosophy and clairvoyance. Thus the reader is landed at length in the dominions of rationalism and infidelity, an object for which alone we believe the book was written and published. As to the whole story of "Clairvoyance," we do not believe a word of it. The book is simply a rationalistic one, got up in a somewhat imposing form, in the hopes of gaining attention. Its pedantry is absolutely insufferable, and its controversial tone most offensive.

VIII.—*Ecclesia Dei: a Vision of the Church. With a Preface, Notes, and Illustrations.* London: Longmans.

THIS volume may be described as a satire upon the Church of England generally. Its ability, pungency, and bitterness, are of no common order. To judge from the professions of the author, he belongs to the extreme party who followed the doctrines of Messrs. Ward and Oakley before their secession; and the writer is apparently bent on taking vengeance for the measures which furnished to those unhappy persons a pretext for their separation. All parties in the Church are unmercifully lashed: the Bishop of Exeter more especially is the subject of the author's vituperation. We do not mean to deny, however, that there are good "hits" in this poem: some parts are clever and amusing, though personal to a degree almost exceeding the bounds of legitimate satire. We extract the following lines in reference to Sir James Graham's notions of Episcopal duties:—

"Again, I say, what wonder is there, when  
Bishops be such, that such are meaner men?  
That such be bishops—what? when they who make  
Bishops, such notions of a bishop take  
As Graham voided erewhile in the House—  
Graham, Rat Robert's most consentient mouse;  
Who deems, he says, from living proofs, that all  
A bishop has to do is nought withal,  
But once in each three years to come and lay  
His hand on little boys, and go his way,  
And for another three enjoy his pay;

His palace, dinners, clubs, and rents enjoy,  
 Sans interruption, hindrance, or annoy,  
 From parish priest, or little girl or boy !  
 Save that of such year's ember-days some twain  
 He needs must choose, whereon Church clerks t' ordain.  
 And this beside no further charge hath he  
 On time or puros for hospitality ;  
 To him for rede or rule no brother goes ;  
 He sees few rectors, not a curate knows.  
 A prelate he, to lordly post preferr'd,  
 They but th' ignoble ' working clergy ' herd ;  
 And if they really must communicate  
 With him as touching church or parish state,  
 A penny pays the half-ounce letter's weight !"

We have been often tempted to smile in perusing these pages, but we have done so with something of a feeling of self-reproof.

IX.—*The Finished Mystery. To which is added, an Examination of Mr. Brown on the Second Advent.* By GEORGE, DUKE OF MANCHESTER. London: Hatchards.

WHATEVER may be the actual weight attached to the Duke of Manchester's arguments on the deeply interesting and awful topics which he handles in this work, it is impossible to refrain from an expression of strong gratification and pleasure in witnessing the homage thus offered to those sacred writings, on which the faith of the greatest and the humblest of Christians must alike repose. The spirit in which the distinguished author engages in his task is really worthy of the subject. Rarely have we seen more candour, moderation, and Christian charity displayed in any argument. The views of the author are opposed to Millenarian theories, and are in favour of our Lord's personal reign on *earth*, which he supposes will be *eternal*.

X.—*A Plea for Peasant Proprietors, with the Outline for their Establishment in Ireland.* By WILLIAM THOMAS THORNTON. London: Murray.

THIS is one of the most striking volumes on questions connected with political and social economy that we have seen for a long time. The prejudice, if it is to be considered such, in favour of large farms is almost universal amongst landlords ; and it strikes us that if Mr. Thornton had directed his labours more to show to landlords that their pecuniary interest would be bene-

fitted by the system of small farms than he has actually done, his success might be more probable than it seems at present. The facts which he has collected in his work as evincing the superior comfort and respectability of a peasant proprietary to that of a mere labouring population, is most striking. He remarks, that the system of consolidating farms began in England in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and to it he ascribes the great distress and vagrancy which led ultimately to the Poor Law of Elizabeth. At the period referred to,—

“Pasturage,” says Mr. Thornton, “began to be regarded as a more profitable employment of land than tillage; and in order to afford room for its adoption on a sufficiently extensive scale, many farm-houses and cottages were pulled down, and the fields belonging to several were sown with grass, and let to a single tenant. Not only were ‘tenancies for years, lives, and at will, whereupon most of the yeomanry lived, turned into demesnes’ (Bacon’s Hen. vii Works, vol. v. p. 61) in this manner, but freeholders also were ejected from their lands by force or fraud, or were harassed or cajoled into a sale of them (More’s Utopia, pp. 32—34) . . . But almost immediately after the consolidation of small farms commenced, legislation took a different turn, and Parliament, instead of striving to curtail the labourer’s honest earnings, had to exercise its ingenuity in providing for a rapidly increasing crowd of destitute.”

Acts of Parliament on this subject were passed in 1487, 1494, and 1535; and the Poor Law of 1601 was the sequel.

One remark falls from Mr. Thornton in reference to the consolidation of small farms, which bears so directly on a subject of considerable importance, that we do not hesitate to solicit for it the reader’s particular attention.

“Most writers on the subject (the Poor Laws) have attributed the growth of pauperism, at the period in question, to the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII.; but this opinion seems to be refuted by the single fact, that monasteries were not abolished till 1535, *many years after the continual increase of vagrancy had become a standing topic of parliamentary lamentation.*”—p. 83.

Mr. Thornton’s account of the present state of the peasant proprietary in France and Jersey, is highly interesting. Do not his arguments tend towards the abolition of the law of Primogeniture? However this may be, we commend Mr. Thornton’s work to the especial attention of all who are interested in the very important subjects to which it relates. His remarks on the colonization of waste lands in Ireland deserve the attentive consideration of the Legislature.

- XI.—*The Chroniclers of England, France, Spain, &c.* By Sir JOHN FROISSART. *A New Edition, condensed, with Notes and Illustrations.* In 2 vols. London: Burns.

WE are glad to see Froissart brought more within reach of the general reader by this neat publication. It is well got up, as all Mr. Burns' books are, and we do not see any thing which should prevent it from finding a place in the library of a Churchman, though of course Mr. Burns's recent change of faith renders us rather suspicious in general of his publications.

- XII.—*History of Rome for Young Persons.* By Mrs. HAMILTON GRAY. In 2 vols. London: Hatchards.

THE fame which Mrs. Hamilton Gray has acquired by her preceding publications on the History and Antiquities of Etruria, affords ample security for accuracy and learning in her treatment of the subject of her present labours. The history is carried at present only to the end of the Roman Republic. It is written in a very pleasing style, and abounds in wood-cuts, representing, for the most part, the dwellings, coins, utensils, and weapons of the Romans.

- XIII.—*Tales of Adventure by Sea and Land.* London: Burns.

AN amusing and interesting collection of adventures, rather poorly illustrated by wood engravings.

- XIV.—*Constance; a Tale. Addressed to the Daughters of England.* By the Author of "*Recantation.*" London: Rivingtons.

THE object of this little work is to point out to English women the danger and evil of contracting alliances with foreigners, and the infinite hazard which they run of sacrificing either their faith or their domestic happiness. This is beautifully and most strikingly depicted in the life of the Princess de Monte, one of the characters in this very beautiful tale. We have derived the highest pleasure from the perusal of the little volume now before us, which appears to us very far superior in all respects to "*Recantation.*" The writer has in "*Constance*" produced a tale which, in point of pathetic and touching interest, has rarely been surpassed, or even equalled. The death-bed of Murray, and the whole circumstances attending it, are, in our opinion, most admirably conceived and executed. We recommend the work with unmixed gratification to our readers.

xv.—*The Bell: its Origin, History, and Use. By the Rev. ALFRED GATTY, M.A., Vicar of Ecclesfield.* London: Bell.

THIS little essay, on the origin, history, and uses of bells, is calculated, we think, to be useful in rural parishes where there is any interest on the subject of bell-ringing. The author does not attempt to lecture bell-ringers, but he mingles useful and agreeable instruction with his historical remarks. There is a playfulness of tone throughout, which reminds us of Dickens.

xvi.—*Things after Death. Three Chapters on the Intermediate State; with Thoughts on Family Burying-places, and Hints for Epitaphs in Country Churchyards.* London: Rivingtons.

A most pleasing and excellent little work. Its especial value consists in the numerous epitaphs in verse which it supplies. These are arranged under the following heads:—"Labouring classes and poor—Children—Early deaths, sudden, lingering, accidental—Widowhood—Sickly, poor, insane—Husbandmen, broken fortunes—Wives and mothers—Servants, &c.—Miscellaneous—Sundry worldly callings." Very many of these epitaphs strike us as most felicitous in language and conception.

xvii.—*What is my Duty? Edited by the Rev. ARTHUR MARTINEAU, M.A., Vicar of Whitkirk.* London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THIS little work, as we are informed by the editor in his preface, arose from a correspondence between friends on the subject of the calamitous winter of 1846-7, in which it was suggested that the only remedy, under Providence, was, that every man should do "his duty" in his appointed station. Hence sprang a series of essays, contributed by different friends, which are here presented in a collective form. They touch on our duty to God, to our family, dependents, the poor, neighbours, our country, &c. The portraiture which is in these various essays presented to the view of the Christian is all that could be wished. We should be resting at ease as to the prospects of this Church and nation, if we could see any approximation towards the accomplishment of what this book so piously and wisely urges,—the faithful discharge of *duty* by every individual in his own station: and no small measure of gratitude is due to individuals like Mr. Martineau, who have such implicit confidence in the force of truth as to anticipate good from the publication of essays like these.

XVIII.—*The Emigrants of Ahadarra.* By W. CARLETON. London: Simms and M'Intire.

MR. CARLETON'S abilities in depicting the Irish character in all its strangely-mingled features, have been long recognized by the public voice. The work now before us forms one of the volumes of a very cheap publication, entitled the "Parlour Library," and is sold at the price of one shilling, though in extent of matter it approaches to the dimensions of an ordinary three-volume novel. We think that Mr. Carleton will, in the "Emigrants of Ahadarra," have added materially to the fame which he has already acquired. The object of the tale is to show the evils which result in Ireland from the neglect of their tenantry by the landlords, and the too great confidence which they repose in their agents. We are fully aware that agents will sometimes be rogues and tyrants, and that they have much in their power; but this evil is not peculiar to Ireland; it must exist in all parts of the world where there is a landed aristocracy; and we have no reason to suppose that the resident landlords of Ireland are more neglectful of their tenantry than landlords elsewhere. "The Emigrants of Ahadarra" is, however, a tale of most powerful interest, abounding in pictures of Irish life and manners, chiefly in the labouring and farming classes. The "squireen" Hycy Burke is ably sketched, and the ferocity of the gang with which he connects himself in the illicit manufacture of whiskey—the hedge-schoolmaster, with his pedantry and wit—the ardent devotion of Kathleen to her country and religion—the honest and warm-hearted family, who are at length driven to the verge of ruin, and thence recover in a way so little anticipated—these, mingled with a thousand wild adventures, render the tale before us one of the most effective, in our opinion, that has ever proceeded from Mr. Carleton's pen. Whoever wishes to see Ireland depicted with almost fearful truthfulness, will possess himself at once of this most interesting volume.

XIX.—*Now and Then.* By SAMUEL WARREN, F.R.S., author of "Ten Thousand a Year." London: Blackwood.

To those who have read "Ten Thousand a Year,"—and who has not!—no advice need be offered on the subject of reading the present work. It will be read, of course, by every one who can get hold of it. We are not about to write a regular critique on this work, for, to say the truth, we feel little inclined to point out defects where there is so much of which we must strongly approve. We are aware that Mr. Warren will have offended the somewhat

fastidious taste of a large class of readers by the unreservedness of his reference to religion as the foundation of his own hopes, and the leading principle which actuates some of the principal characters in his work. It will doubtless appear to some persons as overstrained and unnatural, and they will look on it as little more than "cant." But, while we do not defend every expression or sentiment which may have been employed by Mr. Warren in reference to these subjects, and do not attempt to determine whether in every case they are weighed in the nicest scales of theological criticism, we yet cannot but feel, as we peruse his work, that throughout there is a tribute paid to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as the great support of all that is generous, noble, and beautiful in human actions; and for this, and the tendency of the work throughout to attract the affections towards that definite form of religion in which we believe the most precious treasures of Christian truth are enshrined, we cannot but express no ordinary measure of gratitude.

The character of the clergyman, Mr. Hylton, is a noble conception; and his exertions to obtain the pardon of his parishioner, who had been condemned for murder, are of almost breathless interest. Throughout the volume, indeed, but more especially as the catastrophe approaches, the excitement is intense. We could point out many blemishes in this work, if we could bring ourselves to do so at any length. The whole character of the earl appears to us overdrawn and strained. The conversation and manners of the noble family, of which he is the head, appears to us to be devoid of the refinement and grace which ought to have mingled with their passions. The whole strikes us as rather "low-lived" amidst all its power. There is, indeed, throughout the volume, more of energy than of refinement or grace. We scarcely know which to admire the most, the Christian benevolence of Mr. Hylton, or the almost sublime faith and patience of Adam Ayliffe. The most touching scene in the book, perhaps, is the reconciliation of that venerable patriarch and of the aged earl, and their reception of the sacrament at the same altar.

xx.—*A Commentary on the Book of the Acts of the Apostles.*  
By the Rev. W. G. HUMPHRY, M.A., &c. London: J. W. Parker.

THIS commentary on the Acts of the Apostles embodies a selection from the critical and exegetical commentators of Germany, combined with observations of the ancient Fathers, and of modern English divines. From what we have seen of it, it appears to reflect credit on the learning and assiduity of the compiler.



xxi.—*Prayers for the Use of Families, to which are added others for Private Devotion. By the Rev. W. J. HALL, M.A., &c. Second Edition.* London: Bivingtons.

THE reader will not find in these prayers any extravagant addresses or rapturous devotion. We confess that we think a little more warmth would not have done them any harm. But they are a plain, sober, and sound-minded collection of prayers; and we have no doubt that they will suit the religious temperament of a very large class.

xxii.—*A Treatise on the Ministry of the Word. By the Rev. SCOTT F. SURTEES.* London: Hatchards.

THE Rev. Scott Surtees would seem to have no want of confidence in his own theological powers, in attempting to settle the chief questions affecting the Christian ministry, in a tract of sixty-eight pages. According to this gentleman's views, the prophets, and not the priests, were the standing ministry amongst the Jews, and Christian ministers succeed the prophets, and not the priests. How far this latter position will exempt Mr. Surtees from the imputation of seeking to uphold the authority and privileges of the Clergy we do not distinctly see. It would seem to us that the authority of successors of the *prophets* would be still greater than that of successors of the priests, as regards the office of *teaching*. The controversial tone of this tract is most offensive.

xxiii.—*Gospel Hymns. By the Rev. T. SALWEY, B.D., &c.* London: Hatchards.

THESE poems, written by the author during a temporary retirement from professional duty, rendered necessary by ill health, are intended for the use of parents who adopt the plan of a systematic course of reading the Gospels with the children or pupils. The subject of each hymn is taken from the chapters of the Evangelists in succession; so that there are as many hymns as chapters in that portion of Scripture. The collection does not pretend to any very high poetical merit; but it is not unsuitable, as far as we can judge, for the purpose for which it was intended.

xxiv.—*England, Rome, and Oxford, compared as to certain Doctrine, in Six Lectures. By the Rev. ARCHIBALD BOYD, M.A.* London: Seeleys.

MR. BOYD's publication refers chiefly to controversies which have, in great measure, passed by. It is directed against the

peculiar tenets of "Tractarianism," more especially against any exaggerated view of the authority of the early Christian writers; against Mr. Newman's doctrine of justification; the doctrine of reserve, development, &c. As far as we can judge, Mr. Boyd is a sound and able writer, on the whole; and he does not appear to be one of those persons who are driven by reaction into extremes of doctrine, contrary to those against which he is contending. There is very much in Mr. Boyd's work which every Churchman must peruse with pleasure.

xxv.—*Thoughts on Passages selected from the Fathers. By the Rev. J. B. JAMES, B.A.* London: Rivingtons,

A COLLECTION of short passages from the writings of the Fathers, with meditations on each. We cannot say much for this well-meant attempt.

xxvi.—*Fewell; a Series of Essays of Opinions for Churchmen, By W. A.* Baltimore: Joseph Robinson.

THIS volume is designed chiefly to point out the defects of the systems of Religionism so lamentably prevalent in America, and to contrast them with the Church. It is, in fact, an informal and controversial defence of the Church and her principles, and we have no doubt that it is admirably adapted for its purpose in America. The author evidently understands perfectly well the leading points of the American character, and, amongst other matters, dwells at some length on the "*Expense of Disunion*."

"Let us enter," he says, "any one of the ten thousand villages of our country, say one having from five hundred to a thousand inhabitants; what is the state of religion there? If Christians were united, there would be one large church in the village, of Church-like architecture, &c.

"We look, then, at the actual condition of Christianity in such a village, and we find four or five, sometimes eight or ten, distinct societies. The old-established Presbyterian or Episcopal, the Baptist, the Methodist, and others. Four or five houses of worship, half or quarter filled, where there might be one well attended; four or five societies struggling for existence, where one could live decently and easily; four or five ministers half-starved, where one could get a respectable support. And round about this fragmentary Christianity a flood of 'non-professors' constantly increasing in numbers, not immoral, or evil, or wicked, but the main body of them good, industrious, moral men, who, from their steadiness and sobriety, would be an honour to any denomination. Indeed, I have heard it remarked that wickedness

and craft and little meanness of dealing, are far more likely to be found among 'professors,' and high and honourable feelings among 'non-professors.' These men are kept in actual heathenism by the disunion among Christians, and its consequences daily before their eyes, and by nothing else.

"And in the mean time the supporters of each society in the village have to pay four times as much as they would do were all united; nay, I believe that a man worth fifty thousand dollars has often to contribute more, than he who is worth that amount in land has to do under the tithe system in England; a great deal more than he does there who is worth so much in money. The three or four miserable struggling societies pay more than would keep up one flourishing society. They pay far more than this; being a minority they pay for the majority. For religion being a universal benefit all should contribute to its support, and all would do so willingly and readily were religion one. But these folks having by their separations originated the class of 'non-professors,' and deprived them in their infancy and adult years of the great blessing of holy Baptism, are, by the providence of God, compelled to pay for them also. This extra payment also becomes a means of increasing the number of 'non-professors.' For them there is actually a premium upon irreligion."

XXVII.—*The Cemetery; a brief Appeal to the Feelings of Society in behalf of Extra-mural Burial.* London: Pickering. 1848.

OUR readers would not imagine from the title that this little brochure is a poem; such, however, is the case,—and a poem well worthy of attention too. It has great faults of rhythm and diction, but displays at the time undoubted power; some of the passages are really very fine: and there is an utter scorn of the mannerism of the day, which leads us to treat gently even the faults in the opposite direction. We can imagine the author deeply read in the *real* poets of England, especially Cowley, Dryden, and Pope; and viewing with contempt the superficial polish of the times we live in. He combines with much of the power and concentration of these writers, many of the defects of the first of them. We advise him to pay a little more attention to ease of diction and fluency of rhythm—he is, we think, a diamond, but a very rough one. The following passages are fair samples of the author's power:

"Shouldering the babe—a parent in her woe,—  
The girl of five her plaything must forego.  
Full soon a sterner case successive weans,  
And household drudgery o'ertakes the teens.  
The bride of toil, the spouse of hunger's curse,  
Want's teeming mother, misery's sickening nurse,

Too soon absorb'd, too prematurely past,  
Each age another thrusts, and death the last.  
Life's crowded canvass spreads to forty's ken,  
The full-length dotage of threescore and ten.

• • • • •

Hark ! creaks the mattock on a coffin lid,  
And earth gives up her injured dead unbid.  
Wrought loose as mole-hill 'neath th' oft ent'ring tools,  
Each opening grave a banquet meet for Ghoules,  
Bids yawn in livid heaps the quarried flesh.  
The plague-swoln charnel spreads its taint afresh,  
A womb of death, not yet effete with bane :  
But every victim draws a lengthening train.  
Death with such widely-wasting sickle sweeps,  
Man scarce can house the harvest as he reaps.  
Then as Archytas' boon is turn'd the crust,  
Where human strata graduate to dust ;  
In foul accumulation, tier on tier,  
Each due instalment of the pauper bier,  
Crush'd in dense-pack'd corruption there they dwell  
'Mongst earthly rags of shroud and splinter'd shell.  
A quagmire of old bones, where, darkly bred,  
The slimy life is busy with the dead.  
Reeks from that bloated earth miasma's breath,  
The full-fed taint of undigested death ;  
Thence, like the fumes from sleeping glutton's throat,  
The noisome vapours off her surfeit float.  
A grisly rampart mounds the wid'ning cave,  
Fresh from death's mine, the fossils of the grave ;  
And coldly falls the sacrilegious day  
On features whence a face hath pass'd away.  
Deform'd in death, unmingled yet with dust,  
In random haste, as once beneath it thrust,  
Forms, like the livid shades that throng the dream  
Of guilt, dark dregs of memory's awful stream,  
And seem to stare and commune o'er his lot,  
With eyes that light not, lips that whisper not.  
Corroding clods by human shape yet shared,  
Only more loathsome made by what is spared,  
They tumble up piecemeal along the mould,  
And still decay some relic will unfold :  
As from that offal of the tomb we turn,  
Some trait which pleads for pity bids us yearn.  
Hireling, profaner, hold, some mercy feel !  
And will he hear humanity's appeal ?  
Ah—no ; on lineaments the worm had left,  
The mangling spade hath gash'd a hideous cleft.  
But, see, earth closes o'er another head,  
And one more sleeper crowds that narrow bed."

xxviii.—*A Practical Exposition of the Election of Grace, in Sermons. By the Rev. Sir CHARLES HARDINGE, Bart.*  
bridge: printed by W. Budyer, bookseller, &c. 1847.

THESE are simple and earnest discourses, published by their author for a charitable purpose. The following passage, and the passage appended to it, arrested our attention, as we glanced over the pages.

"Say not, then, that they who 'perish through the deceitfulness of their own righteousness,' were doomed and predestined to this wretched end: for rest assured of this, that every man has his day or period of grace; but if he neglect the merciful invitation, and prefer to gains and pleasures of an evil world, whom has he just cause to regret but himself? If he despise and grieve the Spirit of God, by his own heart, can he be surprised if its gentle and persuasive influence should be withdrawn? or should he fancifully expect a sensible communication from the Spirit of God, can he complain if he be the victim of the vain delusions of his own mind, and the evil suggestions of the tempter?"

xxix.—*The Communion Services Considered. By PHILIP BIRCH.*  
London: John W. Parker, West Strand. 1847.

THE writer of this very prosy little book has shown great taste in concealing his name: we can scarcely, however, attribute his doing so to any feeling of modesty or humility, if we judge from the pages before us. Some happy chance induced him to adopt an incognito: let him preserve it, by all means. Why has he chosen the singularly inelegant mask which appears on the title-page? It reminds us of THE BRIXTON OIKO, an equally scholarlike conception, which some years since adorned the front of a shop on Brixton Hill.

xxx.—*Stories from Heathen Mythology and Greek History for the Use of Christian Children. By the Rev. J. M. NEALE.*  
London: Masters. 1847.

THESE stories are so well told, the language is so appropriate and the moral so admirably introduced, that it is scarcely much to say that they are perfect, both in design and execution.

"This observation is founded on matter of fact. A man whom I knew personally, on being seriously warned of the evil consequences of an ill-spent life, the following singular cause for his conduct:—'If I am in the number of the elect, I shall experience a call from God; I shall therefore wait till He thinks proper to call me by His Spirit to a state of salvation.' I need scarcely warn you against a spiritual delusion likely to spring from such weak and mistaken notions of the nature and efficacy of divine grace."

XXXI.—*Plain and Practical Sermons.* By the Rev. G. N. GRAY LAWSON, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Incumbent of Dilton's Marsh. London: Masters, &c. 1847.

THESE sermons appear fully to realize their title; and whilst giving their due place to the doctrines of the ever-blessed atonement and justification by faith, carefully, but unobtrusively, to inculcate those other important points which are too often hoisted as the signals for civil war.

XXXII.—*The Power of Divine Grace. A Sermon, preached on the occasion of the Death of the Rev. J. T. NOTTEDGE, Rector of St. Clement's and St. Helen's, Ipswich.* By the Rev. J. W. REEVE, Incumbent of Holy Trinity. Ipswich; Hunt. London; Simpkin and Marshall; and Seeleys. 1847.

It gives us peculiar pleasure when we are enabled to bestow high commendation on the works or lives of those whom the unhappy divisions of our Church separate from us. And we are strongly of opinion that the devotional reading of works which convey lessons of divine truth, dressed in phraseology to which we are unaccustomed, has a tendency not only to open our hearts towards our brethren, but to make our own internal religion more real, by disconnecting it from those conventional terms which too often supply the place of the holy things which they denote in the minds of zealous but shallow devotees. We strongly, therefore, recommend the sermon before us, as describing in all earnestness, truth, and humility, the inner life of one of God's real saints; and we feel rejoiced that the writer has not throughout the whole of his discourse cast one single reflection on, or made one ungenerous allusion to, any of those from whom he so widely differs. Would that we could all follow the example set us in the following sentences:—

“He had much largeness of spirit; embracing cordially for Christ's sake all ‘who loved the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.’ He saw through, and above, and beyond those differences which separate so many; and although there was no want of distinctness in his own views and principles, yet he acknowledged what was of Christ in *any* man, and received it heartily.”

XXXIII.—*The Great Salvation, and our sin in neglecting it. A Religious Essay, in Three Parts.* By the Rev. ROBERT MONTGOMERY, M.A., Oxon. London: Hatchards. 1846.

THIS is a very able, a very eloquent, and a very excellent work, though disfigured here and there by that extraordinary phrase-

ology which too frequently appears in the writings of the author.

What, for instance, can look more odd than this put as one of the headings in capitals,—

“ALLOW NOT THE CREEDLESS APATHIES OF THE INTELLECTUAL TO ALARM YOU.”—p. 312.

and yet the passage which follows is most excellent; on the other hand, what can be finer than this—

“ . . . We warn you all, that if you dare to ‘neglect the great salvation,’ no tongue can express, no heart conceive, and no imagination predict, the doom you will incur. Remember, oh! remember, we treat you as a dying man who speaks to his dying fellows; the question we have discussed is indeed put by Scripture, but it is *not answered*, and never will be, now or hereafter; ‘How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation?’ If we summon our reason to answer, it is dumb; if we supplicate our conscience to reply, it is mute; if we demand of the law, it is silent; if we invoke the Gospel, it is speechless; Creation cannot respond to it; Providence is alike unable; neither from the heights of Heaven, the abyss of Hell, nor the broad circumference of our human world, comes there any reply to this vast question.

“How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation? Nay, more; if in imagination we take our stand upon the dark brink of time, and ring the challenge over the terrific boundlessness of eternity to come, it rolls back upon the ear of our shuddering consciousness, and echoes,—‘How?’”—p. 365.

The following expression, which caught our eye whilst looking for the first quotation, is striking:—

“THE IDOLATROUS CULTURE OF UNCONVERTED MIND.”—p. 64.

Nor have we ever met with any thing more forcible than this,—

“Base worshippers of mammon, such as these, do not show common mercy to their own souls; how then can we expect that they will compassionate the spiritual wants of those whom they employ!”—p. 369.

xxxiv.—1. *Select Popular Tales, from the German of Wilhelm Hauff.* London: Burns.

2. *Select Tales and Romances, from the German of Ludwig Tieck.* London: Burns.

3. *Beauties of German Literature, selected from various Authors; with short Biographical Notices.* London: Burns. 1847.

THESE are all extremely well worth reading, and admirably got up. Hauff's tales are quite delightful, even when most won-

derful: there is an ease and nature about them that makes the reader fancy he might have himself borne part in them; the tone too is healthy throughout. Tieck's tales are of a very different order,—wild, strange, unnatural, yet with a power and a depth of thought and feeling, and a more than human energy of description, that enchains the attention and captivates the mind. "The Reconciliation," however, and "The Love Charm," are far inferior to the rest. In the latter, the character of Æmilius is such as to lead us to suspect that his surname (which the author conceals) must be "Moddle." "The Beauties of German Literature" are well chosen, well translated, and superior to the other two volumes in getting up. They consist of five tales, by Hoffman, Richter, Pichler, Zschokke, and Tieck; each of them selected so as to show in bold relief the peculiar excellences of the author; there is consequently great variety in them. The biographical notices are well done.

xxxv.—*Sermons preached at Brighton. By the Rev. C. E. KENNAWAY, M.A. Second Series.* London: Rivingtons. 1847.

THOSE who are acquainted with the first volume of Mr. Kennaway's Brighton Sermons will expect to find in this volume many deep thoughts and much practical teaching, nor will they be disappointed: on the contrary, they will find all the merits of the first series in a higher degree of perfection, without those faults which frequently detract from our pleasure and profit in reading the earlier volume. There is greater simplicity, both of thought and diction, as well as a decidedly more unfettered development of mental and spiritual power, in these sermons than in their predecessors. Both clergy and laity may read them with advantage in their studies, or to their families. They possess great merit, both literary and religious.

xxxvi.—*The Christian Obligations of Citizenship; a Discourse. By the Rev. JOHN SHEPPARD, M.A., Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, and Second Master of Repton School.* London: Rivingtons. 1847.

THIS is a work of great power, inculcating the identity in origin and analogy in practice of all moral laws of action. The writer ably shows, that though distinct in their visible developments, all the subordinate motives of the Christian's conduct as a creature, a man, and a citizen, have but one fountain-head in the principle of love, which, descending from the Deity to the indivi-



dual, ascends again to its Author, and thence reflects itself on His whole creation.

The book is calculated to do great service by combating the popular error, that the code of political morality is alien from and independent of that of Christian duty; and even those who are not inclined to go along with the author in all his views, may derive much pleasure, as well as profit, from a careful perusal of these pages. They abound with deep reasoning, noble sentiment, and passages of grave eloquence. Take, for example, the following:—

"It is in vain for Luxury to proclaim to the children of Want, 'Thus far shall ye come, and no further: your blood be upon your own head: if you multiply, you perish.' This is not Christian humanity. The answer is, 'We are your own creation. It is your pampered habits and artificial wants that have multiplied us, like rank vegetation, in every nook and corner of this already crowded island. It is the insatiable thirst for wealth that has spread us through your towns and fields; that has bid us increase like the beasts of burden, that we may labour in your manufactories; that has taught society to number men as 'hands,' and not as immortal souls. And now you shall not cast us off. You may call us the 'many-headed monster;' but, like Frankenstein, you have yourselves called up the monster into life, and you are doomed to be its slaves. Support us, or you perish.' Such is the social phenomenon at which we have arrived: no longer dimly pictured on the page of history, or faintly echoed down by the voice of popular tradition, but standing in all its gigantic evil beside our footsteps and around our homes. Woe to us unless we deal with it at once; and deal with it in a different spirit from that which animated the past. What was the crying sin of Jerusalem? The iniquity which was also 'the iniquity of her sister Sodom: pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness, was in her and her daughters; neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy.' Who can assert that a similar spirit has not prevailed among ourselves? Witness the horrible revelations of the parliamentary commission; the mercenary madness that forgot our ancient and self-ennobling reverence for the helplessness of sex, and the innocence of youth; the deep degradation of our poor but Christian brethren, 'the smoke of whose torment goes up' from our coal-pits and manufacturing towns. This state of things cannot subsist any longer without fearful guilt, and fearful danger too."—pp. 277—279.

XXXVII.—*Godfrey Davenant; a Tale of School Life.* By the Rev. W. E. HEYGATE, M.A., Author of *Probatio Clerica*, &c. London: Masters, &c. 1847.

THIS is an admirable little work, conveying sound principles in a pleasing form and a Christian spirit: high Church and low

Church, clergy and laity, fathers and mothers, masters and children, should read and study it; for it is calculated to do them all great good.

XXXVIII.—*Emily Vernon; or, Self-sacrifice.* London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THE title of this volume indicates the moral of the tale,—the duty and the sublimity of self-sacrifice in the service of God. The conception of the character of Emily Vernon, who, amidst a long series of afflictions and trials of the most severe description, is continually acting on the principle of sacrificing herself for the good of others, is very noble and touching. We recommend this tale to our young readers, and to their parents; and though we feel that a model is here presented, which few indeed can expect in any degree to approach to in practice, still we trust that its contemplation will excite some longings for the higher walk of Christian duty. The tale is simply told. In some places the author has (probably to avoid diffuseness) in some degree impaired the effectiveness of his tale, by passing too rapidly over some of its more important facts.

XXXIX.—*Loss and Gain.* London: Burns.

THIS is evidently a production of one of the recent Oxford converts to Romanism. It bears undeniable marks of its origin in the extreme familiarity which it betrays with Oxford life and manners; and it abounds in all the phraseology and the ideas which were the distinctive characteristics of the coterie. As to its views and arguments, it may be described as "Ward's Ideal," thrown into the shape of a long-winded tale. There is nothing of novelty in the affair. It narrates the history of an Oxford undergraduate, and the various conflicting influences to which he became subject, until at length the poor youth became bewildered, and sought refuge from his doubts in becoming a Romanist. We confess to some impatience of spirit in wading through pages which have so little of novelty or present interest to recommend them. We apprehend that few readers will be found now who will feel particularly curious to enter into all the details of matters which are so utterly gone by as all that relates to the proceedings of the late Ward and Oakley confraternity.

XL.—*A Voice from Stonehenge. By the Rev. H. M. Grover, Rector of Hitcham, Bucks. Part I.* London: Cleaver.

THE work before us is an attempt to gather from the ancient traditions and legends of various nations some notion of the original colonization of Great Britain. It is thrown into a shape which relieves in a considerable degree the tedium generally attendant on mere antiquarian discussions. We are bound to give Mr. Grover high credit for the ingenuity of his argument, and for the research he has brought to bear upon it; but it cannot be expected that readers will generally go along with the author in his views. Important links are sometimes wanting; and it strikes us that the argument, from the mere similarity of a few words in one language to another, is pressed too far. Mr. Grover's theory is, that Stonehenge was built by the Phœnicians, and that England was peopled by a colony from the north of Africa. He even finds the ancestors of the Welsh somewhere among the Hottentots, we believe. The work is certainly a curious, and in many parts a very amusing one.

XLI.—1. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Tasmania, 1846. By FRANCIS-RUSSELL, Lord Bishop of Tasmania.* London: Rivingtons.

2. *The British Chaplaincy in Madeira. By Viscount CAMPDEN. Reprinted, with additions, from "The Theologian and Ecclesiastic" for November, 1847.* London: Cleaver.

WE have brought these two publications together as bearing on the condition of the Church in the Colonies, and its relation to the State. The Bishop of Tasmania's charge is in every respect most excellent; but its especial interest and importance consists in the account which it gives of the extraordinary attempt of the secretary of the Colonies (Lord Stanley) to create an ecclesiastical organization in Tasmania, which would have wholly set aside the episcopal authority as regarded a large proportion of the clergy,—an attempt to which we regret to add that the late amiable and facile prelate who occupied the primacy of the English Church permitted himself to become a party. We cannot sufficiently express our admiration of the firm and intrepid conduct of the Bishop of Tasmania in opposing a measure thus pressed forward by the Primate, the Colonial Secretary, and with the co-operation of his own archdeacon. Throughout the affair he was without the support of his metropolitan, and had nothing but the justice of his cause to maintain him. At great inconvenience and expense this most conscientious and high-principled

prelate crossed the ocean, and has obtained from the present Secretary for the Colonies the abolition of the obnoxious regulations. It appears that the Colonial Government, however, persist in retaining in their employment two clergymen whose notoriously bad conduct has been condemned by the Bishop, and from whom he has withdrawn his licence. Opposition, also, is offered to the institution of any ecclesiastical court for the punishment of offenders against the laws of God and of the Church. In fact, it seems that the Government is anxious to retain all matters of jurisdiction and discipline in its own hands, and to reduce the Bishop to the narrowest possible limits in the exercise of his office. How strange this policy is, when contrasted with the willingness exhibited by the Colonial Government to give the freest and fullest scope to the authority of the Romish Church.

We now come to the interesting publication of Viscount Campden. The Church is indebted to this young nobleman for a full and accurate view of the proceedings of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in regard to the British Chaplaincy at Madeira. Mr. Lowe, the chaplain, gave offence to a small part of his congregation by the use of certain ritual observances, which, on being represented to the Bishop of London (whose licence he held), were, for the most part, approved by that prelate. Mr. Lowe evinced his desire for peace by relinquishing the remainder; but this did not satisfy the disturbers of the Church; and they proceeded to adopt all kinds of proceedings of the most vexatious kind, such as refusing to accommodate visitors in the chapel, withdrawing Mr. Lowe's salary and allowances, and persisting in making complaints of him. This factious minority, headed by the consul, consisted in great part of open dissenters from the Church, Romanists, &c. Possessing influence with the Foreign Office, this body of schismatics induced Lord Palmerston to appoint another chaplain in place of Mr. Lowe; and the result is, that the latter clergyman retains the episcopal licence and the majority of the people who have adhered to him; a new chaplain has been appointed by the Foreign Secretary in opposition to the authority of the Bishop; and this diplomatic functionary declares, that in future he will not seek for the licence of *any bishop* in making appointments to foreign chaplaincies. We presume that this is a state of things which the Church cannot permit to exist any longer without protest. The whole furnishes another curious exemplification of the disposition of statesmen to bear down the authority of bishops whenever they have the power to do so. We are glad that the subject is being brought before Parliament. Cases of this kind should not be passed over, or they will be repeated.

XLII.—1. *Village Sermons. By the Rev. ARTHUR G. BAXTER, Rector of Hampreston, Dorset.* London: Rivingtons.

2. *The Gospel of Christ the Power of God unto Salvation: exemplified in the Preaching and Writings of the Apostle Paul. In Twelve Illustrations. By the Rev. W. A. NEWMAN, M.A., &c.* London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

WE notice these publications together, because, although the second is not professedly a volume of sermons, it is substantially and really so. Mr. Baxter's account of his volume of sermons is very modest and unassuming. "They are," he says, "but village sermons, adapted to a congregation composed, with but few exceptions, of persons but little able, either from education or the habitual exercise of the intellectual powers, to grasp or to appreciate the abstract theories of contending schools, or the more abstruse doctrines of the Christian schema." Even with this limitation, we apprehend that sermons such as these are adapted to more than mere "village" congregations; for how few congregations in England can appreciate the abstract theories of contending schools, or abstruse doctrines. We have been very much pleased by all we have seen of Mr. Baxter's sermons. They are, in our opinion, rather too short, even for village congregations; but they are written with a practical piety, a knowledge of the subject, and a grace of style and diction which render them very pleasing in the perusal, and which, we have no doubt, made them highly interesting and effective when preached. As far as we can observe, their doctrine is sound and healthy; but we do not quite concur with the author in thinking them adapted especially to village congregations. Their language is, perhaps, in many places rather above the very imperfect comprehension of English which our poor possess.

Of the second publication in our list we cannot say much. It will be, doubtless, gratifying to the author's friends to possess a memorial of his teaching on his leaving England for an appointment in the Colonies; but under other circumstances we cannot conceive the object in publishing what is so very common-place, and yet so laboured.

XLIII.—*The Little Red Book; or, the History of the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland. By GEORGE KING, A.B., &c.* Dublin: McGlashan.

MR. KING, whose "Primer of the Church History of Ireland" is probably known to many of our readers as a work of real merit,

has in this little book given a very condensed summary of his larger work, designed for the use of national schools, and written in a style adapted to the comprehension of children. We hope it may obtain a large circulation in schools.

XLIV.—*The Gospel Narrative of our Lord's Ministry (The Second Year) Harmonized: with Reflections.* By the Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D., &c. London: Rivingtons.

To those who are acquainted with the former portion of this work, and generally with Mr. Williams's writings, there can be no need of saying a word on the volume before us. This work bids fair to be one of our most valuable commentaries, abounding as it does in the choicest thoughts of the early Fathers, and in spiritual and practical applications of texts distinguished for their beauty and originality. We feel assured, from what we have seen of it, that it will ere long find a place in most clerical libraries.

XLV.—*The Beloved Disciple. Reflections on the History of St. John.* By Mrs. J. B. WEBB, Author of "Naomi," &c. London: Hatchards.

THIS is one of those works which possesses something better than talent or originality, which it cannot lay claim to. Mrs. Webb has written just the sort of quiet, practical, serious book, which would be adapted for reading aloud in a religious family. It possesses sufficient interest to engage the attention, and it is not so profound as to weary it. We are glad to see books of this class: they are of much use in their way. We do not say that we exactly concur in all Mrs. Webb's views, or that we look on her work as faultless in theology, but we do not think that the defects which there are, are calculated to prevent the practical utility of the work, as a plain, practical, and devotional manual.

XLVI.—*The Scriptural Idea of Faith, &c.* By F. H. NASH, A.M., Curate of Agher, Diocese of Meath. Dublin: Grant and Bolton. London: Rivingtons.

A VERY thoughtful and able essay on the various meanings and applications of the term "Faith" in Holy Scripture, and on the doctrines connected with that term.

XLVII.—*Archæologia Hibernica. A Hand Book of Irish Antiquities, &c.* By W. F. WAKEMAN. Dublin: McGlashan.

THIS little volume, profusely enriched with illustrations on wood, is written by a pupil of Dr. Petrie, and is well deserving the attention of all lovers of ecclesiastical and general architecture. The series of its subjects extends from Druidism to the latest remains of mediæval architecture in Ireland. This little book ought to take its place with "the Glossary of Architecture" in every library. It is very curious and interesting.

XLVIII.—*Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology.* By the Rev. BENJAMIN WEBB, M.A., &c. London: Masters.

THIS volume will be a very acceptable gift to all who are interested in the study of ecclesiastical architecture. Mr. Webb's observations extend to Belgium, the Rhenish Provinces, Frankfurt on the Maine, Bavaria, Baden and Wurtemberg, Tyrol, Lombardy, Tuscany, Lucca, Genoa, Piedmont, the Papal States, and Switzerland. The description of so many churches, in all parts of Europe, by so able an ecclesiologist as Mr. Webb, is a valuable addition to our stock of knowledge. The work is not illustrated by engravings.

XLIX.—*Noctes Dominicæ, or Sunday Night Reading, &c.* By the Hon. Sir EDWARD CUST. London: Rivingtons.

THE late period at which we have received this volume must excuse a very short notice. The object of the work is to aid heads of families who are desirous of promoting the religious instruction of their households on Sunday evenings. The readings are arranged in accordance with the services of the Church; and we have been favourably impressed by their devotional tone, and the knowledge of scripture which they evince.

#### L.—MISCELLANEOUS.

WE are glad to see a third edition of Mr. Montgomery's work, "The Scottish Church and the English Schismatics" (Masters). This work ought in itself to be sufficient to set the question at rest. We are ashamed to think that any professing members of the English Church should have so far forgotten their duty to that Church, as to separate from the communion of those whom she has always recognized as the legitimate Bishops of Scotland.

A curious antiquarian pamphlet by Archdeacon Williams, in proof that Claudia, mentioned in the Epistles, was a British princess, is deserving of notice. "An Essay on the Constitution of Society," (Hall,) is a pamphlet full of revolutionary principles, grounded on the doctrine of St. Simon and Fourier. It asserts the right of the people to rise in insurrection against their governors, and denies the existence of any lawful titles to land. The rest of its doctrines are in accordance with these views, which are dogmatically and argumentatively put forth. We have seen with pain "the Report of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, Jamaica" (Cowie, 31, Poultry). The West Indian Colonies have been ruined by the intermeddling of the English Parliament. "An Inaugural Address delivered by Edward Masson, Esq., Professor of Ecclesiastical Greek in the College of the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church," (Belfast,) is an able and interesting production. It strongly recommends Patristic studies to the Presbyterian Students of Divinity. This is as it should be.

"The Gainsaying of Core," by the Rev. W. B. Barter, (Rivingtons,) is a sound and able refutation of Schism. "Plain Lectures on the Holy Communion," by the Rev. Pelham Maitland, are not apparently deserving of particular remark.

We need not, of course, recommend Dr. Mill's Letter on Dr. Hampden's Writings (Masters). It is most clear and convincing; as is also Mr. Irons' Letter to Dr. Hampden (Masters). "An Epitome of the Bampton Lectures" of Dr. H. (Masters) appears also to be carefully drawn up.

The Rev. Dr. Lyon, rector of Bishop's Caundle, Dorset, has published a series of three Discourses before the University of Cambridge (Hatchards) on the moral power of the Christian, which seem to be most usefully and earnestly written.

Amongst single sermons we may mention, as deserving of commendation, one by the Rev. T. W. Peile, D.D., Master of Repton School, in aid of the fund for the erection of St. Alkmund's church, Derby; a Sermon by the Rev. T. N. Harper, B.A., Lecturer of Bideford, on behalf of the National Schools; a Sermon on "the Spirit of Romanism," by the Rev. G. Nugee, M.A., Curate of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge; and most excellent Discourses, by the Rev. C. C. Bartholomew, on his appointment to the parish of St. David's, Exeter; and by the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth, on "Righteousness exalteth a Nation." We should be indeed highly blest, if the statesmen of this country were under the influence of such principles as Dr. Wordsworth has put forth in this truly Christian warning.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the East Riding by Arch-



deacon Wilberforce, (Murray,) contains much valuable matter on the subject of an increase in the Episcopate, to which, as well as to the Rev. J. Lockhart Ross's recent publication on "the Reciprocal Obligations of the Church and the Civil Power," (Parker, Oxford,) we hope to direct particular attention in our next number.

We have read with great interest Bishop Doane's Address on the Ends and Objects of Burlington College. We trust that the appeal for aid to this admirable institution will be successful.

Of periodical publications we may mention "The Ecclesiologist," No. IV., (Rivingtons,) as an excellent number of a very useful publication; Mr. Boutell's "Monumental Brasses," publishing in monthly numbers, and well executed. Sharpe's Magazine continues to be ably edited. We have seen with pleasure Wertheim's very cheap and well got up "Bible Cartoons," for the school and cottage.

The Rev. W. Downes Willis has published a spirited and high-principled pamphlet on the Education question, entitled "Outline of Proposal for the Adjustment of the Education Question," &c.

An excellent little book by Sir A. Edmonstone, "On the Observance of Lent," (Cleaver,) may be recommended as written on the soundest principles.

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## Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

CANADA.—*Diocese of Toronto.*—The following particulars are taken from an interesting volume just published by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, under the title “Annals of the Diocese of Toronto.” The number of churchmen in the diocese, which was estimated in 1842, somewhat too low, it is thought, at 100,000, amounted, according to the Bishop’s computation, in 1847 to 200,000, out of an European population of 600,000. That population is increasing with wonderful rapidity, not only by natural augmentation, but by the constant stream of emigration from the mother country, chiefly from Ireland. The rate at which this latter cause of increase operates, may be judged of by an authentic statement, derived from a parliamentary paper, comprising both Upper and Lower Canada, according to which the number of emigrants which arrived in that country was,

In 1841	..	..	..	28,280
“ 1842	..	..	..	44,692
“ 1843	..	..	..	21,807
“ 1844	..	..	..	20,245
“ 1845	..	..	..	25,515
“ 1846	..	..	..	88,025
“ 1847	..	..	..	77,000

The number of clergymen in the diocese, which at the Bishop’s visitation in 1843 amounted to 108, had risen to 118, when the Bishop held his next visitation in the years 1845 and 1846; and a diocesan clergy list, given in an appendix, and made up to the latest date, gives it at 127. The classification of that list presents the following data:—

The Bishop	..	..	..	..	..	1
Archdeacons	..	..	..	..	..	2
Rectors ..	..	..	..	..	..	50
Ministers of Churches not being Rectories	..	..	..	..	..	7
Assistant Ministers	..	..	..	..	..	4
Military Chaplains	..	..	..	..	..	6
Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..	41
Travelling Missionaries	..	..	..	..	..	11
Professors	..	..	..	..	..	8
Superannuated	..	..	..	..	..	8
Not described	..	..	..	..	..	4

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From this number, however, five must be deducted, in consequence of four rectories and one missionary station being held conjointly with a military chaplaincy.

The insufficiency of this number of clergy in proportion to the population is apparent, even on an average calculation; but is in reality much more grievous, owing to the scattered condition of that population. "The diocese," says the Bishop, in a letter dated March 22, 1847, "is supposed now to contain 600,000 inhabitants, of whom it is believed that one-third at least, or 200,000, scattered, indeed, through all the townships, belong, or are favourable, to the Church, and we are losing many of them, because we cannot extend our ministrations. . . .

"There are two districts, Victoria, containing twelve townships, and Ottawa, containing ten, with only one clergyman in each. The Wellington district is still worse, for it contains twenty-seven townships, and has only one resident minister, and one travelling missionary. In the Huron district there are only three clergymen for twenty-one townships. In short, out of three hundred and fifty organized townships, into which the province is at present divided, there are two hundred and thirty-seven, or more than two-thirds of the whole diocese, with no resident clergyman, while it is computed that a clergyman might find ample employment in each, and in many of them the services of three or four are required."

In his charge, delivered in June, 1847, the Bishop gives the following summary of his visitation: "Since our last meeting in June, 1844, I have visited every mission in the diocese. Not having included Woodstock, Blenheim, Wilmot, Stratford, and Zorra in my former visitation, I held confirmations in them respectively, soon after we separated, and found them, and more particularly the first, namely, Woodstock, of great promise. In the summer of 1845 I visited the districts west of Toronto, as far as Manetounahong Island, Lake Huron, and returned by the way of Owen's Sound. In the summer of 1846 I travelled through the districts of Niagara, Simcoe, and the Home, and all those east of Toronto. The time occupied, and the continuous and great intensity of the heat in 1846, were rather beyond my strength, and warned me of the necessity of dividing the diocese into three parts, instead of two, an arrangement which becomes the more requisite, from the extraordinary increase of missions and stations at which my visits are desired. During my first visitations in 1840 and 1841, I confirmed at 74 stations, scattered over an immense surface; in 1842 and 1843 they had increased to 102, and in 1845 and 1846 to 197. . . .

"The number confirmed in the course of my recent visitation was 4358, which only exceeded the former by 659. This may be considered a less increase than might have been expected from the rapid growth of our population from immigration and natural causes. It is, however, necessary to remember, that the number of grown-up and elderly persons who came forward during my first confirmation journeys, has greatly diminished, and that the candidates now more generally consist of young persons."

A table is subjoined, exhibiting the rapid expansion of the Church by a comparison of the results of the visitations in 1843 with those held in 1845 and 1846:

	<i>Number of Stations or Parishes in 1843; in 1845-6.</i>		<i>Number of Persons confirmed in 1843; in 1845-6.</i>		<i>Number of Churches consecrated in 1843; in 1845-6.</i>	
District West of Toronto, in- cluding Lake Huron . . . .	24	70	756	1212	2	6
Niagara District						
Home and Sim- coe Districts..	16	35	460	773	8	4
Districts be- tween Toronto and Kingston						
Districts below Kingston . . . .	26	80	1056	1112	2	—
Totals . . .						
	102	197	8699	4358	9	16

The happy progress which, notwithstanding the inadequate supply of labourers, is manifest in the Church of Upper Canada, is attributable, under God's blessing, to the interest excited among the Church people of the diocese by the operations of the Church Society, instituted at the suggestion of the Bishop on the 28th of April, 1841. Besides gifts of land for Church endowment to the amount of upwards of 10,000 acres, which were made over to the Society during the first year of its existence, the following sums were received in money subscriptions during the last four years :

In 1844 ..	..	..	..	..	..	£1800
„ 1845 ..	..	..	..	..	..	2735
„ 1846 ..	..	..	..	..	..	3004
„ 1847 ..	..	..	..	..	..	2777

These contributions are independent of what is raised by the branch associations for the special benefit of their several districts ; and that such contributions are by no means inconsiderable, is proved by the fact that since the year 1839 seventy-eight churches have been built, and several are now building, while many others have been repaired and enlarged. “Our people,” says the Bishop in the charge already adverted to, “are every where more sensible of the duty of giving of their substance towards the permanent support of religion.” A plan is in contemplation for securing to the Church in each township a few acres of land, which, though of little present value, may hereafter become a competent endowment for three or four clergymen, in each of those divisions. Even at present, eight travelling missionaries are maintained from local resources, while funds have been raised for the maintenance of nearly as many more, as soon as duly qualified candidates are found.

We shall conclude our extracts from this interesting publication by transcribing the following passages from an address to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, agreed upon by the

bishop and clergy of the diocese of Toronto, assembled in visitation, June 6, 1847:—

"Amongst our number are many who owe their maintenance as ministers of Christ's Church in this colony almost exclusively to your bounty; and there are but few of the sacred edifices in which we are privileged to minister, towards the erection of which aid has not been received from your Society. To your fostering care, indeed, we would ascribe, under God, much of the prosperity which our diocese now enjoys. In a colony such as Canada, where the great majority of the inhabitants are too poor to procure for themselves the means of grace, the extension of the Church would, humanly speaking, have been a matter almost of impossibility, had we not been favoured with the aid which you have so liberally afforded us.

"We feel convinced that it must prove highly gratifying to your venerable Society to learn, that as our population increases, and the resources of the colony are augmented, the people are making, we trust, correspondent exertions to extend the ministrations of our holy Church, though we fear *the time is yet far distant when our utmost exertions*, aided as we hope they will be by the continued liberality of your Society, will be sufficient adequately to relieve the spiritual destitution which still so greatly prevails in this large and important dependency of the British empire.

"The emigrants also from the mother country, who annually find their way in great numbers to this colony, are steadily presenting demands upon the exertions of the Church, more extensive than our utmost local exertions can supply; and the combination of what your venerable Society so generously contributes, with the voluntary efforts of Churchmen in this diocese, and the largest revenue that can be anticipated from our share of the Clergy Reserves property, can hardly be expected to suffice even to meet the more pressing claims for the ministrations of the Church, without affording the hope that it can be fully and effectually planted amongst us."

**FRANCE.**—*Democratic Demonstrations of the French Bishops.*—Not the least remarkable among the various features which characterize the recent revolution in France, is the hearty readiness with which the French Episcopate at once saluted the republic, and proclaimed aloud the principles of the democracy as those which not only have the fullest and most cordial approbation of their Church, but which have been, as the Archbishop of Paris hesitates not to affirm, the principles of "the Catholic Church" from the beginning. Considering that this is the first important occasion on which the late declaration of the Papacy through the organ of Father Ventura<sup>1</sup> was practically put to the test, the attitude assumed, and the tone taken by the Romish Bishops in France, and that almost unanimously, notwithstanding the suddenness of the emergency, which precluded them from concerting their measures, is a

<sup>1</sup> See English Review, vol. viii. pp. 249, 260.

most striking and significant fact; proving that there was more than mere oratory suited to the occasion, in the intimation of the famous ex-Jesuit and Theatine, that the Church was about to "turn towards the democracy, baptize that wild matron, and Christianize her." A few extracts from the official documents, in the form of pastorals, containing these manifestations, will be read with interest, and deserve to be permanently placed on record.

As early as Thursday, the 24th of February, the Archbishop of PARIS testified his hearty good-will towards the revolution by the following circular, addressed to the *curés* of the capital:—

"MONSIEUR LE CURÉ,—Our first impulse, in presence of the great event which has just been enacted in the capital, was to weep for the fate of the victims whom death has struck down in so unforeseen a manner; we weep for them all, because they are our brethren; we weep for them, because we have once more experienced how great are the disinterestedness, the respect for property, and how generous the sentiments which animate the people of Paris.

"We must not rest content with shedding tears: we shall pray for all those who have fallen in the struggle; we shall ask God to open to them the abode of comfort, of light, and of peace.

"Accordingly, you will as soon as possible cause a solemn service to be celebrated, with as much pomp as your church-funds will admit of. The mass to be read will be that '*In die obitus*,' with the prayer '*pro pluribus defunctis*.' The service is to take place as soon as you can give notice of it to the faithful, even though it should be on the Sunday. During mass a collection is to be made for the relief of the indigent families of the dead and wounded. The amount of the collection is to be paid over by *MM. les Curés* to the *Maires* of their respective districts.

"The present letter is to be posted up wherever there may be occasion.

"Accept, *Monsieur le Curé*, the assurance of my sincere attachment.

"✠ DENYS, Archbishop of Paris.

"*Nota Bene.* In the event of its becoming necessary or desirable to establish temporary hospitals in your churches, you will not hesitate to offer them for that purpose, even though it should involve the omission of the Sunday Service.

"If that service can be performed, you will, after the parochial mass, sing the suffrage, '*Domine, Salvam fac Francorum gentem*,' &c., and the prayer, '*Deus a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia*,' &c."

Not more quickly was Louis Philippe unseated by the rabble at the Tuileries, than he was dethroned in the sanctuary by this right reverend prelate, who, moreover, is under personal obligation to him for his advancement to his present station; not more emphatically was the revolution eulogized by the provisional government in its proclamations to the people, than by the clergy in their addresses to heaven, in the liturgical phrase "holy desires and good counsels;" nor was the transfer of the Archbishop's allegiance from royalty to republicanism less easy

than the change from "*salsum fac Francorum regem*"<sup>2</sup> to "*salsum fac Francorum gentem*".

This circular the Archbishop followed up by a personal demonstration. In full pontifical costume, with his crozier, and attended by a number of his clergy, he went to visit the principal hospitals of Paris, for the purpose of giving to the wounded heroes of the barricades "his benediction, and the consolations of his ministry." The reception which he met with, is represented by the *Ami de la Religion*, as having been most gratifying. Not content, however, with these first *impromptu* demonstrations, the Archbishop published, in the *Ami de la Religion* of March 4, an elaborate apology of the Revolution on "Catholic" grounds, in the form of a "*mandement*," ordering special prayers for the welfare of France. In this document he says:—

"On hearing that frightful clap of thunder which, without previous warning, shivered in an instant a throne surrounded by so much power, who among us could help recognizing at once the mysterious design of Him, who delights in showing to kings that *theirs is but a borrowed majesty*?

"Where is the Christian who, after having adored, with his face prostrate on the ground, *so prompt and so fearful an act of justice*, does not feel impelled to lift up his eyes to heaven, and to invoke upon France all its benedictions?

"Soon will France meet in her *Comitia*, for the purpose of appointing her representatives, who will in their turn be called upon to give us a new constitution. Let us not forget, dearly beloved brethren, that above all the legislative assemblies there is a Supreme Legislator, who alone 'causes just laws to prevail,' because He alone can instil into men's consciences a disinterestedness and love of justice and of true liberty, which rise superior to all human passions.

"Let us invoke that Wisdom, who *so often forsakes the thrones of the earth*, but who from all eternity is seated by the side of the throne of the Creator of the worlds. Let us invoke Her, that She may inspire our representatives; above all, let us invoke Her, that She may defend their work, if it shall be worthy of the great heart of France, against the contemptible interests which will perhaps endeavour to pervert it.

"Equity in the laws, equity in the magistrates who interpret them, or cause them to be executed, sincere submission on the part of all the citizens, a submission inspired by a great love of order, and *that civic*

<sup>2</sup> On the 1st of May last, the same Archbishop commenced his address of congratulation on Louis Philippe's birthday with these words: "*Sire,—To-day we come into the royal palace to present to you our respectful homage. To-morrow we shall go to our temples to pray for your majesty and your august family.*"

<sup>3</sup> This was afterwards changed, by desire of the provisional government, first into "*salsum fac populum*," and subsequently into "*salsum fac rempublicam*," which is the form for the present.

<sup>4</sup> This is a free translation of Prov. viii. 15, "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice," quoted by the Archbishop. Omitting the former clause "*reges regnant*," the Vulgate Version suits the occasion pretty well: "*Per me . . . legum conditores iusta decernunt.*"

*courage which defends society at the risk of life*, are gifts of God, for 'every perfect gift comes from Him'. To that inexhaustible source, therefore, of every right sentiment and of every virtue, it behoves us to lift up our hearts with tender love and unshaken confidence."

The Archbishop then alleges the *dictum* of his predecessor in 1789, M. de Juigné, that "the welfare of the people is the supreme law," and proceeds to show that this *political* principle has always been upheld by the "Catholic" Church. For this purpose he quotes, first of all, Matth. xx. 27, "Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant;" whence he demonstrates the appropriateness of the expression, "the public service," as used to designate "the different offices of the magistracy, the army, and the administration:" he then culls from Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, the sentiment that "rulers should not rule through love of domination, but with a view to serve the public interests, that being the order of nature, the divinely appointed constitution of the human race;" whence the inference is made to follow, as a matter of course, that the principle of "liberty, equality, brotherhood," proclaimed by the Paris mob in February, 1848, is none other than the principle which the Church has cherished through the whole course of her existence from the beginning. A slight cloud of historical recollections for a moment overcasts this bright sunshine of "Catholic" republicanism; but the Archbishop speedily dissipates it.

"On consulting history, dearly beloved brethren, you will find, no doubt, that this spirit has penetrated but slowly, and almost imperceptibly, into the constitution of States; but fail not to observe that *the mission of the Church was not to impose by force a doctrine*, which was not intended to cause any other blood to be shed but that of His Apostles and Disciples.

"God, the absolute Lord of man whom He has drawn forth from nothingness, was pleased to respect his freedom; it became necessary, therefore, to induce him by persuasion to make a good use of power and fortune, and to subdue his passions; those who know the nature of our heart, will easily understand that, considering the infirmity of our judgment, this must have been the work of much time; but God is more patient than we are, because He is eternal.

"Let us not forget that, according to the Divine counsels, man regenerated by the Gospel, was to seek above all an eternal kingdom. But, lo, how wonderful! while pursuing his immortal destinies, man has fallen in with what constitutes the true prosperity of political societies!"

Once more in a fair train of demonstration that the radicalism of the nineteenth century is in fact nothing else than the perfect development of the Gospel, the Archbishop finds no difficulty in answering the extremely curious question, how it came to pass that the Church, "under the ancient monarchy, never thought of demanding a democratic constitution." (*Sic!*) The answer is obvious; though the Church

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop actually quotes in a note the words of St. James, i. 17, "Every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights," and thus makes God the Holy Ghost the eulogist, and God the Father the fountain, of the heroism of the barricades.



thought a democratic constitution the most perfect, the only really Christian constitution, the Church kept that notion to herself out of forbearance for the insufficiently developed state of public opinion. The Church did not demand a democratic constitution, simply because "France had never thought of demanding it since the day when Clovis founded his throne upon one of the ruins of the Roman Empire." Still, he contends, the growth of liberal ideas was essentially the work of the Church, which he proves, *inter alia*, by the assertion that "the ancient States-general were constituted upon the pattern of the Councils of the Church;" and with the aid of a fine passage from one of Massillon's sermons, addressed to the corrupt court of Louis XV., and of the title of one of Bossuet's sermons, "The eminent dignity of the Poor," he lands again safely upon the socialist theories of M. Albert and M. Louis Blanc, who, if there is any truth in the Archbishop of Paris, apprehend Christian truth with infinitely greater clearness than all the "holy clerks and doctors" from St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine downwards.

Speaking of the first French revolution, M. d'Affre contends that it had the warm support of the clergy, and would at once have secured the happiness of France for ever, but for the unfortunate circumstance that the liberals of that day did not, like the liberals of the present day, reciprocate the sympathies of the Church. This leads him into a train of thought which might have proved fulsome towards the heroes of the barricades, if he had not checked himself in time to avoid as very ugly and unmerited a suspicion.

"We do not wish to flatter you, dearly beloved brethren, but we cannot help blessing you; you who, on the still smoking ruins of the power which has just fallen, have shown so profound a respect for the rights of that Sovereign Lord, who teaches kings in a manner so worthy of Himself, that they ought to use their power as He himself does, for the good of the world."

Having accounted for the failure of the first revolution, and pointed out the "old man seated on St. Peter's chair," and the French Episcopate, as the only parties who had the courage to raise their voice in defence of liberty against the despotism of Napoleon, the Archbishop approaches what might be considered rather tender ground,—the conduct of the clergy under the restoration. But even by this difficulty the boldness of his historical pen is not daunted. Confounding in one common condemnation the divine right of the elder and the *citizen* royalty of the younger Bourbon branch, he thus continues:

"You are aware what has been the fate of our liberties under the constitutional government which has ruled over us for these thirty-four years; but, *perhaps, you have not taken sufficient account of the motives of that isolation of the Clergy* which many persons have mistaken for a hostility which never had any existence.

"Every body protested his love for liberty; but, we ask you, was the love for it sincere, disinterested? Those who held the reins of government, constantly complained that liberty was stretched too far; and they laboured to restrict it, at one time by jurisprudence, at another time by new laws. The different opposition parties, once having reached

the helm, were, each in its turn, eager to circumscribe within narrow limits that self-same liberty which a short time before they had desired without limits ; while those whom fortune had flung down from the top of her wheel, appealed to the right against which they had quite recently pronounced a curse, and endeavoured to enchain it.

“ Egotism was no less fatal to commercial freedom ; those opposition parties were always at war with each other, the one demanding, the other repelling every check upon free trade. *What better course could we take than to remain strangers to those conflicts of which the last three reigns have been made up?* To what dangers would our ministry have been exposed, if we had not withdrawn from the scene of this incessant struggle, in order to rise into a purer atmosphere less liable to be disturbed by storms !”

Thus, then, “ the murder is out” at last. If the Romish clergy did not take kindly to the successive administrations of Louis XVIII., Charles X., and Louis Philippe, it was not, as a purblind world has hitherto supposed, because they disapproved of the free institutions which accompanied the restoration, and on which the throne of the citizen king was founded, but because not one of these governments,—no, not even that of M. Thiers, which raised M. d’Affre to the See of Paris—was liberal enough for the Romish hierarchy and priesthood, who were, as is now at last “ told in Gath, and published in the streets of Askelon,” all the while “ free traders,” but too forbearing to the weakness of humankind to let that fact be known. In one respect only the Archbishop reminds his flock, the Romish hierarchy and priesthood were avowedly “ free traders ;” they stood up for “ the liberty of instruction.” For this, he says, “ they have contended these ten years ;” and he leaves it to be inferred that for this they will contend now more than ever. In the general scramble for power, they hope, under the name of liberty of teaching, to secure something very like a monopoly of enslaving the minds of the rising generations with their superstitions. Trusting to the simplicity of his readers, the Archbishop “ doubts not that observations so simple (*sic* !) will suffice to do away with the baneful prejudice that they, the Romish clergy, are hostile to political liberties.”

“ We did not love those liberties which were proclaimed by the oppressors of the Church and of the country, nor those on which the heel of the conqueror was set, nor lastly those which never were any thing but a handle for ambition and cupidity. We shall love those which are about to triumph, because their object will be to protect all rights alike, and to bestow upon all the members of the great family, not a chimerical happiness with which we have been so often deluded, but all the happiness which, under laws and a government which are perfectly just, a mighty nation may enjoy.”

With the expression of this confident expectation, and a few unctuous phrases, the Archbishop takes an affectionate leave, for the present, of his dearly-beloved flock, which, in conclusion, he apostrophizes as that “ new Samson, the people of Paris, which needed but for a moment to shake the columns of an immense edifice, to turn it into a heap of ruins.”

We have presented to our readers this extensive sketch of the *manifesto* of the Archbishop of Paris, because, being addressed to the heart, so to speak, of revolutionary France, it is by far the fullest and most elaborate of the documents which the late events have elicited from the French Episcopate. His colleagues, however, are not a whit behind him in radicalism, though they have not felt themselves called upon to discourse as largely upon the subject.

The Archbishop of Lyons, for instance, the famous Cardinal De BONAIS, who was no great admirer of the "system" of Louis Philippe, dispatches the subject very briefly in a circular to his clergy, dated February the 27th:—

"My dear fellow-labourers,—You are aware of the political changes which have taken place in France. It is not likely that we, who are always engrossed by eternal interests, shall be surprised to hear that the hand of God, in His righteousness, overthrusts thrones, and dashes crowns to pieces.

"In the midst of the agitation of these first days, maintain yourselves calm, and repose all your trust in God's Providence. Set to the faithful the example of obedience and submission to the republic. You often wished to enjoy the liberty which renders our brethren in the United States so happy: that liberty you shall have. If the authorities desire to plant the national flag upon the religious edifices, comply eagerly with the wish of the magistrates. *The flag of the republic will always be a flag of protection for religion.*

"Zealously pursue, my dear fellow-labourers, your sacred mission; be attentive to the poor; concur in whatever measures may ameliorate the condition of the working man. It is to be hoped that the interests of the labouring class will at last be sincerely and effectually consulted.

"You will read this letter to the assembled faithful from your pulpit."

Whether it was through unsophisticated reliance on the sympathy expressed in this circular, we cannot tell; but the "working men" of Lyons have taken the cardinal at his word; for the *Gazette de Lyon* announces that a number of working men have quartered themselves upon the *grand Séminaire* of the diocese, where they insist on goodly fare, and obstinately refuse to quit.

The Archbishop of CAMBRAI, in a circular to his clergy of March the 1st, says:—"The Church has been the first to proclaim in the world the ideas of liberty, justice, humanity, universal brotherhood. She proclaims them afresh, in the face of all nations, by the voice of her august Head. She cannot, therefore, do otherwise than accept with confidence institutions which have for their object to secure the triumph of these holy laws."

"The Nation," says the Bishop of SAINT CLAUDE, in a circular of March 2nd, "will shortly be called upon by the provisional government, to give to itself a constitution—founded upon true civil and religious liberty. The priests of the living God being naturally the friends and protectors of all beneficial developments and social improvements . . .

have at all times shown that they are, first and foremost, impressed with those truths, on which the maintenance of social order depends, and which are declared in our sacred books, 'that all power is of God;' and that to obey the powers which Providence contrives for the nations in order to deliver them from despotism, from anarchy, and civil war, is a conscientious obligation." From this the Bishop concludes that the revolution was right, and that it is a religious duty to "submit to the new government which devotes itself to the public weal."

"For eighteen centuries," observes the Bishop of MARSEILLES, "the Church, herself unchangeable, has been a witness to all the vicissitudes in the life of nations. She has almost invariably presided over their birth, and formed their youth. She has often sustained them in their decrepitude, and often renewed their youth as an eagle's: in some instances she has united, but never altogether identified herself, with what they contained of a mortal nature. When that which was to perish had perished, she ever showed herself ready for the transformation which took place, submissively adoring the decrees of Providence, and never refusing the co-operation of her ministry of peace and charity.

"It is in this light, dearly beloved brethren, that we view the events which have just been accomplished. The Church will still be what she always has been."

"You are already aware," writes the Bishop of DIGNÉ, "that the government established in 1830 has been swept away by a tempest similar to that from which it rose. He that rules in the heavens, and on whom all empires are dependent, has once more given to the nations and the kings this great and fearful lesson. No power that disregards the general interests of the country, can ever take root in it. Every government which attempts to arrest the progressive development of the public liberties, will sooner or later be swallowed up by *that tide of ideas and legitimate wants which is constantly rising, and which can be controlled only by marking out for it a free and peaceable course.*

"It does not certainly become us to aggravate the misfortunes of those who are fallen, by recalling with bitterness the faults which have brought on their downfall. When they stood upright, we told them the truth, and we were not afraid to rouse their anger by so doing. Now that they are broken to pieces, we stand still with respectful pity before the ruins of their power."

Further on the Bishop intimates the price which the Romish hierarchy means to exact for its adhesion to democratic institutions. "The present," he says, adverting to the revolution of 1789, "bears no resemblance to the past. After the progress which public opinion and freedom have made, religious persecution would now be the signal of the downfall of any power which should dare to attempt it; and to whatever government France may commit its destinies, it will not be so foolish as to repeat by-gone faults, and to renew a struggle, at once most impious and most fruitless, against the Catholic conscience. It will clearly understand that we are all ready in defence of our faith to sacrifice our lives, even as we are all ready to defend that government, to love it, and to devote ourselves to its maintenance, if, faithful to its

principles, and no longer appealing against us, in bitter mockery, to all the exceptional and tyrannical laws of by-gone *régimes*, it will secure to us a frank participation in the public liberties. In putting forward our claim to this fruit of the new revolution, we do not, indeed, aspire to a privilege, which we should reject even if it were offered us, but to the full exercise of the common rights of all. Let this be clearly understood, and let the sincerity and loyalty of our language, which has so often been misconstrued, for once put an end to unjust prejudices; we require, **FOR OURSELVES AND FOR ALL**, liberty, but liberty frankly and entirely granted; the liberty of uniting and associating together, liberty of worship, liberty of conscience, and that which is inseparable from the rest, liberty of teaching."

"To induce you to co-operate," says the Archbishop of BORDEAUX, "most loyally in what is at this moment being established, what more need we do than remind you of the duties of the Christian, promulgated by the Church for eighteen centuries past? *The external forms of power have nothing absolute in them.* That the Church knows well: she who has seen so many dynasties pass away, so many thrones crumble in the dust, who has seen the face of society renewed by so many revolutions. But there is a divine basis on which all human institutions must rest: upon this ground, to which evil passions have no access, we shall always meet the sincere champions of order and freedom. *A great mission is opening before us*, dearly beloved brethren: it has been comprehended all over France; and especially, we say it with pride and pleasure, in this city and this diocese. . . .

"Let us pray, dearly beloved brethren, pray with confidence and fervour, that the spirit of wisdom and of strength may continue to descend abundantly upon the Church and upon France, and may *ever consummate the great alliance of religion and liberty*; for true faith and true freedom, uniting together in the face of the world, reconcile all opinions, and fertilize every hope. 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is,' says St. Jerome<sup>6</sup>, 'there is liberty,' there is happiness."

Cardinal DU PONT, the Archbishop of BOURGES, agrees with the Archbishop of Paris, that the barricade principles of 1848 are nothing more than the original principles of the Gospel:—"The principles, the triumph of which is to be the commencement of an entirely new era, are those which *the Church has always proclaimed*, and which she has quite recently proclaimed afresh before the whole world, through the mouth of her august Head, the immortal Pius IX. We are bound to accept them with confidence, and to await their successful development, entreating sovereign wisdom to enlighten the minds, to preside over the councils, to direct the wills, to the end that *all the advantages of a perfect brotherhood, based upon real equality and true liberty*, may be secured to the great nation to which it is our glory to belong."

Much in the same strain the Bishop of MANS says: "The motto of the government is, 'Liberty, equality, brotherhood.' These three words

<sup>6</sup> Better read in the Fathers than in his Bible, the radical prelate quotes 2 Cor. iii. 17, as a sentiment of St. Jerome!

express three eminently Christian verities. It is Jesus Christ who has given to the world the Christian liberty, the source and pattern of all true liberty, by delivering it from the bondage of sin; equality, by granting to all men the same spiritual privileges, and the same rights before God; brotherhood, by calling them all 'his brethren,' and the children of the same Father in heaven. The Apostles, faithful to this teaching of their divine Master, gave the name of 'brethren' to all those who shared with them the blessings of faith and of grace. At no time have bishops and priests called the faithful by any other name in their religious instructions<sup>7</sup>, nor will they ever cease to call them by this name.

"Let us then, without abandoning ourselves to an enthusiasm which would ill become our character, but likewise without evincing repugnance or fear, which would be ill-suited to our origin and our principles,—let us, I say, show that we understand liberty, that we love equality, that we sincerely desire brotherhood."

The Bishop of SAINT FLOUR grows quite enthusiastic; especially for those beardless fathers of the republic, the boys of the Polytechnic:—"Let us all unite with heart and mind to implore the 'Father of mercies and God of all consolation,' to pour out abundantly His light and His grace upon the entire nation, *upon the noble and devoted men whom it has invested with its confidence*, and more particularly upon *those admirable youths whose noble conduct is the glory of France, and the hope of the Church.*" And elsewhere he observes, "The finger of God is visible in the midst of the grave events which have been brought about with lightning speed; and His providence still watches in love over our beautiful country."

"You will declare to all," says the Bishop of BEAUVAIS, "that the heavenly country, the object of our desires, cannot render us indifferent to the interests of the country of which Providence has made us citizens, that the hour is come for all to devote and to attach themselves more closely than ever to the Christian faith, to order, and our country."

"This is what you will impress upon others. As for yourselves, leaving institutions which have ceased to exist, in the category of by-gone things, you will not forget that *the Church does not fetter the conscience of her children and the exercise of her ministry to forms of government; that she has no feudal connexion with any political system; that she can live quite as easily under a republic as under a monarchy, provided her demands are granted*; and among them, before all and above all, the liberty of labouring for the salvation of souls and the happiness of all. *The order of things which is now being inaugurated, has not in itself any thing contrary to the doctrine and the morality of the Gospel.*"

Lastly, the Bishop of PERPIGNAN is not content to applaud revolution on this side the grave, he extends his expansive liberalism to the unseen world:—"The day after to-morrow, Monday, at ten o'clock precisely, will be performed in our cathedral church, and in the parish

<sup>7</sup> Except the fashionable preachers at Paris, who commence their Advent and Lent Sermons and other discourses quaintly enough with "*Monsieur, Messieurs.*"

churches of Perpignan, a solemn service for all the victims whom death has struck down at Paris in so unforeseen a manner, and who have died in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith, on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of February last. Charity is universal; we shall pray for all those that have fallen in the struggle. We shall ask God to open to them all the place of comfort, of light, and of peace."

Such are a few brief specimens selected from the mass of extraordinary compounds of false religious and political sentiment with which the columns of the *Ami de la Religion* have been crowded ever since the first outbreak of the Revolution. Few, indeed, are those among the episcopal circulars which, like that of the Cardinal DE LA TOUR D'AUVERNES, confine themselves to a mere dry compliance with the government requisition, by ordering the celebration of a funeral service, and the insertion of the suffrage, "*Salvum fac rempublicam*," in the liturgy; still more rare, solitary, in fact, as far as the documents which have reached us go, is the determination, expressed by the Bishop of Nantes, to stand avowedly aloof from the present movement. "In circumstances so grave," says the circular of the last-named prelate to his clergy, "it is our duty to remind you, that our mission is to concern ourselves exclusively for the spiritual interests of souls, and that as regards questions of a political or temporal nature, we must leave Providence to solve them in its infinite wisdom. . . .

"Let us abstain from meddling in the affairs of this world: let us avoid every judgment, every opinion, every comment having reference to events in which it does not become us to take any part; but let our conduct in all things be such, that even 'he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of us.'

"As for the charge over which you are placed, you will apply to it most strictly those principles; you will avoid with extreme care whatever could give rise to the slightest conflict between you and the local authorities, every act or measure which might irritate the population; making it, on the contrary, your business to maintain among all the most perfect harmony you can. Should any difficulty present itself, which you might be in doubt how to resolve, or which might be beyond the scope of the ordinary rules, you will abstain from acting, and refer the matter immediately to myself."

While the clergy are thus almost unanimously joining the revolutionary cry of "liberty, equality, brotherhood," there appears to be a strong disposition on the part of the provisional government to secure their good-will and co-operation. The provisional minister of public instruction and worship addressed, on the 11th of March, a circular to the "Archbishops and Bishops of the republic;" in which, after giving them official notice of the decree of the provisional government for the insertion of the words, "*Salvum fac rempublicam*," in the liturgy, which most of them had already acted upon as soon as the decree had appeared in the *Moniteur*, M. Carnot expresses himself highly satisfied with the conduct of the clergy in giving in their unanimous adhesions to the establishment of the republic.

"Their assent, I am convinced, is not merely that vague submission



to whatever may be the form of the established government, which the Church might have acted on under changes which did nothing more than displace crowns, and substitute one dynasty for another. The clergy meet the new order of things with a more real sympathy. In hastening to proclaim in their prayers the republic which the people have just founded by the energy of their sovereign will, the clergy have felt that the inauguration of the republican principle opened a new era for the noble and exalted sentiments which God has implanted in the heart of man, and which it is the mission of religion to develop.

“ In this reconstitution of the rights and interests of all, the clergy in the different grades of the hierarchy must have understood that the rights and interests of religion, as well as of its ministers, would be protected by the institutions, as they were by the respect of the people during the glorious days. This support will not be that vacillating and uncertain support which princes have often given to religion, in the hope of associating it in the evil designs of their policy: the clergy will find, in the conformity of their sentiments with those of the people, a more solid and more durable protection.

“ Let the ministers of religion, therefore, place faith in the republic: let them turn their eyes with confidence towards the national assembly, which is called upon by the votes of the people to regulate the destinies of the country.”

In connexion with this subject, the minister throws out a hint which almost amounts to an invitation to the clergy to come forward as candidates at the ensuing election. “ Above all,” he says, “ suffer not the clergy of your diocese to forget, that being citizens, and as such sharers in the exercise of all political rights, they are the children of the great family of France; and that in the electoral assemblies, and *upon the benches of the national assembly*<sup>\*</sup>, to which the confidence of their fellow-citizens might call them, they have but a single interest to defend,—that of the country, which is intimately united with that of religion.”

Upon this circular the *Ami de la Religion* observes, in a tone of high gratulation:—“ ‘ Liberty, equality, brotherhood,’ those noble and holy words were Christian before they became political; before the republic, the Gospel had proclaimed them in the world.

“ Let the republic maintain those principles pure and sincere, as the Church has done for eighteen centuries; and the Church, following up her own work, will marvellously advance the work of the republic.”

The *Ami de la Religion* next adverts to the passage of the ministerial circular before quoted, respecting the right of the clergy not only to vote for members, but themselves to sit in the future national assembly, and adds, “ These are noble sentiments, nobly expressed. All the clergy share them, and we can answer for it that their conduct will respond to them. Both as citizens and priests, filled with infinite love for religion and for their country, the clergy will understand that both

<sup>\*</sup> The *Ami de la Religion* of March 23rd, apparently by way of a feeler, mentions “ a report which it does not guarantee,” that several bishops, the Archbishop of Paris among the rest, have been proposed as candidates for the national assembly.



these great interests impose upon them the duty of using the political rights conferred upon them by the new electoral decree.

"The position of affairs is now entirely changed. What would but a short time ago have been a purely political act, becomes, under existing circumstances, a duty towards the country, towards society and religion.

"No one will feel surprised to see a priest come forward at the elections in order to give his vote for the candidate who, in his opinion, is the most able and the most trustworthy.

"No one will feel surprised to see the priest take his place in the national assembly, in which necessarily the interests of religion, as well as those of the country, will be discussed.

"And on the benches of the national representation, as well as in the electoral assemblies, the priests, mingling with their fellow-citizens, will always know how to cause the dignity of their character to be respected, the wisdom of their conduct to be honoured, and the patriotism of their sentiments to be admired."

The advice thus given by the *Ami de la Religion* has been issued in the shape of a command by the Cardinal *de la Tour d'Auvergne*, in a circular to the clergy of his diocese (Arras), dated March 10, 1848, and which is to the following effect:—

"Important and extensive elections are about to take place. All France is called upon to choose its representatives with a view to decide the fate of our beautiful country. On this all-important and most serious emergency we are all her children; we owe her our assistance and our support. To abandon her would be not only an act of cowardice on our part, but a sin against charity; it would be an unchristian dereliction of duty.

"You, therefore, *M. le Curé*, and all the ecclesiastics depending on you, will have to attend at the approaching elections, to give your votes, and to come to an understanding on the subject with all those who sincerely wish and desire the preservation of all that is good and holy.

"Remember that we are all brethren, and that we are to love God above all, and our neighbour as ourselves.

"Therefore, let there be among ourselves perfect union, and let us give our aid and support to the public cause."

Similar instructions and exhortations to the clergy, to take an active part in the approaching elections, are contained in others of the episcopal circulars. The Bishop of ANGERS, for instance, after insisting on the duty of every Frenchman to take part in the re-constitution of the social edifice, thus continues:—

"Lastly, after calling upon others, shall we call upon you also, beloved fellow-labourers, whom we have so often besought to confine yourselves within the limits of the sanctuary?

"We feel timid in making this call upon you; not that we doubt your devotedness, seeing that we behold you consecrating your talents, your zeal, your whole life to your brethren, in an obscure ministry. But there must be no room left for accusing us of indifference, and since, in this exceptional emergency, on which depend, perhaps, the

future destinies of society and of religion, all are called on, come, I say, to discharge your debt, ye labourers of the Lord's vineyard; remembering that, according to the expression before quoted, (from the instructions of the provisional government,) this is not only *a right*, but *a duty*. Indeed, for the rebuilding of Jerusalem the Levites also were called upon. 'They appointed the Levites, from twenty years old and upward, to set forward the work of the Lord.'"

"The provisional government of France," says the Archbishop of Aix, "has issued a decree, calling upon all Frenchmen to nominate representatives who shall presently attend to all the great interests of our country. Now you are a French citizen, *M. le Curé*, you are therefore to obey the command given you. Accordingly you will proceed to the chief place of your canton, in order to nominate those of your fellow-citizens whom you shall judge to be best qualified to labour for the welfare of the people and the State, to establish permanent laws, and a constitution under which we may lead a peaceable life."

But the most extraordinary among the documents bearing upon this point, is the circular of the Bishop of St. BRIEUC:—"We consider it a duty of conscience for our clergy, and for all the faithful who are entitled to do so, to proceed to the elections. We have already pointed out, that the settlement of our country's fate is the point at issue. In reference to such a question no one can remain indifferent.

"In order to make it possible for all electors to fulfil this duty, we authorize the rectors to change on that day the hours of high mass and of vespers, and even to omit them entirely, if necessary. In this case it would be sufficient to say low mass at a very early hour, in order to be in time for the elections.

"Our wish is that *the electors of every parish, priests and laity, should proceed together to the place of election, and should not separate, if possible, all the time they will have to remain at the chief place of the canton*. After recording their votes, and as soon as they are at liberty, they will return to their parish church, observing the same order in returning as in going."

An absolute democracy, founded on the universal suffrage of the masses, organized and marshalled by the priests, this is the *beau idéal* of Popish politics, both in France and elsewhere; though, as the hour has not yet arrived, few have the candour of the Bishop of St. Briec, to say so in so many words.

A circumstance connected with this alliance between the new *régime* and the Romish hierarchy, which has attracted a good deal of notice and observation, is the conspicuous part played from the first by the Archbishop of Paris, and the manner in which he is singled out by the Liberals, as if he were not only the mouth-piece of the entire Episcopate of France, but its leader. To such a position M. d'Affre is not entitled either by his ecclesiastical rank or by his personal qualifications; and considerable jealousy has been excited by a vague suspicion that the busy and obtrusive republicanism of M. d'Affre proceeds from an ambitious hope that the title of prelate of the metropolis might merge into that of metropolitan of the republic. Under this impression, the

*Univers* publishes in praise of M. Carnot's circular by the following addition:—"We regret, however, to find that the minister in all his circulars studiously disengages the Archbishop of Paris from his vices and intrigues. The effect this produces is the more unpleasant, as M. Carnot has the credit of certain notions of ecclesiastical centralization, which it would be impossible to attempt to realize, without raising an unanimous and irresistible opposition in the Episcopate, and in the clergy at large. The Archbishop of Paris himself, every body knows, would combat any attempt of this kind more energetically than any one else, and the Holy See would assuredly not suffer any thing of the kind."

Notwithstanding the alarm of the *Univers*, and the ambitious aspirations,—if such he entertains,—of M. d'Afife, there appears to be but little danger, at present, of any system of "ecclesiastical centralization" being adopted in France. Indeed the position of the Romish clergy in that country is, in spite of their *impromptu* radicalism, far from secure. In various places unpleasant outbreaks have occurred, indicative of any thing but a friendly feeling towards the clergy on the part of the republicans. In several places the parsonages have been demolished by the populace, and the clergymen themselves narrowly escaped with their lives. But the direction in which the tide of popular feeling seems to set most strongly against the Romish church, is hostility against religious orders, both male and female, even against the Sisters of Charity, who have, in some instances, been obliged to leave their communities, and to seek for refuge elsewhere. The most flagrant act of interference of this nature, is the expulsion of the Capuchin monks from their house at Brotteaux, in the diocese of Lyons, and the official decree of "Citizen Emmanuel Arago, commissary of the provisional government" at Lyons, who, reciting the laws of 1789, 1790, 1792, as XII., 1800, 1817, 1825, and complaining of their violation by the establishment of unauthorized religious congregations, declares that such violation ought to be speedily put an end to in the department of the Rhone, and accordingly decrees that "all non-authorized religious corporations and congregations, and especially that of the Jesuits, are and remain dissolved;" and directs the civil officers of the department to give immediate effect to this declaration.

The ire manifested on the occasion both by the *Lyons Gazette* and by the *Ami de la Religion*, is highly characteristic, showing the alarm under which the writers are, lest, after betraying the principles, and betraying the character, of their church for the sake of currying favour with radicalism, they should be disappointed at last of their anticipated reward.

"To add derision," exclaims the former, "to this terrible abuse of authority, they talk to us of 'the law which does not recognize any congregations but those which have been authorized by it.'"

"The law, you say! Pray what law? the law of the KINGDOM! And you have the audacity to appeal to that! Are we, then, still under the régime of the laws of Louis XVI., of Napoleon, of Louis XVIII., and of Louis Philippe? Besides, does the question really turn upon the recognition of a congregation? Do the Capuchins perchance require to

be recognized? Do they ask for a legal existence, with corporate rights, and the power to possess and to inherit corporate property? By no means. On the contrary, what they ask is, not to be recognized, to remain simple citizens, constantly isolated in their individual capacity before the law, but united in the same house, because that suits them, and because the law to which you appeal not only does not forbid, but formally and explicitly authorizes, the dwelling together in one and the same house of any given number of citizens.

"We have said it a hundred times, but we shall repeat it a thousand times, since we have to deal with men who are so hard of understanding: if twenty or thirty scamps were to club together to live in common, and to celebrate perpetual orgies, you would find no law for dispersing them; but let those men of their own accord change their manner of life, let them put on cowls, go barefoot, let their beards grow, live a life of self-denial, distribute their savings among the poor of the neighbourhood, and lo, on the instant you will fancy yourselves entitled to drive them from their home! . . . . No! such violence, so destitute of logic, is incredible!

"And that, let it be understood, on the morrow of a revolution whose object was liberty; at a time when all the secret societies, clubs, communist lodges, break out openly, proclaim their deeds of yesterday, and sing by anticipation their triumphs of to-morrow; when the widest channels are thrown open to the manifestation of men's thoughts, when the greatest and most unfettered latitude of private life becomes the patrimony of all."

Not less irate is the language of the *Ami de la Religion* in reference to this despotic proceeding on the part of "one of the pro-consuls of M. Ledru-Rollin."

"If there is a liberty which has been loudly proclaimed by the new republic, a liberty instantly put in practice by all parties, surely it is the liberty of association; and from this very liberty they debar the clergy at the outset.

"Fifty clubs have been opened at Paris; a thousand corporations of different trades and guilds unite themselves, and enter into combination with each other, in order to maintain their rights and to defend their interests.

"Let them try and put in force against these the laws against associations and political unions!

"Let them try and say to them, 'Considering the law of the year 1790, considering such and such a decree of the Empire, CONSIDERING THE PROTESTS JUSTLY RAISED UNDER THE GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS FALLEN, all political associations are and remain dissolved.'

"Can you fancy the shout of laughter, or the howl of fury with which such a decree would be received, if it were drawn up in the name of the people," (the superscription of all decrees under the provisional government, and specifically of that issued by Citizen Arago,) "even though it should be notified by a commissary of the provisional government!

"And is it to be supposed that what they would not dare to attempt

against the right of association in political matters, they may do with impunity against the same right, when religion is the object in view? That is a grand and most fatal mistake.

"It is well known in what admirable spirit of submission, with what sentiments of loyal adhesion, the clergy of France, through their bishops, promised, or rather gave spontaneously, their concurrence to the provisional government.

"This was done because the Episcopate and the entire clergy relied on the solemn promises of the government; because we all took the motto of the republic seriously.

"But if we are deceived, if, while proclaiming liberty, equality, brotherhood for all, it is intended to exclude the Catholic Church from the benefit of these great and dearly purchased principles; if at a time when all exceptional laws break to pieces of themselves, laws of oppression against the clergy and against religious corporations are sought for in the legislation of all the régimes that have been abolished, then it is no longer liberty, but tyranny, that is brought to us; not equality, but the privilege of oppression, hatred in the place of brotherhood, in one word, it is war.

"We hope that, before entering upon this career of proscription, the provisional government will be far-sighted enough to perceive the precipice which is at the end of it."

A much more powerful voice, however, than that of either the *Gazette de Lyons*, or the *Ami de la Religion*, has been raised against the proceedings of the "commissary of the provisional government;" no less a voice than that of the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons himself. The following letter from his pen appears in the *Ami de la Religion* :—

"Mr. Editor,

"Lyons, March 13, 1848.

"In contending for the liberty of the Church, I declared in writing that the press must in our day be the refuge of all oppressed Catholics. To it I have recourse now, in order to protest against the recent violation of the great principle of association by the sentence directed against unauthorized religious communities. I share the painful impression which this act of the administration has produced upon all right-thinking people. And if, as bishop, I have a right to complain, my duty as citizen requires of me that I should protest with all my might against the violation of a principle which the nation has conquered for itself.

"The Catholic religion was among the foremost in hailing the establishment of a republic, and has offered to God for it sincere prayers, unsolicited supplications. It felt its confidence increasing, on seeing devoted and intelligent men charged by the people, under beginnings so laborious, with the direction of the new order of things. Its liberty was guaranteed to religion; a promise was given that its independence should be respected; for a long time religion had not heard promises so consoling. The Church had, therefore, a right to hope that the hand of the republic was about to break in pieces, irrevocably, the parliamentary and Gallican chains by which its action had hitherto been fettered. It had no longer to fear lest its ministers should be summoned

before the council of state, for the purpose of hearing the word of the Gospel insulted in their persons, and being subjected to a sentence of condemnation for having dared to obey God rather than men. Such were the hopes which filled our hearts and indited to us our adhesion to the new form of government. But it could not have entered into our minds, that the most sacred of the rights of the Church, as well as of the citizens,—that of associating, of uniting, of assembling, of combining together,—would be refused to us. We thought ourselves already in possession of that entire freedom, which in the United States is so well understood, and enjoyed by all religions without the fear of being deprived of it.

“The recent decree on religious communities has discovered to us the whole extent of our delusion. The phalansterians (socialists) unite together and hold their discussions; the householders form themselves into clubs, and treat of political affairs; the women<sup>\*</sup> have, at Paris, formed a deliberative assembly, and are concerting measures for the defence of their rights; banquets are organized in every direction. Have the members of these different associations or unions required a previous authorization from the government, in order to consecrate the existence of their societies? Have they thought of soliciting the consent of the authority? If they had done so, they would have shown that they did not understand the spirit of our new institutions, they would have forgotten that the principle of association is one of the bases of the republic.

“Are we, then, to understand that association for purposes of prayer and charity is alone forbidden? Is it an attempt against the public safety for men to unite their zeal and beneficence for the purpose of binding up the wounds of a few sick folks, preserving the innocence of a few children, reclaiming to the paths of virtue a few wandering souls, and instructing some ignorant people? Are we to be told that the republic, which is powerful enough to call a million of soldiers under arms, and to make Europe tremble, is tottering on its foundations, because a few Christians in black or white, grey or brown dresses, offer prayers in their retirement, and interrupt the slumbers of the night for the purpose of singing the praises of God? There was nothing to call forth the decree against which I protest, and the issuing of which the republican principles ought to have prevented. The tears of a few women sent back to their homes, and of a few orphans cast out into the streets, cannot give to the new order of things a very solid support. The principle of association is absolute; by violating it in the least degree, every thing is brought again in question and shaken; hope vanishes, and the enthusiasm of the first days gives way to a cruel disenchantment.

<sup>\*</sup> This is no exaggeration. A numerous deputation of the laundresses of Paris waited upon the provisional government the other day, to complain of the decomposing effects of competition upon soap-suds; to which one of the provisional secretaries of state blandly replied by an assurance that the perplexities of the wash-tub had, among other perplexities, already occupied the attention of those in power. See *Ami de la Religion* of March 16.

"I have written to the provisional minister of public instruction and worship to enter my protest against the decree in question.

"I request of you, M. Editor, the favour of your inserting my protest in your journal.

"Accept the assurance of my high esteem.

"L.-J.-M., CARDINAL DE BONALD,  
Archbishop of Lyons."

Before we close this notice of the development of Popery under the democratic régime, a subject to which, on account of its all-absorbing importance, and the interest of the documents connected with it, we have thought it right to devote the greater part of our space for foreign intelligence on the present occasion, we must not omit to mention an article of the *Ami de la Religion*, called forth by the abolition of the oath of allegiance by a recent decree of the provisional government; the reasoning of which forms a strange contrast with the assurance given elsewhere by the Romish bishops, that their allegiance to the temporal governments under which they live never can clash in the remotest degree with the duties and requirements of their spiritual office.

"The Church," says the *Ami de la Religion*, "has suffered too much, from the time of the pagan emperors to our own, from the various tyrannies imposed upon the consciences of the faithful in connexion with the oath, for her not to hail with entire satisfaction the decision by which the provisional government of the republic abolishes the political oath.

"This act, and the considerations which prompted it, mark a sound policy. The experience of the last fifty years could not fail to bring about this consecration of the ideas and facts of modern society.

"But to these motives of an intelligent policy the Church has to add more serious reasons for her adhesion to that policy. Among the most devoted soldiers of the Roman empire, it is well known that the first Christians showed themselves the most intrepid and the most faithful, without there being any necessity to bind them by an oath. 'O Cæsar, we are at any time ready to die for the welfare of the empire, although we shrink from swearing by your *genii*:' such was the cry of the Theban legion, and of that other battalion composed of Christians, which, under the Emperor Decius, had earned the surname of the 'thundering legion.' Now those invincible patriots of the first ages of the Church exhibited in practice only that which they had gathered from the Gospel, and from the instruction of their bishops. The Christian religion neither admitted nor excluded any form of temporal government; it prescribed an equal obedience to all, because 'there is no power but of God.'

"If it should enter any one's head, unseasonably to call to mind, in reference to this subject, the old quarrels about 'the divine right,' all the answer we should need to give in order to justify our approbation of the liberal act of the suppression of the oath, would be the following declaration of M. Clausel de Cossergue, in 1831:—'The word oath cannot at this time have the same meaning as under a régime under

*which religion was intimately connected with the State*; since the oath is required even of those who make a public profession of Atheism, *the oath is no longer a religious act.* . . . . The only obligation that remains, is that of voting at elections for the worthiest man, and for the greatest benefit of the country. . . .’ Such was the language of an upright and loyal royalist in 1831: the divine right was, to his mind, the right of conscience, or rather the true interpretation of the Gospel, and the carrying out of the principles of the Church. At this time again governments cannot have trustier defenders, than the men who act upon such principles.

“ But, in return for their support, the newly-established order of things must really be an era of true liberty for religion. This exemption from the oath, which we are surprised not to see extended to the army also, must above all *emancipate the bishops*, those apostles of submission as well as of evangelical charity. Away with political trammels to their sacred ministry. Religious liberty, that liberty whose only mission is to cause the love of order to strike deep roots in the consciences, must obtain its entire and pacific development.”

If this reasoning does not prove that oaths of allegiance from Popish bishops to a non-Popish government are compatible with the principles of their Church, it proves at least that it is useless to exact such oaths, and idle to put any faith in them.

ITALY.—*Consistorial Appointments.*—The following is a summary of the Episcopal appointments made by Pope Pius IX. during the year 1847, in the several consistories of April 12th, June 11th, June 14th, October 4th, and December 17th :—

4 Cardinals.  
2 Patriarchs.  
9 Metropolitans.  
2 Archbishops.  
36 Bishops.

Of the four cardinals, two were Italians; one, Joseph Bofondi, dean of the Rota; and the other, James Antonelli, prefect of the pontifical treasury; both raised to the dignity of cardinal deacons: the other two were French prelates; one, Pierre Giraud, Archbishop of Cambrai; the other, Jacques-Marie-Antoine-Célestin Dupont, Archbishop of Bourges; both raised to the dignity of cardinal priests.

The two patriarchs are, the new patriarch of the Latin rite at Jerusalem, and the patriarch of the West Indies.

Of the nine Metropolitans, two are for Italian provinces; one in the Pontifical States, the other in Lombardy; one for France; four for Spain; one for Austria; and one for South America.

Of the two Archbishops, one is titular of Sida, *in partibus infidelium*; the other is appointed coadjutor, with succession, of the United Churches of Rhodes, *in partibus*, and of Malta.



Lastly, the thirty-six Bishoprics are divided as follows :—

Italy, Pontifical States	..	..	..	..	8
Naples	..	..	..	..	2
Tuscany	..	..	..	..	2
Lombardy	..	..	..	..	1
Sardinia	..	..	..	..	1
Spain	..	..	..	..	17
France	..	..	..	..	1
Germany	..	..	..	..	2
The Canary Islands	..	..	..	..	1
<i>In partibus infidelium</i>	..	..	..	..	1

Of the whole of the forty-nine appointments (exclusively of creations of cardinals) fifteen were translations; of the thirty-clergymen raised to the Episcopate, twenty-four were taken from ranks of the diocesan clergy, five had occupied academic dignities, 1 belonged to religious orders, and one was abbot of a collegiate church.

NEW BRUNSWICK.—*Local Support of the Church.*—From a Report just published by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, it appears that this province is setting a noble example, by exerting it with a view to the maintenance of its own Church. "Since the Church in New Brunswick," says the Report, "has had a resident Bishop at head, it has not failed to put forth signs from which may be inferred hopeful improvement in its spiritual condition. The people see necessity of supporting their own Clergy from their own resources—becoming at no distant period independent of their mother Church in England in pecuniary matters. New missions have been organized, the number of Clergy increased, churches founded, without fresh assistance from the Society in England."

We hail this indication of a healthy Church feeling in the Colonies with the greater satisfaction, as it appears that the resources of the Society at home are becoming more and more inadequate to the permanent support of its extensive operations in every quarter of the globe. Although the receipts of the Society during the year 1847, amounting 85,068*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*, exceed the Society's income during any former year yet in reality the Society is poorer than ever. Nearly one-half of the above receipts consisted of contributions for special objects, more particularly for the newly-created Bishoprics in Australia; and as the general expenditure of the Society has not decreased, but is continually increasing, it became necessary in the course of last year to sell out the last remainder of the Society's capital, amounting to 30,191*l.* 0*s.* Under these circumstances we cannot forbear expressing our earnest hope that the appeal made by the Queen's Letter, recently issued, will be responded to by liberal contributions from every part of the country.

# THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

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JUNE, 1848.

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- ART. I.—1. *Encyclic of our Most Holy Father, Pope Pius IX., addressed to all Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops.* Given at Santa Maria Maggiore, November 20, 1846.
2. *Allocution of Pope Pius IX., pronounced in the Secret Consistory of December 17, 1847.*
3. *Fundamental Statute for the temporal government of the States of the Church.* Given at Santa Maria Maggiore, March 14, 1848.
4. *Allocution of Pope Pius IX., pronounced in the Secret Consistory of April 29, 1848.*
5. *Proclamation of Pope Pius IX.* Given at Santa Maria Maggiore, May 1, 1848.

“How are the mighty fallen!” Two years have not elapsed since the world rang with the praises of the Cardinal whom, in spite of his youth—ecclesiastically speaking, being a man of fifty-four, and a cardinal of but six years’ standing—the almost unanimous voice of the Conclave raised to the Pontifical Chair. The election was announced by the Romish prints as little less than a miracle; and the popular party, both at Rome and throughout Europe, hailed it as the advent of a new era. “Let us thank God,” exclaimed the unenthusiastic *Ami de la Religion* in a fit of unwonted ecstasy, “for this signal, we will say almost miraculous, proof of his protecting care for his Church! Considerations of a supernatural order evidently presided over all the thoughts of that venerable senate. The choice which the voice of the people seemed to designate beforehand, has been proclaimed by the voice of God through the mouths of those illustrious old men, who are in the Church the worthy representatives both of God and of the people.” Those who were better informed of the human politics of Rome, and less credulous of supernatural agency in Papal elections, accounted for the choice of the Conclave, by the fact that the necessity or expediency of falling in with the spirit of the age had several years before been seriously debated among the heads of the Roman hierarchy, and for some time the balance had inclined towards the “liberal” side. The advanced years and the personal timidity of Gregory XVI. had retarded the impulse, but when that obstacle was removed by his death, the counsels of liberalism prevailed, and Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti

was placed at the helm as the exponent of the "new system" about to be adopted. The "miracle" was precisely of the same nature as that which places a Russell on the treasury bench when free-trade measures are to be carried out at a rattling pace.

In saying this we are far from imputing to their eminences any felonious leaning towards democratic principles, much less any utopian dreams of liberalism. They are too virtuous, assuredly, to cherish the former, too sedate to indulge in the latter. Their stations only are exalted, not their heads. It is possible to conceive a radical, a chartist, or a repealer, or even a whig, acting from sheer enthusiasm: with regard to the members of the Conclave, such a supposition would be ridiculous in the extreme. Their determination to embrace "liberal" politics, was simply a matter of calculation; they found that the Papacy was losing ground, that the half-hopes of the restoration of Papal ascendancy, which the Holy Alliance had excited, had not been realized; that the sovereigns were more chary of their compliance with the demands and expectations of Rome than had been expected; that they had neither the power nor the will to make their politics subservient to the supremacy of "the Sovereign See of Christendom."

In their own view of the matter this change of system on the part of the Cardinals was a mere question of being "wise in their generation;" but in a higher view of the subject, they were unconsciously obeying the imperious law of a moral necessity. There is a Nemesis in the affairs of men which often compels great criminals to become their own executioners, by some fatal, reluctant, but inevitable act. That Nemesis has at last overtaken the Papacy, the most criminal of offenders against God and man known to history since the world has been Christianized. Politicians, according to their shallow estimate of human affairs, may say that the Papacy has overreached itself; we must go one step further, and say, that the Papacy has been forced to prepare its own downfall. The circumstances are too remarkable, their bearing upon the prospects of the world generally too important, to suffer us to pass by in silence the extraordinary revulsion by which, in an incredibly short space of time, the complimentary anagram

"A Giovanni-Maria Mastai-Ferretti:—  
Grati nomi, amnistia e ferrata via;"—

has been supplanted by the pasquinade,

"Roma! poichè colui che vedi in Trono  
La gloria della guerra a Te negò,  
In vece di Pio Nono,  
Chiamate, Pio, No! No!"

Such is the pithy account which the punster spirit that hovers on the banks of the Tiber gives of the reaction by which the idol of Rome and of the "Catholic world" has become a captive in the palace of the Quirinal. The effect is sufficiently evident; but the question remains, what are the real causes which have produced that effect? what the circumstances which have hurried on its development with such astounding rapidity? An alliance between the Antichristian spirit of the Papacy and the infidel spirit of radicalism, and, as its result, the overthrow of the Papal power, was expected by the students of prophecy,—but that the punishment would follow so quickly upon the heels of the offence, is what few, we believe, anticipated.

Yet, if we examine the history of this "development" more closely, we shall cease to wonder at the suddenness of the catastrophe. What has befallen the Papacy, is nothing more than what invariably befalls all the speculators upon the tendencies of the democracy. In their eagerness to turn these tendencies to account, they forget that the effect of their abetting them will be to accelerate their progress; that the democracy is a huge engine with a monster-train attached, on an inclined plane, and that every passenger that jumps up to travel by it, adds to the *momentum* in proportion to his weight, and thereby helps to produce the frightful velocity with which the train itself, with all that are embarked on it, is descending towards the terminus of destruction.

That Rome never could sincerely embrace the principles of radicalism, is so manifest, that the only wonder is how the world could ever have conceived the idea of a *bonâ fide* radical Pope. Not that Rome is, or ever was, favourable to principles of loyalty. Far from it: it has ever been the policy of Rome to trade upon the disloyalty of subjects, and to turn sedition and rebellion to account for its own advancement. The boldest champions of the Papacy in every country, and in every age, have been traitors to their lawful sovereigns. But this is not on account of any sympathy between the principles of the Papacy and those of the democracy; it arises from the fact that the Papacy, claiming to be a despotism superior to every other rule and dominion, views and treats as rebels all the powers which refuse to acknowledge that dominion, and venture to assert their own independence. The refractory vassal of the feudal ages, the demagogue of modern times, who raise the standard of sedition, and embroil kingdoms in civil war, thus become the natural allies of the Papacy, standing in much the same position as a rebel who deserts to the royal cause, or a conspirator who turns king's evidence.

But whilst the Papacy must certainly be acquitted of any

abstract love of democratic principles, it is evident, on the other hand, that whatever there has been in times past of a conservative character in its political tone and attitude, did not arise from any abstract allegiance to, or even preference for, monarchical principles and institutions. If Rome ranged herself on the side of the monarchs of Europe, if she set on their brow the sanction of divine appointment, and anointed them in the name of the Most High, it was not because the Papacy felt itself called upon ministerially to affirm the principle that "the powers that be, are ordained of God;" but because the Papacy finding them in possession of the power over the nations, deemed it convenient for the furtherance of its own purposes to acknowledge their right, and by the consecration conferred upon it, to create an appearance of subordination to itself as the fountain from which they derived that right. The only political principle in which the Papacy has any faith, is that of its own supremacy over all the powers of the world, whatever may be their name or character; and even this faith rests on a foundation of fact rather than of abstract right; for the arguments which are put forward in controversy in support of the *jure divino* claims of Rome, all resolve themselves into this, that the *de facto* supremacy which Rome acquired in course of time, proves the correctness of the interpretation put by Rome upon certain texts of Scripture, and certain passages of the Fathers.

Thus it appears that in reality the Papacy is without any principle whatever whereon to take its stand, not only with reference to the claims of others, which it may be called upon to acknowledge or to resist, but even with regard to its own extravagant claims to universal dominion. The assertion of principles as the grounds of its determinations, and the motives of its conduct, is neither more nor less than a huge and impudent fraud, under which it has hitherto succeeded in cloaking the nakedness of its own preposterous pretensions. This character of the Papal power, and of its policy, requires to be thoroughly understood, in order to appreciate the recent transition from monarchical to democratic sympathies and manifestations. To the common observer, that transition wears the appearance of a total change in the character of the Papacy itself, which, however, in reality has not undergone any change; on the contrary, the consistent acting out of that character required that, under the altered aspect of the political world, the Papacy, which had hitherto been the partisan of monarchy, should henceforward become the abettor of democracy. Neither the one nor the other has in the eyes of the Papacy any value, beyond that of being a convenient tool for the assertion and maintenance of Papal supremacy; the

preference, therefore, to be given to the one or the other, depends simply on the question, whether of the twain shall promise to be the readier and the more efficient tool.

And as it is incorrect to say that the Papacy has undergone any real change, so it is an erroneous notion to suppose that the transition from monarchical to democratic professions and alliances, which the very consistency of the character of the Papacy required, was a sudden one. The official announcement of such a transition took the world by surprise, it is true; but the progress of the Papacy itself to the point at which the announcement became at once necessary and expedient, has been any thing but rapid. Bearing in mind that the Papacy never supported monarchy on any other ground than this, that it was a convenient and efficient tool for the maintenance of its own power, and reviewing the history of the relations between the Papacy and the sovereigns of Europe within the last hundred years, the causes of the recent divorce between monarchy and the Papacy will be found to be of a much more ancient date than a superficial observation might lead us to suspect. The feeling of the European courts towards the Papacy, which, after a long resistance on the part of the latter, effectually asserted itself after the death of Clement XIII., and forced Ganganelli on the Papal chair, had its origin in the disgust with which the sovereigns had begun to view the part which they were made to play in the political game of the Papacy, and their consequent determination no longer to suffer themselves to be made its tools. From that time forward monarchy was regarded by Rome in the light of a broken reed, which might as easily pierce as sustain the hand that leant upon it; and if at that time another power had appeared on the stage with which it would have been possible for the Papacy to ally itself, there can be no doubt that such an alliance would at once have been embraced. The essentially anti-papal as well as anti-religious character of the first French revolution, however, presented no temptation to the Papacy to look in that direction; and after the ill success of the experiment which it made in recognizing and anointing the French usurper, it was not surprising that when the restoration of legitimacy on the different thrones of Europe was accompanied by religious professions, however vague, and a tone of deference towards Rome, however ambiguous, the Papacy should for a time cherish the hope that the effects of the revolutionary hurricane which had passed over Europe, would lead the sovereigns, from a regard to their own interests, to resume towards the occupant of the chair of St. Peter's the attitude of dutiful sons of the Church. While the restoration of the Jesuit Order gave evidence of the intensity

with which the Papacy followed up the hope that, to use the words of Cardinal Gonsalvi, "the Church was about to be reinstated in all that she had been deprived of," the solemn protest against the settlement of the Congress of Vienna, placed on record by Pius VII., showed the reconciliation between the monarchy and the Papacy to be but a hollow peace, for the maintenance of which it was not to be expected that either party would make great sacrifices. The first practical proof of the same was furnished by the Papacy on the downfall of the elder Bourbon branch in France, which was soon followed by the formal recognition of the new dynasty by Gregory XVI., accompanied, however, in accordance with the wiliness and habitual foresight of Papal policy, by reservations limiting the recognition to the *de facto* occupation of the French throne by Louis Philippe.

Meanwhile the progress of democratic principles throughout Europe could not be mistaken; the development, which no human power could arrest, of the infidel and revolutionary ideas infused into the literature, and instilled into the popular mind, of all the nations of Europe, naturally led to this result; which was accelerated, moreover, by the appeal made by the old sovereigns of Europe to the patriotism of their people against the usurpation of Napoleon, and their subsequent refusal, when they found themselves again firmly established in the seat of power, to redeem any of the promises they had made, or to fulfil any of the hopes they had excited. Wherever the democracy acquired sufficient strength to assert itself, as in Belgium, in France, and in the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, the Papacy found in it a powerful ally against the ruling power of the state; the advantage was not overlooked by Rome, and it became more and more the fashion with ultramontane writers to rest their appeals for an increase of the power of the hierarchy upon the principle of religious liberty. It seemed natural enough to suppose, that if the temporal power could be neutralized by this appeal, the spiritual power of the Papacy would have all the freer scope to advance its own claims to dominion; and thus it came to pass by degrees, that all the Papacy demanded, was "a clear stage and no favour."

While this was the position which the Romish Church took up wherever the opportunity was afforded her of cloaking her ambitious projects under the semblance of jealousy for the preservation of civil rights and liberties, the necessity of reform pressed closely upon her at her own doors. Of all the states of Italy, ill-governed as they mostly are, there are none whose government presented a greater accumulation of anomalies and abuses than the Pontifical States; the dangers arising from this cause were such, as to induce repeated representations from

friendly powers, urging the expediency of some modifications in the civil administration of the temporal domain of the Pope ; and it became daily more evident, that in the event of a revolutionary movement on the part of the Roman population, few among the European powers would feel disposed to support the Papal government, while those which might be willing, would scarcely be permitted to do so by the jealousy of rival powers. The adoption of a safe measure of reform was, therefore, the only course left open to the Papacy with any prospect of maintaining its ground at home, in the very heart of the eternal city itself.

This was the situation of the Papacy when Gregory XVI. breathed his last. Its hold upon the monarchical governments was greatly loosened ; in more than one country democracy was its most promising auxiliary ; and at home the adoption of a liberal policy was becoming daily more inevitable. The question which had been mooted in the lifetime of Gregory XVI., as to the expediency of openly embracing the "liberal" side in politics, came now before the Conclave for immediate decision. It was not a question that could be adjourned any longer, as it had been hitherto ; the Conclave had to take its choice between adherence to the traditions of the past, and the experiment of making the ideas of the nineteenth century subservient to Papal supremacy ; whichever way it decided, it was then clear that the most able and the most energetic man who represented the system to be adopted, must become the successor of Gregory XVI. The result is known. Mastai-Ferretti became Pius IX.

His election was the signal to the "liberal" party, that is, to the democracy, throughout Europe, that its day was come. He entered with spirit upon the character of a reformer, assigned to him by the very fact of his election. Rome was drunk with joy ; Europe resounded the praises of "the immortal Pius." The Papacy was once more in the eye of all the nations, as a city on an hill. The blow that had been struck appeared thoroughly successful ; popularity was an incense to which the chair of St. Peter's had long been a stranger ; it was all the more grateful as it rose around it in dense volumes of fragrant smoke. Through the clouds in which he was enveloped,—the admiration of Europe and the idol of Rome,—Pius IX. once more held up "the image of the beast" for the world to fall down and worship before it. His encyclic breathed the spirit of the Gregorys and the Innocents ; the claims to infallibility and spiritual supremacy were never advanced in language more distinct, but along with these claims to which, as coming from the supreme head of Christendom, no good "Catholic" could object, it announced thorough-going clerical reform ; and the pledge given to the political passions of



the age caused its theological arrogance to be overlooked. The following extract from that remarkable document will suffice to show how little the Papacy, while embracing the cause of political liberalism, was disposed to recede from the spiritual dominion to which it lays claim :—

“ It is well known to you all, my Venerable Brethren, that in this deplorable age of ours a most fierce and formidable war is waged against the whole Catholic world by men who, banded together in criminal league, unable to endure sound doctrine, and turning away their ears from the truth, strive to drag forth from darkness all manner of monstrous opinions, which heaping up with all their might they send forth and disseminate among the people. We are truly horrified, and penetrated with the deepest grief, when we reflect upon all the prodigious errors, and the various and multiplied devices of mischief, snares, and machinations, by which these haters of light and truth, these most expert forgers of falsehood, endeavour to extinguish in every heart all love of piety, justice, and honour, to corrupt the morals, to unsettle all human and divine law, to upset, undermine, and, if it were possible, wholly to subvert the Catholic religion and civil society. For you are aware, Venerable Brethren, that these deadly enemies of the Christian name, miserably carried away by a blind impulse of mad impiety, run out to such lengths of temerity in their opinions, that ‘ opening their mouth in blasphemy against God ’<sup>1</sup> with audacity altogether unheard of, they are not ashamed openly and publicly to teach, that the most holy mysteries of our faith are lying fables and inventions of men, that the doctrine of the Catholic Church is contrary to the well-being and prosperity of human society: nor are they afraid to abjure even Christ and God Himself. And that they may the more easily delude the people, and deceive especially the unwary and the ignorant, and carry them away with them into their errors, they pretend that the way of happiness is known to them alone, and hesitate not to arrogate to themselves the name of philosophers, as if it was the part of philosophy, whose sole business is to investigate the truth of nature, to repudiate what the Sovereign and most merciful God, who is Himself the author of all nature, has in His singular kindness and compassion condescended to reveal unto men, in order that they may attain true happiness and salvation. Hence they cease not with preposterous and most fallacious argumentation to appeal to and extol the power and excellence of human reason against the most holy faith of Christ, and with most audacious babbling affirm it to be contrary to human reason. Than which certainly nothing can be thought of or invented more insane, more impious, or more repugnant to reason itself. For although faith is above reason, yet there can never be found between them any real dissonance or disagreement, as they both spring from one and the same fountain of immutable and eternal truth, which is the Most High God Himself;

<sup>1</sup> Rev. xiii. 5

and mutually assist each other ; so that right reason demonstrates, maintains, and defends the truth of the faith ; and faith frees reason from all errors, and wonderfully illuminates, confirms, and perfects it by the knowledge of Divine things. And by no less a fallacy, Venerable Brethren, those enemies of Divine revelation, lavishing excessive praises upon human development, would introduce that development with most audacious and sacrilegious daring into the Catholic religion ; as if religion itself were the work, not of God but of man, or a philosophical device which may be perfected by human methods. Most aptly to those wretched madmen does that reproach apply which Tertullian deservedly addresses to the philosophers of his time, ‘ who propounded a Stoic, a Platonic, a Dialectic Christianity <sup>2</sup>.’ And certainly since our most holy religion was not devised by human reason, but mercifully revealed to men by God, every one must readily understand that religion itself derives all its force from the authority of God Himself speaking, and cannot ever be, either deduced from human reason, or perfected by it. Human reason must, indeed, lest it should be deceived, and fall into error in a matter of so great moment, diligently inquire into the fact of Divine revelation, so as to be certain that God has spoken, and to render unto Him, as the Apostle most wisely teaches, ‘ a reasonable service <sup>3</sup>.’ But who is or can be ignorant, that in God speaking we are to have all faith, and that nothing is more consonant to reason itself, than to acquiesce in, and firmly adhere to, those things which are ascertained to have been revealed by God, who neither can be deceived, nor can deceive.

“And how many, how wonderful, how splendid arguments are at hand, by which human reason must be absolutely and most clearly convinced, that the religion of Christ is divine, and that ‘ every principle of our doctrine takes its root from above, from the Lord of heaven <sup>4</sup> ;’ and that therefore there is nothing surer, more certain, or more sacred, or resting on firmer foundations, than our faith. For this faith, the rule of life, the guide to salvation, expelling every vice, fruitfully begetting and cherishing every virtue, being confirmed by the nativity, the life, death, and resurrection, the wisdom, the miracles, and the prophecies of its Divine author and finisher Christ Jesus, resplendent on all sides with the light of heavenly doctrine, and enriched by the treasures of heavenly riches, most celebrated and illustrious by the predictions of so many prophets, the splendour of so many miracles, the constancy of so many martyrs, and the glory of so many saints, setting forth the wholesome laws of Christ, and gaining daily new strength even from the most cruel persecutions, has passed through the whole world, by sea and by land, from east to west, with only the standard of the Cross ; and having defeated the false idols, dispelled their darkness, and triumphed over every kind of enemy, has illuminated all people, tribes, and nations, however savagely barbarous, and however different in their character, habits, laws, and institutions, with the light of Divine knowledge, and subdued them under the

<sup>2</sup> Tertull. de præscript. c. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. xii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> S. Joann. Chrysost. Hom. i. in Isai.

easy yoke of Christ Himself preaching unto all peace and good-will. All which shines forth on all sides with such brightness of Divine wisdom and power, that the mind and understanding of every one must readily perceive the Christian faith to be God's work. Human reason, therefore, clearly and plainly apprised by these most splendid as well as most solid arguments, that God is the author of that faith, can go no further, but cowering aside and putting away altogether every difficulty and doubt, must yield to it all obedience, being well aware that whatever this faith proposes to men to be believed and done, has been delivered by God Himself.

"Hence also it plainly appears in how great an error they are entangled, who, abusing reason, and esteeming the oracles of God as the work of man, have the temerity of attempting to explain and interpret them according to their own judgment: whereas God Himself has appointed a living authority, which should teach and establish the true and legitimate sense of his heavenly revelation, decide all controversies of faith and manners by an *infallible* judgment, to the end that the faithful may not be "carried about with every wind of doctrine by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness." Which living and *infallible* authority flourishes only in that Church, which being built by the Lord Christ Himself upon Peter, the Head, the Prince, and the Pastor of the whole Church, whose faith He promised should never fail, has continually its legitimate pontiffs tracing their origin uninterruptedly from Peter himself, seated in his chair, as heirs and defenders of his doctrine, his dignity, his honour, and his power. And so far as where Peter is, there is the Church<sup>4</sup>; and Peter speaks by the Roman pontiff<sup>5</sup>, and constantly lives and exercises judgment in his successors<sup>6</sup>, and ministers to those that seek for it the truth of the faith<sup>7</sup>; therefore the Divine oracles are to be received absolutely in the sense which has been held and still is held by this Roman See of St. Peter, which being the mother and mistress of all the Churches<sup>8</sup>, has always preserved the faith delivered by the Lord Christ entire and inviolate, and taught it to the faithful, showing unto all the pathway of salvation and the doctrine of incorrupt truth. For this is that chief Church from which the unity of the priesthood has sprung<sup>9</sup>; this that metropolis of godliness in which is to be found the entire and perfect stability of the Christian religion<sup>10</sup>; in which the principality of the Apostolic See has always flourished<sup>11</sup>; to which, on account of its superior pre-eminence, all the Church, that is, the faithful in all the world, necessarily must have recourse<sup>12</sup>, with which whoever does not gather, scattereth<sup>13</sup>. We,

<sup>4</sup> The italics are in the original.

<sup>5</sup> Council, Chalced. Act. ii.

<sup>6</sup> S. Petr. Chrysolog. Epist. ad Eutych.

<sup>7</sup> Council. Trid. Sess. vii. de Baptis.

<sup>8</sup> S. Cyprian. Ep. lv. ad Cornel. Pontif.

<sup>9</sup> Litter. Synod. Joann. Constant. ad Hormisd. Pontif.; et Sozom. Hist. lib. iii.

<sup>10</sup> Id.

<sup>11</sup> S. August. Ep. clix.

<sup>12</sup> S. Hieron. Ep. ad Damas. Pontif.

<sup>13</sup> S. Ambrose, in Psalm. xl.

<sup>14</sup> Synod. Ephos. Act. iii.

<sup>15</sup> S. Iren. lib. iii. c. Hæreses, c. 2.

therefore, who have by the unsearchable judgment of God been placed in this See of truth, earnestly stir up, in the Lord, your excellent piety, Venerable Brethren, that with all care and diligence ye endeavour constantly to admonish and exhort the faithful committed to your charge, that adhering firmly to these principles, they never suffer themselves to be deceived and led into error by those who, having become abominable in their imaginations, labour under pretence of human development to destroy the faith, and impiously to bring it into subjection to reason, and to pervert the oracles of God; nor are afraid to offer the greatest injury to God Himself, who by His heavenly religion has condescended to provide most mercifully for the welfare and salvation of mankind.

“ Furthermore you are well aware, Venerable Brethren, of the other monstrous errors and frauds, by which the children of this world attempt most fiercely to make war upon the Catholic religion, upon the Divine authority of the Church, and upon its laws, and to tread under foot the rights both of the spiritual and the temporal power. Of this kind are the criminal machinations against this Roman See of St. Peter, on which Christ has built the invincible foundation of his Church; of this kind those clandestine sects which have emerged from darkness for the ruin and devastation both of Church and State, and which have been condemned by repeated anathemas, by the Roman Pontiffs our predecessors, in their Letters Apostolic<sup>7</sup>, which We, in the plenitude of Our Apostolic power, confirm and order to be diligently kept. This is the object of those most pernicious Bible Societies, which, renewing the old artifice of the heretics, cease not gratuitously to impart unto, and to obtrude upon, men of all classes, even the ignorant, in very large quantities, and at an immense expense, the books of Holy Scripture, translated, against the most holy rules of the Church, into all the vulgar tongues, and often interpreted by perverse explanations; to the end that, rejecting the Divine tradition, the doctrine of the Fathers, and the authority of the Catholic Church, all may interpret the oracles of the Lord according to their own private judgment, pervert their sense, and so fall into the greatest errors. Which societies Gregory XVI., of blessed memory, into whose place We have, though unequal to him in merit, been chosen, following the examples of his predecessors, reprobated by his Letters Apostolic<sup>8</sup>, and which We likewise hereby condemn. Of this kind is that horrible system of indifference in all matters of religion, greatly repugnant even to the natural light of reason, whereby those deceivers, abolishing all distinction between virtue and vice, truth and error, honesty and turpitude, falsely affirm that men may obtain eternal salvation in the worship of any sect whatever, as if there ever could be any fellowship of righteousness with unrighteousness, any communion of light with darkness, any concord of

<sup>7</sup> Clemens XIII. Const., *In eminenti*; Bened. XIV. Const., *Providas*; Pius VII. Const., *Ecclesiam a Jesu Christo*; Leo XII. Const., *Quo graviora*.

<sup>8</sup> Gregor. XVI. in litteris Encyclicis ad omnes Episcopos, quarum initium *Inter præcipuas machinationes*.

Christ with Belial. Of this kind is that most disgraceful conspiracy against the holy celibacy of the clergy, which, alas! is countenanced even by some ecclesiastics, who, miserably unmindful of their own dignity, suffer themselves to be overcome and enticed by the blandishments and allurements of lust. Of this kind that perverse method of teaching, especially the philosophical sciences, which lamentably deceives and corrupts the unwary youth, and causes it to drink the gall of the dragon out of the cup of Babylon. Of this kind the nefarious doctrine called *communism*, which is wholly opposed even to the law of nature, and which, being once admitted, the rights, goods, properties of all, yea, even human society itself, would be utterly subverted. Of this kind the machinations, sprung from the depths of darkness, of those who, being inwardly ravening wolves, creep about in sheep's clothing, with a false and fraudulent appearance of purer piety, severer virtue and discipline, and a show of humility; who captivate by flattery, bind with soft fetters, and secretly kill, turning away men from all religious worship, and slaying and tearing the sheep of the Lord. Of this kind, lastly, to pass by other things well known and understood by you, is that most dreadful plague of volumes and tracts which fly about in every direction, and teach men to sin; which being cleverly written, and full of fallacy and artifice, and distributed at an immense expense in every place to the destruction of Christian people, disseminate every where their pestilent doctrines, deprave the minds and hearts especially of the unwary, and do the greatest injury to religion.

"To this inundation of errors, diffused in every direction, this unbridled licence of thinking, speaking, and writing, it is to be attributed that morals have become deteriorated, the most holy religion of Christ is despised, the majesty of Divine worship is impaired, the power of this Apostolic See is called in question, the authority of the Church is overthrown and brought into ignominious bondage, the rights of the Bishops are trodden under foot, the sanctity of marriage is violated, the rule of every power undermined, and so many other injuries are inflicted, both upon Church and State, over which we have to weep in common with you, Venerable Brethren. Wherefore at a time and under circumstances so critical for the cause of religion, We being anxiously concerned for the safety of the universal flock of the Lord, committed to Us by God, shall, as becomes Our Apostolic Ministry, shrink from no daring and no effort whereby We may, to the utmost of Our power, conduce to the welfare of the whole Christian family\*."

We shall not stop to criticise the form of the document, from which this extract is taken; the bombast which it substitutes in the place of eloquence, is its least, though not its least conspicuous fault. The object for which we have transferred a portion of its contents *verbatim* to our pages, is to bring into

\* *Année de la Religion*, t. cxxxi. pp. 583—592. The Encyclic bears date of November 9, 1848, within five months of the election of Pius IX., and the day after his taking possession of the Apostolic See in the Church of St. John of Lateran.

full view the spiritual arrogance which pervades it; the unhesitating effrontery with which the distribution of the Holy Scriptures and of religious tracts is lumped together under the same head of offence against religion and morals with the blasphemies of rationalism and the impurities of socialism; the adoption and re-enactment of the sentences of condemnation pronounced by former popes against Protestant communions and against Bible Societies; the unmitigated assertion of the spiritual supremacy of the Roman See, put forth obtrusively, in the most offensive terms, carefully collected for this purpose from the storehouse of Romish controversy. To expect from the author of this document measures of reform with a view to purge the Roman Church of the defilement of her manifold corruptions, measures of conciliation towards other communions with a view to heal the breaches and schisms of Christendom, or an abatement of the hierarchical claims preferred by the Roman Church in the proudest days of her power and supremacy, would be the height of ignorance and folly. It is evident, therefore, that if the same man who from the chair of St. Peter's holds this language in the face of Universal Christendom, professes a political creed different from that of his predecessors, such a change is to be attributed not to any change in the views or aims of the Papacy, but simply to a persuasion that a different line of politics will, more effectually than that hitherto pursued, secure the one great purpose which Pius IX. has at heart, no less than Gregory VII. or Innocent X., viz. the spiritual sovereignty of Rome. Instead of expecting any relaxation of the claims formerly preferred by the Romish hierarchy, we shall, on the contrary, be prepared for a re-assertion of those claims with a vigour proportionate to the supposed increase of power arising from the adoption of a political system in unison with the spirit of the times. And so, in truth, we find it; for after exhorting the bishops to vigorous exertion for the maintenance of the "Catholic" Church, and for the discomfiture of the designs of all its opponents, the encyclic acknowledges that the task assigned to them cannot, in such times as the present, be accomplished without much difficulty and danger, and invites them, nay "entreats and adjures" them, to "have recourse with all boldness and confidence to the see of the blessed prince of the Apostles, the centre of Catholic unity, the summit of the Episcopate, whence the Episcopate itself, and the whole authority of that office flows, as often as they may find themselves standing in need of the aid, assistance, and protection of the authority of that see<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> *Ami de la Religion*, t. cxxxi. p. 601.

Placing by the side of this encyclic the measures of liberal reform, the amnesties, the popular exhibitions of every kind, which characterized the beginning of the reign of Pius IX., it is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than this, that he had conceived the bold idea of restoring the supremacy of the chair of St. Peter in all its plenitude, by making its occupant the idol of the multitude. He hoped to make the democracy the foundation on which to establish more firmly and more powerfully than ever the spiritual dictatorship of Rome. Necessity had, as we have seen, originally suggested this idea; the bold character, and the sanguine temperament of Pius IX., adopted it without a sense of compulsion, and prepared to act it out with more than ordinary vigour.

The result exceeded the calculations of the Pontiff himself. He had laid himself out for gaining popularity, and so far he succeeded; but another effect was produced which he had evidently not anticipated, though it was perfectly natural, and might easily have been foreseen. Hitherto the influence of the Papacy had given to the Roman Catholic populations generally a conservative tone; this was the rule; if in some countries it was, as we have seen, otherwise, they formed an exception, arising from peculiar political complications. Even where the Romish hierarchy took its stand upon liberal principles, as in France and Belgium, it was never once suspected that the Papacy could really sympathize with liberalism; the whole was considered as a clever manoeuvre, a piece of special pleading, and nothing more. The case was very different when Pius IX. placed himself in the front rank among the liberal sovereigns of Europe. By that move the influence of the Papacy was transferred from the scale of conservatism to the opposite scale of liberalism throughout Europe. In countries where, in systematic opposition to the existing government, the liberal side had been embraced by the popish clergy, and principles of freedom and equality appealed to, that which had hitherto been done on calculation and for a specific end, was now done *ex animo*, in enthusiastic imitation of Pius IX. In other countries, where the Romish population had constituted the main strength of essentially monarchical governments, that support was suddenly withdrawn from them; the good "Catholics" suddenly became indifferent citizens:—where they were intermixed with a Protestant or a free-thinking population imbued with the spirit of liberalism, they fraternized with those to whom hitherto they had been invariably opposed; where they formed the great bulk of the population, as for instance in Austria, and where in consequence the progress of revolutionary ideas had appeared morally impossible, the whole tone and spirit

of the people became changed as by magic. Conservative rulers were all at once exposed to odium of a novel kind, likely to be more pernicious in its effects than any kind of prejudice they had formerly incurred. If they were Roman Catholic, the question was asked, why did they not take example by the Holy Father? The head of the Church, the "immortal Pius," had turned reformer; and who were they, the sons of the Church, that they should attempt to contravene his benevolent conceptions, and maintain despotic forms of government after the high authority of St. Peter's successor had declared that the time was come for them to be abolished, and liberal institutions substituted in their place? If they were Protestant, the question was asked, no less forcibly, whether it became Protestant sovereigns to lag behind in the march of reform, when even the Pope, so long considered as the representative and incarnation of all that was illiberal, had placed himself at the head of the movement? In either case, the perplexed rulers had no answer to make to these inquiries. It was true, and they could not deny it, that the Pope was outbidding them in political concessions to the popular voice; it was for them to show cause, why they should not follow in his wake, if they were Roman Catholics, *à fortiori*, out of reverence for the Head of the Church; if they were Protestants, again *à fortiori*, because it was manifestly unmeet that Protestantism should be outstripped by Popery in the race of freedom. The thorough-paced "liberals," meanwhile, who had no other creed than a political one, failed not to discern their advantage, and to turn it freely to account.

How far Pius himself was carried by the enthusiasm of the moment, by the intoxication of popularity, beyond the bounds which he had originally proposed to himself, it is difficult to say: nor is there any evidence to show the precise nature of the communications which took place between him and the sovereigns of Europe, in consequence of the new attitude which he himself had assumed, and the predicament in which he had placed them. There is, however, reason to believe that remonstrances were not wanting; that Pius IX. was reproached, if he was not threatened, for the part which he had acted. A manifesto of a most extraordinary character, hardly to be accounted for without some such provocation, appeared early in the second year of his pontificate. The occasion of it was afforded by the death of the arch-demagogue of Ireland, the mighty mouth-piece at once of Popery and of sedition.

Ireland, known to us as the land where vagrancy, pauperism, and riot are bred, the very plague-spot of the empire, is surrounded in the eyes of Rome with the halo of martyrdom; it is



one of the brightest jewels in the tiara. In the spring of the year Pius IX. had, with an affectation of paternal solicitude hardly compatible with a proper regard for the title of Queen Victoria, issued his encyclic ordering prayers and collections for that portion of the United Kingdom. Preoccupied as the Roman world already was on more than one account with Irish topics, the pilgrimage of the chief agitator to the eternal city, and his death in a foreign land, could not but excite intense interest. Nothing, therefore, was more natural than that the event should be recognized at Rome in a manner suited to the nature of the case, that is, by a funeral oration; nor was there anything extraordinary in the selection of Father Ventura, a man no less eminent for his eloquence than for his intimacy with Pope Pius, for the office of giving utterance to the sentiments of Rome on this heart-stirring occasion. But there was nothing in the circumstances connected with O'Connell to call forth any general declaration as to the proposed policy of Rome towards the European powers; and we must, therefore, conclude that the manifesto on this subject, which the discourse of the learned Theatine contained, was either a gratuitous challenge thrown out to the European governments, or that it originated in a state of feeling between those governments and the Pope which it is not difficult to guess at. Considering the station of the preacher, and his constant intercourse with Pius IX., the former supposition can hardly be entertained; and there remains, therefore, only the other, viz. that Father Ventura was "speaking advisedly," when from his pulpit he aroused the attention of all Europe by his famous declaration of the alliance to be accomplished between the Papacy and the democracy.

"The emperors," the celebrated orator said, "who, after embracing Christianity, refused to comprehend Christianity, who dared to continue a system of Pagan despotism over the Church, were left in the lurch by the Church; they sank down to that low level which has procured for the records of their reigns the title, 'History of the Low Empire;' and they vanished from the political stage without heirs and without successors. The Church, which despises none, but seeks all, whose business it is not to cast away, but to gather, and to sanctify whatever has power and life, then turned to the barbarians whose hands had executed justice upon the baseness and blood-guiltiness of the Roman empire; she washed their hands with a little water, she anointed their foreheads with a little oil; and so accomplished the miracle of a Christian monarchy. If ever, therefore, their successors, surrendering themselves to the action of the Pagan and essentially despotic element, should renounce the Christian element, whose essence is freedom and love, and the doctrine of the religious liberty of the

nations, and the independence of the Church, the Church will be able to do without them; she will, perchance, turn towards the democracy, baptize that wild matron, Christianize her, as she formerly Christianized the barbarian; she will acknowledge one and another of her sons whom events have raised to the throne, set upon his forehead the mark of divine consecration, and say to him, 'Rule thou;' and he will rule, in spite of his plebeian origin. For there is no other stay, or salvation, or defence, or chance of duration for any government, except by giving to the Church her freedom, and by treating the nations, and respecting them, as the Sons of God<sup>2</sup>."

This demi-official announcement of what the Papacy might do, if the sovereigns of Europe were not prepared to follow the example set them by the Pope himself, was not calculated to soften the effects of the previous demonstrations of liberalism on the part of Pius IX. The liberals appealed with more confidence than ever to the sanction of the Pope in behalf of the new ideas which were to govern the world. So universal did this opinion become, and so inconvenient the use which was made of the name of *Pio Nono* by political and religious radicals of every shade, that the Pontiff felt himself called upon, in self-defence, officially and publicly to protest against the supposition that his sympathies were with the movement party, and to separate himself, as far as words could do it, from the radicalism with which he had unwarily identified himself, in the hope of using it as a tool for his own ends. This he did in the memorable Allocution of December 17, 1847 (No. 2 at the head of this Article), in which he says:—

"We have to express to you, Venerable Brethren, the extreme surprise which has penetrated us in receiving a writing composed by a man invested with an ecclesiastical dignity<sup>3</sup>, and published in print; for this man, speaking in the book in question of certain doctrines which he calls the traditions of the churches of his country, and by which it is intended to restrict the rights of this apostolic see, has not hesitated to assert that these traditions are highly esteemed by us. But far

<sup>2</sup> English Review, vol. viii. p. 250.

<sup>3</sup> Who the party here alluded to is, does not appear. The *Ami de la Religion*, some time after the publication of the Allocution, contained the following mystification on the subject:—"There is in the last Pontifical Allocution a passage in which the Holy Father disavows certain assertions of a writing published by a person 'invested with an ecclesiastical dignity,' whom his holiness does not designate otherwise than by this general description. This passage has given rise to many commentaries: every one has set about forming his conjectures as to the writing, and as to the author to whom it was supposed that it might refer. We have, like every body else, heard more than one name mentioned; but, by making ourselves the echo of all those rumours, we should have thought ourselves wanting in respect towards the persons so designated, and guilty of an act of serious irreverence towards the august Pontiff, who has not seen fit to express himself more explicitly."

be it from us, Venerable Brethren, that it should ever have entered our mind or thought to depart even in the least degree from the institutions of our forefathers, or to refrain from upholding and maintaining the authority of this holy see in all its integrity. We do indeed highly esteem particular traditions, but only such as are not at variance with the sense of the Catholic Church; but, above all, we reverence and most firmly maintain those which agree with the tradition of other Churches, and especially with this Holy Roman Church, to which, to use the words of St. Irenæus, 'on account of its superior pre-eminence, all the Churches, that is, the faithful in all the world, must have recourse, and in which, by men of all countries, the apostolic tradition has been constantly preserved'.

"There is another point, however, on which our mind is much distressed and oppressed. It is certainly not unknown to you, Venerable Brethren, that many of the enemies of Catholic truth are in our day labouring more particularly to place every kind of monstrous opinion on a level with the Christian doctrine, or to mix them with it; and thus striving to propagate more and more that impious system of indifference in all matters of religion: and quite recently, horrible to say! men have been found to offer to our name and our apostolic dignity the insult of unscrupulously traducing us as participating in their folly, and patronising the execrable system before mentioned. For from the measures, no way inconsistent with the sanctity of the Catholic religion, which out of kindness we have seen fit to adopt in regard to certain matters relating to the civil administration of the Pontifical State, for the advancement of the public weal and prosperity, and from the pardon which in our clemency we granted, at the very beginning of our Pontificate, to some men of the same State, they have drawn the conclusion, that we are so benevolently affected towards every description of men as to believe that not only the sons of the Church, but others also, remaining strangers to Catholic unity, are equally in the way of salvation, and may attain eternal life. We cannot find language, for very horror, in which to express our detestation of this new and atrocious insult offered to us. We do indeed love all men from our very heart, yet not otherwise than in the love of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, who came to seek and to save that which was lost, who died for all, who will have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth, who therefore has sent his disciples into all the world to preach the Gospel to every creature, proclaiming that those who believe and are baptized shall be saved, and that those who believe not shall be damned. Let then those who wish to be saved come to the pillar and ground of the truth, which is the Church: let them come, that is to say, to the true Church of Christ, which has in her Bishops, and in the Roman Pontiff, the head of them all, the uninterrupted succession of apostolic authority, which has never had any thing more at heart than to preach, and with all her

<sup>4</sup> St. Irenæus, c. *Hæreses*, l. iii. c. 3.

might to keep and maintain, the doctrine proclaimed by the Apostles, according to the commandment of Christ ; which from the Apostles' age has increased in the midst of difficulties of every kind, and which, celebrated throughout the world by the splendour of her miracles, magnified by the blood of her martyrs, ennobled by the virtues of her confessors and virgins, and strengthened by the testimonies and the sage writings of her fathers, has flourished and still flourishes in every region of the earth, and shines forth in the perfect unity of the sacraments of the faith, and of her holy discipline. We who, however unworthy, are seated in this Supreme Chair of the Apostle Peter, in which the Lord Christ laid the foundation of this His Church, shall never shrink from any trouble or labour in order to bring those who are in ignorance and error, by the grace of Christ Himself, to this only way of truth and salvation. And let all our opponents remember, that heaven and earth will pass away, but that not one of the words of Christ can ever pass away, nor can any change ever be made in the doctrine which the Church has received from Christ to keep, to defend, and to preach<sup>5</sup>."

This is sufficiently explicit to remove all doubt as to the determination of Pius IX. to maintain both the exclusive character and the usurped supremacy of the Roman Church ; and effectually purges him from all suspicion of aspiring to the character of an ecclesiastical peacemaker and reformer throughout Christendom. He is not content, however, with this ; he feels it due to himself to record his reprobation of the sympathy which the radical victories in Switzerland had met with among the liberal party in the Eternal City itself :—

" Moreover," he adds, " we cannot but express to you, Venerable Brethren, the bitter grief with which we were overwhelmed, when, a few days ago, there were found in this our beloved city, the citadel and centre of the Catholic religion, a few, though but very few, almost insane persons, who casting aside the very feelings of humanity, have not been afraid openly and publicly to triumph on account of that most melancholy civil war which has recently broken out among the Swiss, to the great disgust and indignation of the other citizens of this our city. Over that fatal war we mourn from our very heart, not only because of the blood of that nation which has been shed, the fratricidal slaughter, the atrocious, lasting and distressing discord, hatred and dissension, which usually are rife among the people, in consequence especially of civil wars, but also on account of the injury which, as we have heard, has thence occurred to the Catholic cause, and will, we fear, yet accrue ; and lastly, on account of the deplorable sacrileges which were committed at the outset of the conflict, and which our soul shudders to recount<sup>6</sup>."

<sup>5</sup> *Ami de la Religion*, t. cxxxvi. pp. 24—26.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* t. cxxxvi. p. 27.

The high tone taken by Pius IX. in this allocution was not destined to be long sustained. A storm was at this very time brewing at Rome, which swept down before it in rapid succession all the ancient barriers behind which he fancied himself secure, and able to decide what he would, and what he would not, concede to the popular will. Two points more particularly had taken possession of the public mind; one the demand for a regular constitution, the other the determination to procure the expulsion of the Jesuits from Rome. In reference to the former point the Pope had, as far back as the 15th of November, been pressed by the *consulta*, a body created by himself in the course of his reforms, for farther concessions, with a view to give to the political government of the Pontifical States a more secular character. The answer of Pius was equally expressive of his sense of disappointment at the insatiable demands of the liberal party, and of his resolve to make a stand against them:—

“ With a view to the public good, I have from the first moment of my elevation to the pontifical chair, done, according to the counsels with which I was inspired by God, all I could, and am still ready, with God’s assistance, to do all I can, in future,—yet without ever abating one jot of the sovereignty of the pontificate; as I have received it full and entire from my predecessors, so am I bound to transmit this sacred deposit to my successors. I call my three millions of subjects to witness, I call all Europe to witness, of what I have done hitherto, in order to draw near to my subjects, to unite them to myself, to make myself acquainted with their wants, and to provide for them. It is specially for this purpose of becoming acquainted with their wants, and making provision for the exigencies of the state, that I have called you together as a permanent council; for the purpose of taking your advice in case of need, as a help to me in forming my sovereign determinations, on which I shall consult my own conscience, and with a view to make it the subject of conference with my ministers and with the Sacred College. It would be a great mistake to give any other character to the functions which you are about to discharge; to see in the council of state which I have just created, the realization of utopian theories, and the germ of an institution incompatible with the pontifical sovereignty<sup>7</sup>. ”

Notwithstanding the decided tone which the Pontiff thus assumed in the middle of November, the year did not close without a farther concession; if that can be called concession which was extorted from him by popular agitation. On the 27th of December his *fête* came round, and that day which the year before had been a day of enthusiastic acclamation throughout

<sup>7</sup> *Ami de la Religion*, t. cxxxvi. p. 427.

Rome, was on the present occasion turned to a very different account. There was a demonstration, indeed; but it bore no longer the same loyal character; a mixed multitude with torches and banners ascended the Quirinal; the Pope's *fête* still furnished the pretext for the procession, but its deportment indicated a great change of feeling among the people, and on the appearance of Pius on the balcony, the cries, "*Viva Pio Nono*" were intermixed with others of a less grateful kind. The result was, that on the 29th of December a *Motu proprio*<sup>8</sup> was published, containing a scheme of organization for a council of ministers, assimilating the government of the Pontifical States more nearly to that of secular states, and leaving it open to the choice of the Pontiff from time to time, whether the different ministries should be filled by laymen or ecclesiastics, with the sole exception of the ministry of foreign affairs, which was always to be filled by a cardinal, and the office of secretary of the council, likewise vested in a cardinal. At the same time, the Pope refused to show himself to the people on the first of January, when a similar assemblage took place as on the 27th of December, and it was not till the following day, and after the Senate had published a proclamation exhorting the Romans to confidence and loyalty towards the person of the Pontiff, that he was prevailed upon by the earnest entreaties of the President of the Senate once more to present himself to the crowd gathered on the Quirinal. He did so, deprecating at the same time the continuance of these assemblages, as being calculated to retard rather than accelerate the progress of reform. The reception he met with was on the whole favourable, in consequence of the *Motu proprio* relative to the organization of a ministerial council; but cries of "*Down with the Jesuits*," mingled with the acclamations of the people. A month, however, passed away in comparative tranquillity; the wheels of the new political machine which Pius IX. had called into existence, began to revolve with something like regularity, when a fresh cause of excitement gave a new impulse to the movement party. Several of the neighbouring princes of Italy had been induced, under a greater or less degree of compulsion, originating in the first instance in the example set by Pius IX., to grant constitutions to their subjects; and these being framed upon the model of the French Charter, and of a more popular character than the reforms hitherto introduced in the Pontifical States, now reacted upon them. The movement of Austrian troops into Italy, for which the death of Maria-Louisa and the position of the Duchies of Parma and Modena furnished the pre-

<sup>8</sup> This *Motu proprio* is given in the *Ami de la Religion*, t. cxxxvi. pp. 89—94.

text, while ulterior designs were more than suspected, added fuel to the fire; and after several days of excitement, during which fresh gatherings of the people took place, and cries of "*Down with the Ministers*," were repeatedly uttered, the Pope was induced to make an appeal to the loyalty of his people in a proclamation, dated February 10th, 1848. In this document he promised that the civil institutions which he had of his own accord created, were to be further developed and brought to perfection, with this only reservation, that nothing should be done that was to the prejudice of the Church. After pointing out the progress already made, and indicating some measures then under consideration, Pius IX. adverted to the supposed danger of foreign invasion which pre-occupied the minds of the Romans at the time; and assured them that there was not the slightest reason to apprehend any real danger to the popular institutions of Rome, and of other Italian states, from the interference of foreign powers. The conclusion of the document is remarkable, from the tone it took with regard to the united cause of Italy, a new feature in the revolutionary career of Pius:—

"What danger, indeed," he exclaims, "can threaten Italy, while a close bond of confidence and gratitude, unimpaired by any violence, shall unite the strength of the populations with the wisdom of the princes, and the sanctity of right! As for ourselves, above all, We, the Head and Sovereign Pontiff of the most holy Catholic religion, would have to defend us against any unjust attack, numerous children, who would support the centre of Catholic unity, as their paternal house.

"It is a great gift of God, amidst all the gifts which He has showered down on Italy, to have three millions of subjects with two hundred millions of brothers of every nation and language. This has in other days, and in the midst of the confusion of the whole Roman world, constituted the safety of Rome, and prevented the ruin of Italy from being completed. This will always be its protection, as long as this apostolic chair shall stand upright in the centre of the Peninsula.

"Bless, then, Italy, O Great God! and preserve to it evermore the most precious of all Thy gifts, faith! Bless it with the blessing which Thy vicerent humbly asks of Thee, prostrate with his face to the ground. Bless it with the blessing which the Saints to which it has given birth ask of Thee for it, and the Queen of Saints which protects it, the Apostles whose glorious relics it contains, and Thy Son made man, whose will it was that this city of Rome should be the residence of His vicerent upon earth."

For the moment, this mixture of religious and political fanaticism answered its purpose. Not only was a prospect of further

\* *Année de la Religion*, t. cxxxvi. p. 447.



concessions in the administration of the Pontifical States held out, but Pius had publicly identified himself with the national cause of Italy; and he had adroitly connected with the highly-popular political character of liberator of Italy the lofty pretensions of his spiritual office.

The plan of a representative government began now seriously to occupy the attention of Pius; the great difficulty was how to adapt a form of government which virtually recognized the sovereignty of the people, to the peculiar circumstances of a state, the supreme power of which was vested in the immediate and personal "vicegerent of God." The lofty tone in which Pius had insisted, but a few short months before, on the maintenance of the absolute sovereignty of the Pontiff, was by this time considerably lessened; that which he had so lately declared inadmissible, because incompatible with that sovereignty, he was now actually engaged in elaborating. And not only he had made up his mind to grant a representative government, but he felt it necessary to consult, though indirectly, the feelings of the people on the constitution of such a government. The creation of a Chamber of Representatives was comparatively a trifling difficulty, however dissonant with the theory of the Papacy; the knotty points were, what position was to be assigned in the working of the new constitution to the Sacred College, and in what manner the Chamber of Peers was to be composed. The Sacred College, being composed of members holding their appointments not during pleasure, but for life, is a body to which nothing analogous exists in other representative governments; and its action is so indispensable to the government of the Catholic Church, that either to abolish it, or even materially to alter its composition or its functions, must be wholly out of the question. In this dilemma the idea suggested itself of making the Sacred College the House of Peers of the Pontifical constitution; and with a view to ascertain how far such an arrangement might be palatable, the services of the general of the Theatines were once more called into requisition.

About the middle of February, Father Ventura, who had already been made use of for a semi-official announcement of the future policy of the Papacy towards the European courts, published two pamphlets; one relating to the Sicilian question, in which the entire separation, since effected, of Sicily from the kingdom of Naples, was advocated; the other, under the title "Opinion respecting a Chamber of Peers in the Pontifical States." In opposition to the ultra-liberals, who wished for a Chamber of Peers consisting exclusively of laymen, and to the Moderates, who proposed a mixture of prelates and laymen in the upper house, Father Ventura



argued that the only appropriate body to be interposed between the representatives of the people and the Sovereign was the Sacred College, which was the natural House of Peers in the States of the Church. The pamphlet was confessedly thrown out as a feeler, and it answered its purpose; for the suggestion which it contained met with general disfavour, and the result was that the project was abandoned.

It was a fortunate circumstance for Pius IX. that these discussions had arisen, and that the draft of a constitution had made considerable progress in his hands, when on the 5th of March the intelligence arrived at Rome that at Paris the republic had been proclaimed. This news, as might have been expected, threw Rome into a state of the greatest excitement; assemblages of the people were again formed, but the Pontiff prudently refused to put himself in personal communication with a multitude over which the events of December and February had taught him that he no longer possessed the control of an unbounded popularity. It was therefore arranged that the wishes of his faithful people should be presented to him in the constitutional way by the Senate of Rome. The address of the Senate, and the reply of the Pope, speak for themselves. The former ran as follows:—

“The recent events in France are calculated to exercise the greatest influence over Europe, and especially over Italy.

“The subjects of your holiness, your friends and the friends of the throne, deeply preoccupied by those events, feel themselves called upon to express to you their fears and their hopes.

“In order to give a wise direction to the movement of the political passions which under existing circumstances cannot fail to manifest themselves, your subjects consider the speedy publication of a constitution indispensable, which shall correspond in a liberal manner with the institutions of the other states of Italy. All the forces of the nation must be united to defend order within, and independence without.

“If public opinion had already before unanimously demanded a homogeneous, compact, and liberal ministry, equal to the emergency, this requirement has now become urgent in the extreme. Every delay would entail pernicious and irreparable consequences, from which your generous soul has always recoiled.

“Men capable of sustaining such a weight, and possessing the public confidence, are not wanting among the laity of your states, and public opinion has already pointed them out to your choice.

“You who, in blessing Italy, have before the face of the world associated its cause with that of religion, will understand that your temporal power is closely united to the destinies of our common fatherland. It will be the greatest glory of your pontificate, to have been able to save Italy from the ills with which she is threatened by the storms that are gathering in Europe, and at the same time, while pre-

serving order within, to have laid the foundation of her liberty and recovered her independence."

To this address Pius IX. replied in the following terms :—

"The events which follow or rather hurry on each other, are a sufficient justification of the demand which you have made upon me. Everybody knows that I am actively engaged in giving to the government the form which your lordships call for, and which the people require ; but everybody understands the difficulty of such an enterprise.

"What in a secular state can be done over-night, requires in the Pontifical government mature examination, since it is extremely difficult to trace out the exact line which separates the two powers. I flatter myself, however, that in a few days my labours will be completed, and the constitution published.

"May God bless my desires and my arduous labours ; and if their result is beneficial to religion, I shall fall upon my knees before the crucifix, to give thanks for all the events which He [Qy. the crucifix ?] has permitted ; and as head of the Church yet more than as temporal prince shall I rejoice, if those events turn out to the greater glory of God !."

The promise thus given by Pius IX. was redeemed within the shortest possible time ; after two consistories, in which the Cardinals were called upon to give their advice on the subject, a constitution was published on the 15th of March, as the unanimous result of their deliberations. Its preamble, which is not the least interesting part of it, is to the following effect :—

"It had been our intention, in the development of the institutions which we had vouchsafed to our subjects, to reproduce some ancient institutions, which were long the mirror of wisdom, as it were, of our august predecessors, and which by reason of the march of time required to be adapted to recent changes in order to reconstruct the majestic edifice which they formerly constituted.

"In this course of proceeding we had arrived at the establishment of a consultative representation of all the provinces which were to have assisted our government in its legislative functions, and in the administration of the country ; and we expected that the satisfactory nature of the results would have justified the experiment which we were the first to make in Italy. But since the princes, our neighbours, have judged their people ripe for the benefit of a representative government, we will not hold our people in less esteem, nor reckon less upon their gratitude, not towards our humble person, for which we ask for nothing, but towards the Church and this Apostolic See, the supreme and

<sup>1</sup> *Ami de la Religion*, t. cxxxvi. pp. 635, 636.

inviolable rights of which the Lord has committed unto us, and the presence of which always has been and always will be for them the source of so many advantages.

"In ancient times our parishes (*communes*) had the privilege of governing themselves individually, according to laws which they themselves had chosen under the sovereign sanction. Now-a-days, the conditions of modern civilization do not certainly permit the revival under the same forms of a state of things in which the difference of laws and customs often caused a separation between one parish and another. But we have resolved to entrust this prerogative to two Councils of upright and wise citizens, who in the one shall be nominated by ourselves, and in the other shall be deputed by all the different parts of the state, by means of a suitable mode of election. These Councils will represent the particular interests of each locality in our dominions, and bring them into harmony with that other interest, the most important of all for every parish and province, viz. the general interest of the state.

"And as in our sacred sovereignty it is impossible to separate from the temporal interest of internal prosperity, that other and more important interest of independence by which the independence of this part of Italy has been upheld, we not only reserve to ourselves and our successors the supreme sanction and promulgation of all the laws agreed upon by the Councils aforesaid, and the full exercise of the sovereign authority on those points on which the present act contains no dispositions; but we also intend to maintain our authority entire in those matters which are naturally connected with the Catholic religion and morality. We owe this to the security of universal Christendom, in order that in the State of the Church, constituted under this new form, the liberty and rights of this same Church and of the Holy See may suffer no diminution, and that there may be no example of violation of the sanctity of that religion which we are bound and commissioned to preach to all the world as the only symbol of union between God and man, as the only pledge of that heavenly blessing by which states subsist and nations flourish<sup>2</sup>."

The Constitution, which bears date of the 14th of March, consists of sixty-nine articles:—Art. 1, declares, that "the Sacred College of Cardinals, the electors of the Sovereign Pontiff, is his indispensable senate;"—Art. 2, establishes two legislative assemblies, a "High Council," and a "Council of Deputies;"—Art. 11, abolishes the censorship, but with a reservation of the ecclesiastical censorship established by the Canon law, which is maintained;—Art. 20, determines the six classes out of which the members of the "High Council" are to be nominated by the Pope; the first class being prelates and other ecclesiastical dignitaries;—Art. 21, gives the Pontiff the right to appoint the President and two Vice-presidents of the High Council, or, if he pleases, to

<sup>2</sup> *Ami de la Religion*, t. cxxxvi, pp. 790, 790.

appoint a Cardinal to the presidency;—by Art. 33 and 34, all laws relating to civil affairs, to the administration and government, require to be voted by the two Councils, and to be sanctioned by the Pontiff;—Art. 36, exempts all ecclesiastical or canonical matters from the operation of this statute—and Art. 38, all the “politico-religious” foreign relations of the Holy See; Art. 49, stipulates for an annual payment out of the budget, not subject to an annual vote, of the sum of 600,000 *scudi* for the civil list of the Pope, and the maintenance of the ecclesiastic establishments of the Roman Court;—Art. 52, provides that any law passed by the two Councils is to be proposed by the Pope to the Sacred College, upon whose advice the Pope gives or refuses his assent;—Art. 56—61, makes provision for the uninterrupted freedom of election on the vacancy of the Holy See. With these modifications, rendered necessary by the peculiar character of the sovereignty of the Roman States, the Constitution resembles the general cast of representative forms of government of modern date, with two Chambers, one nominated by the Crown, the other elected by the people.

The spirit in which this large concession to the popular voice was made, may be gathered from the reply of Pius to a deputation which, on the day following the publication of the Constitution, waited upon the Pope to thank him for it.

“The demonstrations which I have witnessed yesterday on the part of my good people of Rome, and which I find to-day confirmed by those who are their legitimate representatives, assure me of the gratitude of my people. I receive the expression of this gratitude with infinite pleasure; and I beg that you will let Rome and the State know that *I have done all I could*, and that the whole Sacred College has willingly and unanimously agreed to it. If it does not satisfy some men who are guided by caprice rather than by reason, I believe that the people generally will be content with it. I repeat, *I have done all I could, and I can do no more*. It is my wish that my sentiments should be known to all, in order that tranquillity may be re-established, and that none of those acts may arise which in some places have disturbed public order. Liberty cannot be separated from order; order begets happiness; from order that unity is derived, which is so necessary to secure to all the quiet enjoyment of liberty, and of the fruit of the seed recently sown on the field of politics. Order is blessed by God and man, and leads to that which all desire: justice, and happiness in the families<sup>3</sup>.”

Thus, within the short space of a year and nine months from his election we find Pius IX. conceding to popular clamour a constitution after the most approved liberal pattern, notwithstanding his previous declaration of the incompatibility of such a form

<sup>3</sup> *Ami de la Religion*, t. cxxxvi. p. 752.

of government with the spiritual sovereignty of the "Head of the Catholic Church." We find him conceding it as the sum of all he could do, reaching to the very utmost limit of possible concession. The torch which he brandished so freely when he ascended the Pontifical chair, has set Europe in a blaze; but the flames have also reached the Vatican itself.

Even here, however, the degradation to which the Papacy has been reduced by its ill-advised alliance with the democracy does not stop. There remain behind three several draughts which from the cup of bitterness mixed by himself, the "Sovereign Pontiff" has had to drain. The first of these is the expulsion of the Jesuits from Rome. Originally a pupil of the Jesuits, Cardinal Ferretti has shown himself their devoted friend before, their strenuous patron since, his elevation to the supreme pontificate, and hard has he struggled to uphold them and to maintain their establishments at Rome. It was through his means chiefly, not to say exclusively, that their disastrous settlement at Lucerne, originally projected by his predecessor, was maintained at the risk of civil war and bloodshed, as the papers presented to Parliament abundantly prove; and it was not, therefore, to be expected that he would, except in the utmost extremity, abandon their cause nearer home. From the very commencement of his reign he had taken every opportunity of testifying his special favour and good-will towards them; every persecution against them on the part of their enemies elicited from Pius IX. new marks of attachment and regard. In the midst of the unpopularity to which he was subject in the last days of December, when he refused to show himself to the people, he proceeded to the Church of the *Gesu* on the last day of the year, to perform his devotions according to annual custom. When towards the end of February the animosity against them increased, he ordered a circular to be issued to the governors of the provinces, commanding them to afford to the Jesuits every protection, and informing them that both the military and the police were instructed to give them the most efficient support for this purpose; nay, as late as the 14th of March, when he had conceded all else, he endeavoured to make a stand on behalf of the Jesuits, and published a proclamation, in which he announced that if the riotous proceedings directed against them should continue, he intended to "put the fidelity of the civic guard, and of all the forces charged with the maintenance of public order to the test." But all was in vain. Within a fortnight after, he found himself compelled to enter into a private arrangement with the General of the Order, for the quiet dispersion and expatriation of its members; without brief or bull, simply by a private understanding between the Pope and the General.

Another triumph which the democracy accomplished over its foster-father *Pio Nono*, is the part which Rome has taken in spite of him in the national Italian war against Austria. The refusal to make war upon his own spiritual subjects in Germany, which he expressed most explicitly in the famous Allocution of April 29, created such a ferment in Rome, that for some time the deposition of the Pope from his temporal sovereignty appeared far from an improbable event. The Allocution itself is an elaborate defence of Pius, against the imputation that "he was the principal author of the public commotions which of late have disturbed several countries of Europe, and Italy in particular." With this object in view, he adverts to the advice given to the Papal Court from time to time by the European sovereigns, even as far back as the latter part of the reign of Pius VII., to introduce reforms into the civil administration of the Pontifical States; and represents the measures adopted by himself at the commencement of his reign as nothing more than the result of that advice. In reference to Germany, in particular, he declares that if he has it not in his power to restrain those of his subjects who choose to join the national Italian war against Austria, the instructions given to his troops never extended further than the protection of his own frontier; and he solemnly protests that being called upon to declare war against Austria, he had refused to do so, and is resolved to persist in that determination at all hazards<sup>4</sup>.

The effect which this Allocution produced cannot be better described than in the words of Pius himself, in the proclamation which he issued on the 1st of May, with the view of allaying the public irritation.

"The words of the Allocution just mentioned have produced a commotion which threatens to break out into acts of violence, and which, not even respecting persons, but treading under foot every description of law, attempts (great God! our heart is congealed at the very thought) to stain the streets of the capital of the Catholic world with the blood of venerable persons, the innocent victims, that are designated to the blind fury of some unhappy men who will no longer listen to the voice of reason. And is this the reward which a Sovereign Pontiff was to expect for the manifold proofs of love which he has given to his people? O my people, what have I done unto thee? *Popule meus, quid feci tibi?* Unhappy men! they perceive not that besides the enormous crime with which they would stain themselves, and the incalculable scandal which they would cause through the whole world, they would only disgrace the cause which they pro-

<sup>4</sup> See the Allocution of which the above is an abstract at full length in the *Ami de la Religion*, t. cxxxvii. pp. 385—388.

fees to maintain, by filling Rome, the Pontifical state, and all Italy with an infinite succession of ills! And could, in such an event (which God forbid), the spiritual power which God has committed to us remain idle in our hands? Let it be thoroughly understood by all, that we feel the greatness of our dignity, and the strength of our power."

This attempt of the Pope to allay the storm, partly by appealing to his former popularity and to the gratitude of his people, and partly by displaying in the distance the terror of his spiritual thunders suspended over the heads of his refractory subjects, served only to make the total prostration of the Papal power more manifest. So far from producing the desired effect, the proclamation infinitely aggravated the position of Pius himself, and of the Cardinals who were most obnoxious to the populace, as it was supposed that they were his counsellors in his resistance against the popular will. The threat of spiritual censures was treated with the utmost contempt, as a *brutum fulmen*; the Pope was compelled to leave the question of war practically in the hands of his ministry, which openly negotiated for the incorporation of volunteers from the Papal States with the troops of Charles Albert, so as to avoid, on the one hand, their being treated as freebooters unprotected by the laws of war, and, on the other hand, to prevent their participation in the war from being considered as the act of their Sovereign. By this subterfuge the official character of Pius IX. was in appearance protected both from the reproach of making war upon his sons in the faith, and from the reproach of having become a traitor to the cause of Italy; while in reality that character was depressed to the lowest level of degradation, by the total disregard shown both for his temporal sovereignty and for his spiritual authority.

Latterly, indeed, he has in some measure recovered his popularity; but the means by which this result has been brought about, is the last and the most humiliating feature in the position to which Pius IX. is reduced. The loyalty of the Roman people towards him who so lately was the admiration of Europe and the idol of Rome, actually hangs upon the breath of—the Abbé Gioberti! A few months ago a refugee in Switzerland, now President of the Chamber at Turin, this clerical agitator has proceeded to Rome for the purpose of re-establishing the tottering authority of Pius IX., and preventing the defection of the "Head of the Catholic Church" from the cause of Italian nationality.

The Pope, precluded, ever since the Allocution of April 29, from all public expression of his sentiments,—so much so that

<sup>6</sup> *Ami de la Religion*, t. cxxxvii. pp. 433—436.

even his proclamation of May 1st was not suffered to be posted up in Rome, or inserted in the official gazette,—is reduced to the miserable plight of placing himself under the patronage of the all-powerful Gioberti, and to put into his hands such proofs as may serve to set him right with his subjects. A private letter which Pius wrote to the Emperor of Austria, on the 3rd of May, entreating him to withdraw from the conflict, and renounce all further claim to his Italian dominions, has been communicated by the Pope to Gioberti, and by him made known to the Roman population. By the publication of this document, and the assurances of Gioberti, who protests that Pius is still the “great,” the “divine” Pius, the “regenerator of Italy,” a re-action in favour of Pius IX. has for the present been produced, and Rome once more re-echoes the sound *Viva Pio Nono!* But how different that cry now, from what it was in the first beginnings of his Pontificate! “How are the mighty fallen!”

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ART. II.—*The Princess; a Medley.* By ALFRED TENNYSON.  
London: Moxon.

It is not with the same anticipations of passionate excitement, which thrilled the souls of those who first enjoyed Lord Byron's ardent tales, that the thoughtful admirer of poetry should expect to be transported, by the perusal of Tennyson's new poem, "*the Princess*." Nor must we look here for the martial vigour and lyric energy characteristic of Scott's more fortunate effusion. Even the great works of Southey—a "*Kehama*" and a "*Roderick*"—though they do indeed appear to grow in beauty the more frequently we may examine them, and develope by degrees all the characteristics of the highest art, from the very first excite our interest, and kindle our warmest sympathies. The lyric bursts of power, the impassioned outbreaks, so frequent in the two former poets named, and also in Moore, and to which they owe their popularity with the vast mass of readers, are rare indeed in Southey, who thinks more of a whole than of the separate parts, and would never sacrifice internal unity to startling effects. Yet still the poetry of Southey, though in one sense it may be said to steal upon the reader, since it is only by degrees that he learns to appreciate its highest merits, at once attracts and interests, and even excites. Not so does Tennyson's "*Princess*." A feeling of calm and pleasurable enjoyment is likely indeed to pervade the soul of the sympathetic reader, of him who fully enters into the poet's intentions, and has the power of perceiving his beauties; but even this may be felt but slightly on a first perusal, especially if that perusal be at all hurried, and something passionate, or pathetic, or in some degree exciting, is anticipated. Nor can we undertake to affirm that there is any antecedent reason derived from Tennyson's lyric effusions, from which his readers should be prepared for a chastely elegant and tasteful, but cold and unimpassioned, strain. This, however, we undoubtedly have before us in "*the Princess*." The tale narrated, though of course improbable to the last degree, or rather impossible, founding its principal incidents (as it does) on the existence of a Female University, is in itself rather interesting than otherwise; certainly amusing. Nevertheless, probably no reader has been excited by this narrative. The only character at all suggestive of passion of any order, is that of the Princess; and that character is too far

remote from reality, too unfeminine, and, let us add in candour, too disagreeable, to excite much sympathy in the most good-natured reader. But, in truth, the men and women introduced in this poem are only shadows, who flit to and fro, suggestive rather of ideas than of individuals, and apparently employed exclusively for the sake of the "high argument." This argument is, the just and necessary dependence, in one sense, of woman upon the stronger sex, in opposition to the theories of Mrs. Jameson and Miss Martineau; together with her moral and independent self-existence, in another sense, as the guide and helper, and not the mere shadow, of man. Perhaps there may appear to be nothing new in this; nor is there, strictly speaking: but there is an old truth, one of the very oldest, set in a new point of view, restored and revived, and that most successfully. We must remember that writers have been found to tell us of late, that woman's destiny was to rivalize, as a race, with man, not only in the arts and sciences, but also in philosophy and in politics. Against all this Tennyson, as we understand him, protests in this poem, with great effect: not that he literally shares the sentiments and opinions to which he has yielded such forcible expression from the lips of the old king in his poem:

*" This is firt,  
As are the roots of earth and base of all.  
Man for the field, and woman for the hearth:  
Man for the sword, and for the needle she:  
Man with the head, and woman with the heart:  
Man to command, and woman to obey;  
All else confusion."*

Even this, harsh as it may sound to some, we believe to be substantially correct; although general affirmations of this nature can never safely be applied in detail. Though, both as Christians and observers, we are persuaded that a certain pre-eminence of authority is due to man, and that that family is rarely happy in which the mother or mistress is superior to the father or master; though we are convinced that few women can be happy who do not in some sense look up to their husbands; we must not be understood to deny that exceptions to this rule may exist, and do exist in fact. Though "the man is the head of the woman," a superior woman may marry an inferior man, and then their positions will be to a certain degree reversed. Nay, if the more intellectual wife can love and respect the moral earnestness and truthfulness of her otherwise inferior husband, they may yet live happily together; but then she will be sure to conceal his partial inferiority, as far as possible, even from herself, as also from him,

and will be ever striving to elevate him in her own esteem. When we say, too, that man is for the field and woman for the hearth, man for the world and woman for home, we only lay down a general rule, indispensable to the welfare of the human race, but by no means question the propriety of exceptions which are also valuable in their degree. Thus the influence of woman upon literature has been upon the whole a healthful one, despite the morbid effusions of an L. E. L. and her swarm of imitators. Woman writes from and to the heart, almost always in a moral and frequently in a religious, strain. Nay, even in science she may possibly now and then achieve great things. We cannot forget a Miss Herschel, or a Mrs. Somerville. But, despite Miss Martineau, we cannot cordially approve of female political economists, and still less of female politicians. We do think that every woman should be a Tory, in a proper sense of the word; for every woman should be a churchwoman if we could have our way, and every churchwoman should wish to preserve the Church and all those great institutions of the country which are closely connected with the Church's well-being. And, to give a still broader reason, every woman should be naturally reverent and affectionate and loyal—loyal to her God, and therefore, in a degree, though not blindly, loyal to her Queen. But then all this is, or should be, instinctive in woman's nature, and not the result of any logical process whatsoever. We would have, indeed, what Lady Psyche foretells as predestined for the future :

" Every where

Two heads in council, two beside the hearth ;"

But we would *not* have

" Two in the tangled business of the world ;  
Two in the liberal offices of life ;  
Two plummets dropt for one to sound the abyss  
Of science, and the secrets of the mind :  
Musician, painter, sculptor, critic, more ! "

And yet there is good mixed with evil here, which we must not be supposed to condemn. Female painters, indeed, not being able to study models, without doing wrong to that "retinue" which is the very charm of womanhood, can never be expected to perform great things, unless in landscape-painting : from female sculptors may kind Heaven deliver us ! But female musicians are essential to the cultivation of their celestial art, which partakes much of the winning sweetness and pure otherworldly beauty of woman's nature : and even female critics may have their use ; for

certain it is that woman feels the beautiful more quickly, and even more deeply, than man ; that she is

“ Twice as magnetic to sweet influences  
Of earth and heaven,”

as the Prince says in Tennyson's poem. And, finally, in a certain sense at least, we are fully prepared to say with Lady Psyche :

“ And every where the broad and bounteous earth  
Should bear a double growth of those rare souls,  
Poets, whose thoughts enrich the blood of the world.”

Let our readers (be it observed incidentally) note the rythmical beauty of this last line ! But perhaps that beautiful passage towards the conclusion of “the Princess,” which is amongst the finest things in the poetry of all lands and all ages, expresses the true relationship of woman to man, and that development of her mental and moral power which is consistent with her highest happiness, far better than a long essay of ours would do. We will therefore give ourselves the pleasure of quoting it.

“ For woman is not undevelop't man,  
*But diverse* : could we make her *as* the man,  
Sweet love were slain, whose dearest bond is this,  
Not like to like, *but like in difference*.  
Yet in the long years liker must they grow ;  
The man be more of woman, she of man ;  
He gain in sweetness and in moral height,  
Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world ;  
She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care :  
*More as the double-natured poet each :*  
*Till at the last she set herself to man,*  
*Like perfect music unto noble words ;*  
And so these twain, upon the skirts of Time,  
Sit side by side, full-summ'd in all their powers,  
Dispensing harvest, sowing the To-be,  
*Self-reverent each and reverencing each,*  
*Distinct in individualities,*  
But like each other e'en as those who love.  
Then comes the statelier Eden back to men :  
Then reign the world's great bridals chaste and calm :  
Then springs the crowning race of humankind.  
May these things be ! ”

We doubt not that they will be, when the statelier Eden does return ; when the spirit of love and faith and knowledge descends upon the hearts of all ; when the lion shall lie down with the lamb ; when the Mystery of Mysteries shall be accomplished.

But yet, even then, the equality of the sexes cannot be absolute. They will not be

"Like to like, but like in difference."

Still man will be the intellectual, even the moral, head; though woman in many things may soar above him. But we are forgetting our critical task, seeking for that distinctive purpose which is to be found in most works of the day that exhibit any claim to superiority, and which is certainly not absent from Tennyson's "*Princess*." We question whether works, equal in length and merit to either Scott's or Byron's poetical tales, could by any possibility be equally void of purpose, if produced at present. We are almost sure that, if they *were* thus void, they would not find a large circle of readers. Tennyson's lyrics, it may be said, have no very distinct purpose; and this is true in a degree, though their general aim certainly seems to be to elevate and purify the soul: but on this very account they have taken no hold upon the general public mind. They have indeed found a large circle of readers, for the sake of their intrinsic grace and beauty; but they have not in any sense become popular. But, though lyrics may be more or less purposeless, a longer poem, to succeed, cannot be so. As an instance of this, it is sufficient to remark, that the only longer poems that have sold well within the last fifteen or twenty years have had a definite religious purpose. We look accordingly, in a new poem from such a man as Tennyson, for something more instructive than "*the Corsair*," more philosophical than "*the Lay of the Last Minstrel*;" we look for the revelation or exposition of some one important truth; and we have found it. But not being able to dwell longer on the moral bearings of the poem (for in such a notice we can of necessity only indicate the train of thoughts suggested to us by its perusal), we pass to the consideration of its literary and poetical merits, which are great indeed.

Concentrated power, deep pathos, wild passion, rapid incident, startling interest, vivid reality,—none of these will be discovered here; or, if at all, in a very inferior degree. Pictorial beauty, sweet fancy, aristocratic grace, true poetic feeling, and most apt and happy language, are the main characteristics of this very charming poem, and are amply sufficient to secure its earthly immortality. Is it great? some critics have asked. A great epic it certainly is not; and a great medley would sound strange, though the "*Midsummer Night's Dream*" of our glorious Shakespeare may deserve that epithet. But it is at all events a *true* poem, and will live; and without seeking to classify its exact degree of greatness, the author, and the critic, and the public

may well rest satisfied with this. "Medley," the poet calls his work; and a medley it is, of "old and new," of the middle ages and the nineteenth century, of the romantic and the matter-of-fact. For this some reviewers have thought proper to condemn the work; as if the reviewer could by any possibility have the right to inform the poet what subjects he should treat of, and in what special style he should treat them. The critic may indeed prefer one style to another, and may say so; but what he has to look to is the internal unity of the work; whether or not its author's intentions have been realized. In this instance it is perfectly obvious that the poet designed from the first this charming combination of things old and new: this combination was his distinctive aim, and it is realized with a grace which probably none but himself could have attained; for Browning would have failed in ease, and there is no other poet we could name at all competent to the task. Nevertheless, the ignorant critic, with wondrous sagacity, discovers that modern civilization and ancient romance are strangely intermingled, and proceeds to regret that Tennyson was not either more decidedly humoristic or more gravely solemn, so as to make his work "all of one piece." Why it is all of one piece, and this wondrous unity in seeming discord is the distinctive charm of the work. This quiet conversational grace, which glides so easily and almost without perceptible change "from grave to gay, from lively to severe," this it is which is so eminently Tennysonian, and so impresses the "cachet" of its author upon the work. And perhaps the very aristocratic nonchalance, the tone, as it were, of fashionable ease and quietude, which pervades the whole poem, will secure more attention than a truly passionate inspiration would have done, which the modern vulgarity of high life might possibly stigmatize as vulgar.

We do not think it at all necessary or expedient to furnish a summary of the narrative or tale to our readers, most or all of whom, if they have not read the poem, will have read more than one account of it. But we must not omit to praise the charming Prologue or Introduction, which reminds us of the Proem to the same poet's "King Arthur," and is a model of conversational grace. Lilia is a truly sweet creation, whose being seems revealed to us in a few words:

"A rosebud set with little wilful thorns,  
And sweet as English air could make her, she:"

Her playful scorn of us men is very bewitching:

" 'What kind of tales do men tell men,  
I wonder, by themselves? ' "

A half-disdain  
Perch'd on the pouted blossom of her lips."

And her assertion of woman's capability of greatness, in answer to her brother's doubt, is truly characteristic.

"Where,  
Asked Walter, 'lives there such a woman now?'  
Quick answered Lilia, 'There are thousands now  
Such women, but convention beats them down:  
It is but bringing up; no more than that;  
You men have done it: *how I hate you all!*  
O were I some great Princess, I would build  
Far off from men a college of my own,  
And I would teach them all things: you should see."

And now let us to the tale itself, without lingering to dilate on the impossibility of such a tale being spoken off hand in the same peculiar tone by seven students, and passing rapidly through its pages note in turn the beauties which have particularly engaged our attention. And first, the opening portraiture of the Prince who tells the story, of his mother, "mild as any saint," and his "good father," who thought "a king a king, and picked offenders from the mass for judgment," is most happily suggestive and poetical. The Princess, too, and the princely boy's romantic worship for his chosen bride, are prettily shadowed forth. Then her refusal to keep the compact is gracefully conveyed, and most admirably depicted is the wrath of the old king, whose face

"Grew long and troubled like a rising moon,  
Inflamed with wrath,"

who tore the missive of her royal father, and swore at the last,

"That he would send a hundred thousand men,  
And bring her in a whirlwind."

Well and gracefully conceived is the Prince's remonstrance; and his eventual flight with his two friends to seek his coy betrothed is most happily described. Gama, the Princess's father, though not a very pleasing object of contemplation, is self-consistent and true to nature, with his

"Garrulous ease and oily courtesies."

The host's astonishment on the university boundary at the resolve of the youths to force an entrance is also well depicted. We like less the description of the strange voices heard within the university when the youths in their maiden garb at last rode into it. The

"Clocks and chimes like silver hammers falling  
On silver anvils,"

appear to us suggestive of affectation; but we know not that we have the right to dwell on such slight specks as these, if specks they be, when we experience so much delight. And yet we must record our objection to the concluding lines of the first section, where, with a somewhat far-fetched analogy, the Prince is made to say,

"And then to bed, where half in doze I seem'd  
To float about a glimmering night, and watch  
A full sea, glazed with muffled moonlight, swell  
On some dark shore just seen that it was rich,"

which is very artificially conceived and very awkwardly expressed. In the second section the Princess dawns upon us in all her splendour. Her beauty is poetically described. Her speech asserting woman's rights, though not very vigorous, has merit. But the Lady Psyche is here introduced to us with characteristic ease and grace;

"A quick brunette, well-moulded, falcon-eyed,  
And on the hither-side, or so she look'd,  
Of twenty summers."

Her lecture is admirable of its kind: suggestive in its happy irony of that modern empiric philosophy which professes to unravel all things. Her discovery of her brother in his female disguise is well told; and the appeals of the three youths to her feelings, though rather lengthy, have all much beauty. One of the few passages in the poem approaching to pathos occurs here when Psyche has softened.

"With that she kiss'd  
His forehead, and a moment after clung  
About him, and betwixt them blossom'd up,  
From out a common vein of memory,  
Sweet household talk, and phrases of the hearth,  
And far allusion, till the gracious dew  
Began to glisten and to fall."

Then comes the sweet Melissa,

"A rosy blonde, and in a college gown  
That clad her like an April daffodilly  
(Her mother's colour) with her lips apart,  
And all her thoughts as fair within her eyes,  
As bottom agates seen to wave and float  
In crystal currents of clear morning seas."



The lectures are admirably described, with their quotations of

"Jewels five-words-long  
That on the stretch'd forefinger of all Time  
Sparkle for ever."

And Cyril's good-humoured scorn is no less happy of its kind.

"'They hunt old trails,' said Cyril, 'very well;  
But when did woman ever yet invent?'"

What say our lady readers to this?—The unamiable lady Blanche is most graphically portrayed. But we must on. Melissa's narrative of the discovery in the third section is very natural and very graceful. But here we are, perhaps, mainly struck by the Princess's fine speech to the disguised Prince. How exquisitely womanly and natural, through all her scorn, is the exclamation,

"Yet will we say for children, would they grew  
Like field-flowers every where! we like them well:—  
But children die! and let me tell you, girl,  
Howe'er you babble, great deeds cannot die:  
They with the sun and moon renew their light  
For ever, blessing those that look on them."

Then the excursion is charmingly depicted: we could linger over every page, and sometimes over every line, but have not space for reference. In the fourth section are introduced two songs which have been perhaps somewhat overpraised: certainly they do not stand out from the poem by their distinctive excellence. The first, respecting "the days that are no more," is soft and smooth, but not extremely original; and the second, "O swallow, swallow," though pretty, is rather insignificant, despite the one sweet verse,

"Why lingereth she to clothe her heart with love,  
Delaying as the tender ash delays  
To clothe herself, when all the woods are green."

There is far more poetry, and even more meaning, in the Princess's poetical comments. The discovery is unnaturally brought about by such a song as Cyril would never sing. Indeed, this strangely vulgar coarseness is a blot upon the poem. Cyril might have trolled a tavern-catch, no doubt, but not one of the order here suggested. The Princess's flight and fall are graphically portrayed; but the account of the Prince's saving her is somewhat overwrought. The subsequent night council and trial of the Prince are eminently poetical. Specially to be noted for picturesque propriety is the account of the Princess's female body-guard. The fifth section, with the glorious old

King's denunciations and the Prince's poetical defence of his cruel loved one, and the desperate encounter in the lists, presents much of interest, though we must content ourselves with one general word of praise. And yet we must confess that the battle-scene is somewhat confused, and appears to be overlaboured. The sixth section upon the whole pleases us the least, though it has its beauties. The Princess's exultation in her enemies' fall, whilst two of her own brothers lie dangerously, if not mortally, wounded, is positively displeasing, and the whole scene is somewhat devoid of interest. Nevertheless, Lady Psyche's grief for her child is beautifully described, and the thawing of Ida's will is finely told :

“ And then once more she look'd at my pale face :  
Till understanding all the foolish work  
Of Fancy, and the bitter close of all,  
Her iron will was broken in her mind ;  
Her noble heart was molten in her breast.”

The seventh and last section is one of the most beautiful. The love of Melissa and Florian is sweetly suggested, but the main interest is centred in the gradual growth of the Princess's love for the wounded and all but insensible Prince. The last interview between them, which brings about their union, is exquisitely treated. How beautifully is it said, when the repentant Ida feels the folly of her designs,

“ Her voice  
Choked, and her forehead sank upon her hands,  
And her great heart through all the faultful past  
Went sorrowing in a pause I dared not break.”

And then how nobly is she cheered by the Prince in speeches, which we have already quoted in part, and from which we now need only extract these few lines, which occur after an allusion to the Queen his mother :

“ Happy he  
With such a mother !—faith in womankind  
Beats with his blood, and trust in all things high  
Comes easy to him ; and tho' he trip and fall  
He shall not blind his soul with clay !”

And now we must bring our *compte rendu* to its close. The so-called conclusion, or Epilogue, is in perfect keeping with the Prologue. Having spoken, however, of the exquisite fancy displayed in the similes introduced in this poem, we must give a

few samples of them. Maintaining, that women differ as much as men from one another, the Prince says,

"The violet varies from the lily as far  
As oak from elm."

Again, we read,

"But, Ida, with a voice that like a bell  
Toll'd by an earthquake in a trembling tower  
Rang ruin, answer'd full of grief and scorn."

Again, an exquisite Northern image :

"For I was young, and one  
To whom the shadow of all mischance but came,  
As night to him, that sitting on a hill  
Sees the midsummer midnight Norway sun  
Set into sunrise."

Melissu's description of the stern Lady Blanche.

"'Tis my mother,  
Too jealous, often fretful as the wind  
Pent in a crevice."

The Princess derides

"The woman-phantom, she that seem'd no more  
Than the man's shadow in the glass."

The dawning of love is thus delineated :—

"Love, like an Alpine harebell hung with tears  
By some cold morning's glacier ; frail at first,  
And feeble, all unconscious of itself,  
But such as gather'd colour day by day."

Here we pause, though we might multiply such samples six-fold : but have we not already shown that grace, and fancy, and choice language, and pictorial beauty, and cultivated taste, and, let us add, in general, sound sense, are combined in this charming Medley ? And what more is needed ? True, it is not without faults : even the rhythm is occasionally too free. A certain freedom is very agreeable, and adds to the enjoyment of such a poem : but we do not like, as a line,

"Palpitated, her hand shook, and we heard,"—

or,

"Strove to buffet to land in vain. A tree :"

and still less defensible is

"Among us, all out of breath, as pursued."

The insertion of an "if" before the "pursued" in this latter line would make it read correctly. Perhaps the printer is to blame.

There are, also, occasional expressions which we cannot approve of.

“ She to me  
Was proxy-wedded *with a bootless calf*  
At eight years old,”

certainly appears absurd. Equally, or almost equally unpleasant is

“ The tops shall strike from star to star, the fangs  
Shall move the stony bases of the world.”

An occasional diffuseness, too, must be complained of, accompanied by a very unnecessary obscurity, not redeemed by that concentrated power which makes us bear with the greatest of all living dramatists (if we except perhaps the German Grillparzer),—we mean Robert Browning. Still, with all its drawbacks, “the Princess” is one of the most charming poems, take it for all in all, in our own or any language, and should be recognized as such. Enthusiasm should not be reserved for the time when the poet has descended to his last earthly resting-place, and cannot rejoice in the sympathy and admiration of his fellow-men. No; let us give the living poet his full meed of praise; not indeed concealing what we may consider his defects, but proudly confessing and rejoicing in his genius. Let us not be told that this is an age devoid of poetry. So bright a galaxy of bardic stars does not indeed glitter as some five and twenty years ago, when Byron, Southey, Moore, Shelley, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Crabbe, Scott, Keats, Milman, and other immortals, were pouring forth their strains; but we have still the most graceful of all modern poets in Tennyson, and the most intensely dramatic in Robert Browning. Our living religious poets, too, may proudly assert their claims to honour: and Miss Barrett, Martin Farquhar Tupper, the author of “Proverbial Philosophy,” Marston, by right of his “Gerald,” and others, still vindicate in their degree the glories of the bardic line. Browning, Miss Barrett (or rather Mrs. Browning), and Tennyson, have a closer bond of union than the rest, in the combination of extreme grace with exquisite pathos. Of this pathos Tennyson has given us but little in “the Princess.” Let us trust that it is reserved for future productions. What he has given, however,—and in saying this we feel that we assert much (whatever his literary adversaries may imagine),—IS TRULY WORTHY OF HIM.

ART. III.—1. *Protest against the Ministrations in Madeira of the Rev. T. K. Brown in Opposition to Episcopal Authority and in Violation of the Laws and Constitution of the Church of England. By the Rev. R. T. Lowe, the Chaplain licensed by the Lord Bishop of London. Funchal, 1848. (Sold by Rivingtons, London.)*

2. *Appendix to a Protest, &c. by the Rev. R. T. Lowe. Funchal, 1848. (Sold by Rivingtons, London.)*

3. *The Madeira Chaplaincy treated of, and the Supremacy of the Queen vindicated, in a Letter addressed to the Rev. R. T. Lowe, by T. K. BROWN, M. A., British Chaplain at Madeira. London: Hatchard, Piccadilly.*

EVERY one knows of the great struggle in the eleventh and twelfth centuries made by the Church against lay *Investitures*, as they were called, or the scandalous attempt made by princes and other laymen to confer ecclesiastical offices without the intervention or consent of the ordinary. But few, we suppose, had anticipated that we should see the same attempt made in our own time, as we have in the cases of Bishop Hampden and the Chaplain at Madeira. For the benefit of such of our readers as have not given this question much consideration, or who have been induced to regard it as of trifling importance, we shall now offer a few remarks on the subject at issue. It is well known, then, to have been, from the first, a fundamental principle in the Church, that each bishop is paramount in his own diocese, in all spiritual matters; that in him, in fact, *alone*, the spiritual care of all the souls within the sphere of his bishopric originally lies. From Christ our Lord, the bishop of our souls, this care and responsibility was derived to his apostles, and from them to the bishops of the Church generally, who are their successors. To aid them in the effectual discharge of this duty, the early bishops had their colleges of priests and deacons, whom they ordained and kept near them *in partem sollicitudinis*, that is, to assist them and relieve them of such parts of their duty as they were competent to discharge, and as the bishop at his discretion should appoint. In process of time, when dioceses became divided and distributed into parishes, the priests no longer resided with their bishop, going forth at his bidding to discharge whatever office he thought fit to entrust them with, but were permanently fixed in the several parishes, in each of which they acted as the bishop's deputies, discharging the necessary sacerdotal functions for the benefit of the people so entrusted to them by the bishop and *in his stead*. It must be

observed that to the bishop *alone* pertained the right of *collation*, or of placing each priest in his particular parish or station, and granting him permission to exercise his office there. As time went on, pious and holy men granted endowments to these parishes for the maintenance of the priest, and built churches to the honour of God; and, as a natural result, were in many cases allowed the privilege of *nominating* or recommending to the bishop such priests as they wished to hold the benefices, and enjoy the fruits of their liberality. A priest so recommended or nominated was, after examination, if no just cause for refusing him appeared, instituted to the benefice by the bishop. This was the origin of *patronage*, and, so far, no evil effects followed: the bishop in allowing the patron to nominate, no further restricted his own plenary authority, than by undertaking to appoint his nominee in preference to another clerk, provided he were competent and fit. So far then, no infringement of the bishop's spiritual authority was made; but in time (it began with Charles Martel, in France) the lay patron came to be dissatisfied that the bishop should have this veto on his appointment, and anxious to possess the power to confer the preferment in his gift, freely, on whom he would, whether competent or incompetent, *without reference to the bishop at all: i. e.* he desired to *collate*<sup>1</sup> as well as to *present*; in other words, to possess the monstrous power of his own mere will, to confer upon his clerk authority to act *for the bishop and in his stead*, without the bishop having any voice in the matter! Against this sacrilegious assumption of spiritual authority on the part of the lay patrons, the Church stedfastly and unremittingly set herself. Hence the quarrels of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Church all along maintaining the Gospel principle, as laid down in the 8th canon of the Council of Nismes, A.D. 1096: all who enter upon the discharge of a divine ministry otherwise than through the door of apostolic vocation and mission, are to be regarded as thieves and robbers; and subsequently in the 7th canon of Lateran, A.D. 1123, "*sicut sanctis canonibus constitutum est, animarum cura et rerum ecclesiasticarum dispensatio in episcopi judicio et potestate permanent:*" and in can. 18, "*in parochialibus ecclesiis presbyteri per episcopos constituentur*"<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> That the right of *investiture* claimed by lay-patrons was nothing more nor less than that of collation, appears evidently from the letter of pope Alexander III. to the Bishops of England. "*Emersit quedam prava consuetudo, et in illis partibus inolevit, scilicet quod laici ecclesias et ecclesiastica beneficia soleant passim, quibus vellent conferre et auctoritate sua clericos investire.*"

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the following synodical constitutions:

Quia in tantum quorundam laicorum processit audacia, ut, *episcoporum auctoritate neglecta*, clericos instituant in ecclesiis, et removeant, etiam cum voluerint.—Lateran, A.D. 1179. can. 14. [Ut nullus

That such was the universal faith of the early fathers and councils (as the prelates at Lateran stated) has been abundantly shown by our own Bishop Jeremy Taylor in his "*Episcopacy Asserted*;" who in section xxxvii. of *Forbidding Presbyters to officiate without episcopal licence*, after citing a multitude of passages from the writings of the early Christians and from the canons, to prove that in the apostolic age and in the following centuries no priest could act without a particular commission and local designation from the Bishops, thus concludes: "This whole discourse shows clearly not only the Bishops to be superior in jurisdiction, but that they have *sole jurisdiction*, and the presbyters only in *substitution* and *vicaridge*."

We have lived to see this usurpation of the Bishop's prerogative again made by the civil power. Lord Palmerston claims and exercises, in the name of the Crown, the right, not alone to *nominate*, but to *institute*, or *collate*, to all foreign chaplains, under the Act 6 Geo. IV. cap. 87; in defiance of the prescriptive right enjoyed by the Bishops of London ever since the Reformation, of exercising jurisdiction over all English clergymen and congregations abroad. He arbitrarily deprives one chaplain, without alleging any fault or giving him any opportunity of defence, and *institutes* another, declaring "that the licence of the Bishop is not *requisite*," and that it will not in future be requested. This is certainly to cut the knot; but we believe his lordship will find that he has cut it only to tie another even less easy of solution. It is all very easy for Lord Palmerston to send chaplains abroad to officiate for English congregations, in defiance of the Bishop of London; and, in his own peculiar *poco-curante* style, think to smooth all difficulties by declaring that the Bishop has nothing to do with the matter; but will churchmen (for whose benefit, we presume, Church of England chaplains are appointed) view the matter in the same light? Will they be so easily satisfied that "continuance in the *apostles'* fellowship" is secured to them by the ministrations of a clergyman who has no other mission than that of a cabinet minister, and given, moreover, *in direct opposition* to him who sits in the *apostles'* seat? If such be, in truth, the doctrine of our Church, if she really teaches that communion with the Catholic Church is to be obtained through the Queen or her ministers, and not solely through the Bishops,

Ut nullus ecclesiasticum aliquem honorem a manu laicorum accipiat; nullus presbyter capellanus alicujus laici esse possit, *sive concensibus sui episcopi*.—Clermont, 1095. can. 15. 18.

Nullus laicus det vel adimat presbyterum ecclesie, sine consensu presulis.—Tours, 1096. can. 6, 7.

Nulla persona ecclesiastica, vel decimas, seu qualibet alia ecclesiastica beneficia, det, vel accipiat sine consensu et autoritate episcopali.—London, 1127. can. 2.

with whom alone He has promised his presence unto the end, then we conceive all dispute with Rome is settled, and our Church is *no* Church. But, thank God, she knows no such doctrine, recognizes no *spiritual* authority save that which is derived to our Bishops through the Apostles, and, with the fathers of the first Œcumenical Council of Constantinople, “includes under the name of *heretics* those who pretend indeed to hold the sound faith, but who have separated themselves from, and formed congregations in opposition to, our *Canonical Bishops*.” In short, the denial of the whole divine economy of the Church is involved in the denial of this essential and inherent right of the episcopate. The cardinal point, on which the whole system hinges, is the doctrine that each Bishop is the centre of unity, the source of all spiritual authority in his own diocese; to whom each individual believer is united through the priest whom the Bishop, in the exercise of that authority, sets over him. Sever, then, the connexion between the priest and the bishop, and you sever also the connexion between the latter and those who attend the ministrations of the priest. It is idle to say that the priest is still a priest and still retains his episcopal ordination: he who denies that episcopal *mission* is requisite, must of necessity also deny the necessity of episcopal *orders*: they stand or fall together: there is the same authority and evidence to prove the necessity, of both, to valid sacraments and offices.

It remains to be seen whether the legislature will bear out Lord Palmerston in his determination not to present consular chaplains *in future* to the Bishop for examination and approval, and, to gratify the petulance of a foreign secretary, allow our countrymen abroad to be deprived of the privilege which the Act of Parliament was intended to secure to them, of having a chaplain “*regularly* employed in the celebration of Divine service, according to the *Rites and Ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland*.” It is true, that Act does not specifically enact that such chaplains shall be licensed by the Bishop; so neither does it say that he must have been *episcopally ordained*; but it clearly means to state, generally, that the chaplain so employed must be in the same circumstances as a clergyman similarly situated would be in England; i. e., *inter alia*, he must be ordained and licensed by the Bishop, and under his spiritual jurisdiction and control.

Consider, for a moment, the practical effects of this novel episcopate. If a question arises between the chaplain and any

<sup>3</sup> See act 1 Eliz. cap. 1, to show that the decisions of the first four Œcumenical Councils in the matter of heresy are received by the statute law of this country.



portion of his congregation about rites or doctrine,—and in these times how is it possible that such should *not* be the case!—who is to adjudicate? Were it not too grave and sad a matter, would it not seem simply ridiculous to conceive of Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State, in his *bureau*, gravely pondering over the orthodoxy of an obnoxious sermon. Nay, suppose him capable of such adjudication, and suppose him also resolved to support an innocent chaplain against the tyranny of an ignorant and factious majority, (which, however, after Mr. Lowe's treatment, is perhaps too much even to *suppose*,) of what avail is his support? The majority *refuse the salary*; the *Royal Supremacy*, about which such a mighty stir has been made in the present case, is set at nought; the Queen is compelled to withdraw her chaplain, and a new one is appointed. Take away the *essential* feature of an *Episcopal Church*, the necessary subordination of *all* its clergy to the Bishop, and any such congregation, notwithstanding Acts of Parliament and Secretaries of State, becomes simply an isolated assembly, associated for religious purposes, with a hired minister, their creature and servant, holding office, "not during Her Majesty's pleasure," but so long as he continues, by his obsequiousness, to please the taste of his audience, "and no longer." Who, that has read the account of the late strange and shameful proceedings in Madeira, can help calling to mind the somewhat parallel case of Micah: (Judges xvii.) "And Micah said unto him, Dwell with me, and be unto me a father and a priest, and I will give thee *ten shekels of silver* by the year, and a suit of apparel and thy victuals. So the Levite went in . . . and *Micah consecrated the Levite*, and the young man became his priest." When will men learn "that the gifts of God are not to be purchased with money;" that it is not the *name* which makes the priest!

One thing is certain; that if this iniquitous scheme of Lord Palmerston's devising be persisted in, the present state of affairs in Madeira will be multiplied; and at other consular stations, as well as at Funchal, we shall see *two* chaplains,—one appointed under the Act, and the creature of the consul and meeting; the other licensed by the Bishop, and so "sent into the Lord's vineyard by those who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to do so." (Art. xxiii.)

Mr. Lowe very properly delivered to Mr. Brown, on his first arrival in Madeira, the "Protest," mentioned at the head of this article, and which was shortly afterwards followed up by the "Appendix," &c., containing a sort of *catalogue* of authorities in support of the positions maintained in the Protest. In the Protest he has manfully and solidly vindicated his claim to be

regarded as the only clergyman, authorized *by the Church*, to officiate in Madeira; and, in consequence, he faithfully warns our countrymen to forbear attending the ministrations of one whom the Lord Bishop of Cape Town, when on the spot, declared to be a schismatic. The Appendix is an admirable manual of authorities on the subject of episcopal *mission*, and one which in these days ought to be in the hands of all churchmen. Especially we recommend both these little works to the attention of those who are likely to become visitors to the island: they contain simple statements of *facts*, and cannot well fail, we should conceive, to convince the reader on which side in this sad dispute lies the cause of God and His Church.

But should the reader require further confirmation of the righteousness of the cause advocated by Mr. Lowe, and further proof of the iniquity and rottenness of that of his oppressors, let him turn to Mr. Brown's "*Madeira Chaplaincy treated of, and the Supremacy of the Queen vindicated.*" Of which very swelling title we shall only remark, that we wish our beloved Sovereign a better champion, should her just supremacy be ever called in question, as it certainly has not been in the present case.

The drift of Mr. T. K. Brown, in the work before us, is naturally enough to make it appear that his appointment, made *ministerially* by Lord Palmerston, was a *personal* exercise of the Royal Supremacy by the Queen; and, further, to magnify this Supremacy into a *Papacy*, and so to justify his own "anomalous and unpleasant position." This was necessarily his line: unless he can prove that the Sovereign, to use Hickes' words, is a "*Civil Pope* to the Church, having power to exempt her subjects from their spiritual obedience and subjection to her," his position is absolutely untenable. If this position be not supported by much argument or authority, it is fair to say that he, at least, endeavours to make compensation by the devoted recklessness with which he magnifies the position itself, submitting even the persons and property of churchmen to the royal will. But after straining to inflate the supremacy to the dimensions of the most intolerable tyranny, and endeavouring to make it appear that the royal supremacy, in ecclesiastical "things and causes," is nothing less than the *arbitrary will* of the Sovereign; who he declares, with some chuckling, upon the authority of that "great and shining light," Bishop Jewel, may even "slay wicked prophets, *depose bishops*, [and, therefore, he argues in a note, *à fortiori*, they may "depose a foreign chaplain, *who is but a presbyter,*"] call councils of bishops and sit with them; teach them

what to do, and punish heretical bishops;" and do many other such feats and achievements; after all this, we are told (p. 23), that "in questions touching the supremacy of the crown, it is a well-known principle in the courts of justice to ascertain, not *quid voluit Rex*, but *quid dixit Parliament*." (*Sic.*) We confess that we trembled for the clergy until this "well-known principle" came to our relief. What security have we, we said to ourselves, that our gracious Queen will not some day, just to keep the royal prerogative in exercise, take off the heads of a refractory chapter, depose my Lord of Canterbury, and, peradventure, put Lord Viscount Palmerston on his seat, or (which were a stretch of the "supremacy" we could, perhaps, have pardoned) "punish" Bishop Hampden on the treadmill for his "heresy."

We may add, that it is singular, when Mr. Brown taunts Mr. Lowe with "a want of argumentative justice," in neglecting to quote the whole of the 37th Article, and triumphantly proceeds to "supply the omission," he does not perceive that he is, in fact, completing the demolition of his own cause; inasmuch as that part of the article which Mr. Lowe omitted, and which his opponent has so kindly supplied, expressly declares: "We give to our princes . . . *that only prerogative, &c.* . . . *that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.*" We say, it is singular that he should have overlooked the emphatic manner in which the Church, by *specifying* the exercise of the *civil sword* to be a part of the royal office, denies to the Sovereign the exercise of the *spiritual sword*. Now, we suppose no one will deny that the *deposition* of a minister of Christ, though he be "but a presbyter," and the institution of another in his place, is an exercise of the *spiritual power*.

Mr. Brown's ideas of episcopal authority, as might be supposed after all this, do not run very high. "The jurisdiction which the Bishop of London has exercised over foreign chaplains," we are first informed (p. 24), "has, as you are well aware, been found to be *inconvenient*." We are *well* aware of it. "And *therefore*," he adds, "it has seemed good to the Foreign Secretary to *alter*" this "ARRANGEMENT." God's own appointed form of ecclesiastical government, that "due subordination of Presbyters to Bishops," which Queen Anne declared to be "a *fundamental* part of the constitution of the Church of England (Appendix, p. 103,) is, in the eyes of the obsequious Mr. Brown, an "*arrangement*," to be "altered" or set aside, at the pleasure of a Foreign Secretary, when found to be "inconvenient!"

But Mr. Brown does not stop here. We are told, that “even if the licence of the Bishop were *legally* necessary for the due discharge of the duties of the chaplain, *you have it not.*” This surprised us,—but a very little consideration induced the conclusion, that in all probability the Bishop of London and Mr. Lowe, who both concur in declaring that the latter *has* the licence, knew more about *that* matter than Mr. Brown. The next sentence showed us that we were right; for Mr. Brown goes on to say that Mr. Lowe “*received* the licence about fourteen years ago;” and that what he means is nothing more than that the “licence *must*, by his (Mr. Lowe’s) supercession, become *unavailing.*” This latter reading is somewhat milder than the first; but Mr. Brown should bear in mind, that though the monosyllable “must” be an easy word to write, it rarely carries conviction to any other mind than that of the writer.

Throughout the question we meet with nothing but assertion to supply the place of argument. We are told, for instance, that the Bishop’s licence *cannot* protect Mr. Lowe, *because* the Act makes the chaplain’s tenure of office dependent upon Her Majesty’s pleasure; and he adds, with great *naïveté*, “if it were so, [*i. e.* if the episcopal licence could protect him,] his licence would render entirely nugatory the condition *affixed* (!) to the Act.” Of course it would; and of course, in common honesty and justice, it *does*. If it was Her Majesty’s pleasure (as it avowedly was) that the Bishop of London should licence Mr. Lowe, and so give him that authority to act as a clergyman of the Church of England which he could not have had *without* the licence, and which no human law could give him, it was tantamount to a declaration, on the part of Government, that it was “the Queen’s pleasure” that he should continue to hold the appointment whilst he continued to hold the licence. Every one knows that the licence was given by the Bishop and received by Mr. Lowe upon that understanding. “No law,” says Mr. Brown, “compelled you to accept the chaplaincy in the first instance, subject to the condition of Her Majesty’s pleasure for your continuance therein; but, having accepted it on these terms, surely you are bound *in honour* not to cavil at the condition, nor to endeavour in any way to evade it.” We will put another case to Mr. Brown, and as nearly as may be in his own words, which may enable him to understand the bearings of the matter somewhat better. “No law compelled Lord Palmerston to request the Bishop of London’s licence in the first instance, subject to the condition to which all licences by law are subject (*viz.*, that of being held during good behaviour); but, having accepted it on these terms, surely he is

bound in honour not to cavil at the condition, nor to endeavour in any way to evade it."

However, we conceive that all the Act intends, by the condition affixed to it, is, in fact, to give the Government the power to terminate its connexion with the chaplain when it thinks fit; in other words, to cease the payment of half the salary made under the Act; in which case, of course, the chaplain would cease to be the *Government* chaplain. More than this, it seems, it cannot well intend, for the simplest of all reasons,—that more than this it cannot enforce. The Queen's "supremacy," of which Mr. Brown is so tender, has in this matter a more potent enemy in the *general meeting* than in the *Bishop*, in whom Mr. Brown has discovered a malignant "*potentate domestical* above the monarch, nay, above the law<sup>4</sup>." We are inclined to think, that had Mr. Lowe been as popular with the heterogeneous majority of the general meeting as, to his credit, he is unpopular and hated, her Majesty would in vain have signified her pleasure that his appointment should be cancelled, and he would have been their chaplain still. Mr. Brown might, in such case, have discovered that there be other "*potentates domestical*" besides Bishops, established, if not "*within the realm*," *without* it, which are "*above the monarch and above the laws*." And we can, moreover, tell him that your general meeting potentate is a sorely tyrannous one, as he may, perchance, come to feel ere long.

Mr. Brown's attempt (p. 26) to prop up his wretched cause by an appeal to the similar abuse of *Donatives*, or *Peculiars*, "*those scandalous remnants of popery*," as Burnet justly terms them, amounts simply to an admission that his present position is, at best, equally scandalous, and equally at variance with all ecclesiastical order and discipline. It is but a poor cause which needs such support; but the Act 3 and 4 Victoria, cap. 86, by pro-

<sup>4</sup> Since the above was written, we have received from the island a curious confirmation of this. It appears that a meeting had been lately held, at which a letter from Lord Palmerston was read by the Consul, recommending the payment to Mr. Lowe of his salary for the years 1846 and 1847. Mr. Lowe's friends—in other words, the resident churchmen of Madeira—having ceased all connexion with the schismatical government establishment, of course did not attend the meeting, the object of which the Consul kept a profound secret. By those of the anti-church party which did attend, the *Royal Supremacy*, as we had anticipated, was put in the background, and that of the general meeting maintained in all its integrity; in brief, the recommendation of Her Majesty, through her principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was scouted. We are glad to find, however, that Lord Palmerston's eyes are at length beginning to be opened to the glaring iniquity of the case. Legal proceedings, we understand, (founded upon the opinions of Messrs. Turner, Q. C., and Roundell Palmer.) are about to be instituted against the noble Viscount for the recovery of the 1200*l.* of which Mr. Lowe has been deprived, owing to the line which his Lordship, illegally, as it would appear, thought fit to take in the case.

viding for the extinction of this abuse, has cut away from him even this poor standing ground. It is sad to see the glad eagerness with which the unhappy man claims the "exempt" clergymen of the archdeaconry of Richmond as his fellows, in "direct opposition to" their Bishop? (p. 26.)

There is one passage in this "Treatise" of Mr. Brown which particularly demands notice, as the imputation conveyed in it has been, more than once, ostentatiously put forward by Mr. Lowe's opponents,—with what justice we shall see presently.

The passage we refer to is the following:—"But when you accused me, would it not have been as well for you to have explained why you disregarded your diocesan's counsel, when he advised you to resign the chaplaincy? If contempt has been shown to the power of a Bishop, surely it is by him who refused compliance with an expressed wish, and not by another to whom no such wish was ever communicated." (p. 30.) We could have believed that the clear and *repeated* refusal, on the Bishop's part, to give Mr. Brown *licence* to proceed to Madeira, was even something more than the "communication of a *wish*," on his Lordship's part, that he should not do so; and we are further bound to add, that it does not reach our apprehension how, even if Mr. Lowe *had* "refused compliance with an expressed wish" of his Bishop, it would better Mr. Brown's position. Is B.'s fault extenuated because A. has done wrong also? We hope this is not a specimen of the morality to be inculcated by the Government chaplain at Madeira. However, to return to the subject of the above passage; Mr. Brown wishes to learn *why* Mr. Lowe *disregarded his diocesan's counsel when he advised him to resign the chaplaincy*. Mr. Brown might have satisfied his curiosity on this matter, we think, without much difficulty. No great mystery has been made of the reasons which induced Mr. Lowe "to disregard his diocesan's counsel;" and it will doubtless be a comfort to Mr. Brown to learn, that the Bishop appears to be perfectly satisfied with them, in spite of the "*contempt*" thus "shown to his *power*." As Mr. Brown professes to be in the dark, we will do what we can to enlighten him on the subject. About a year ago, then, it seems the Bishop wrote to Mr. Lowe, telling him that Lord Palmerston HAVING ADMITTED, in a letter to him (the Bishop of London), *that a foreign chaplain cannot be dismissed without the withdrawal of the Bishop's licence*, it was his Lordship's opinion, that although Mr. Lowe had done nothing to warrant the revocation of his licence, the best course for him to pursue would be, for the sake of peace, to *retire* from the chaplaincy; the principle at stake, *i.e.* that of the independency of the chaplain, by this admission on the part of the

Government, being secured. But, at the same time, the Bishop thought it right to inform Mr. Lowe that certain charges or complaints had been lately laid against him by a party who had resided for some time in Madeira. It is usual, as far as our poor experience goes, to give some notice to the accused party when charges of this kind are about to be made, that he may at least have an opportunity of rebutting them, if false. The Rev. Scott F. Surtees (the author of these charges, as it afterwards appeared), it seems, thought otherwise, or, whatever he thought, he acted otherwise. Possibly he thought that to stab in the dark is a safer course than to encounter one's enemy manfully in open day. The rector of Richmond is not singular in this opinion; although most other men, we believe, would have hesitated to act upon it. It is also a coincidence worthy of remark, that this Rev. Scott F. Surtees should prove to be the bosom friend and rector of the Rev. T. K. Brown; and that he should have so timely exploded this mine under the feet of Mr. Lowe, at the very period when his friend Mr. Brown was nibbling for the licence, and putting forth the interest of his great friends, "the Bishop of Ripon, my diocesan, and the Lord-Lieutenant of the North Riding of Yorkshire (a parishioner of mine)," to secure the chaplaincy. Doubtless these coincidences will occur; but, at least, we must be allowed to consider them *singular* when they do occur. In the present case Mr. Surtees' zeal had been better spared. Mr. Lowe, finding, from the Bishop's letter, that his conduct lay under a serious imputation, of course declined to tender his resignation until his ministerial character was cleared. In the mean time seven persons, clergymen and others, addressed the Bishop, severally and distinctly, in indignant contradiction of Mr. Surtees' charges; and also, in the mean time, Lord Palmerston *entirely* RETRACTED (!) the admission which he had made, and upon which SOLELY the Bishop's advice to Mr. Lowe to retire from the chaplaincy had been given. Need we add, that since this the Bishop has not advised Mr. Lowe to resign!

Cast off by the Church, Mr. Brown, naturally enough, clings with frantic tenacity to the "law." The Act, 6 Geo. IV. cap. 87, he hugs as closely to his heart as ever did Shylock his darling bond. It is the single thread that keeps the sword suspended over his devoted head. The law is his *all*; and, to do him justice, he makes the most of it. The Bishop of London's licence, we are told, is mere waste paper, because no "Act of Parliament" has given him "authority over foreign chaplaincies."

\* We were not aware, until Mr. B. thus intimated it, that the ancient dioceses of this kingdom were assigned "by Act of Parliament." We had believed that the local distribution of episcopal jurisdiction was determined in *Synod*, (see *Con. Act*.)

(p. 23) : and again, "being perfectly satisfied with the *legality* of his appointment," he professes himself (p. 34) to be "at a loss to discover how it can be a scandal and a reproach." At page 38 we hear of Mr. Lowe's enormities in "openly lifting himself up against *the laws* of England. (!) In page 29 "the *power* of *Parliament* in Church matters" is triumphantly put forth ; and, in conjunction with "the late pious and learned Christian, Dr. Arnold," he "feels called upon to protest against the destructive principle of exalting the authority of a Bishop *above* that of the crown and of the *law*." (p. 42.) A loyal sentiment, and a just ; but about as much to the purpose, in the present case, as if he had "felt called upon" to protest against exalting the authority of fathers or husbands "above that of the crown and of the law," —an authority which, when it is *not* exercised beyond the limits by God assigned to it, is, *like that authority which is inherent in the episcopate*, independent of crown and law alike ; and when it *is* so exercised is fitly to be restrained by the *civil* sword.

After all this it is refreshing to find (p. 42) Mr. Brown giving his sanction to the Divine appointment of Bishops. This reminds us of a passage in the ridiculous letter of three "wiseacres" of Madeira, "Geo. M. Lewis, Chas. R. Blandy, and Henry H. Temple," (can these men be British *Merchants*?) to the Bishop of London, (published by Hatchard in 1846,) in which they are graciously pleased to signify their opinion, "that the practice of *almsgiving* is in itself excellent." It is pleasant to find men who *describe themselves* as "neither ignorant, ill-educated, nor turbulent," thus sanctioning the doctrines of Holy Scripture ; and truly they seem to have found in Mr. Brown a pastor qualified in point of *diffidence*, at least, to serve them.

But to return from this digression ; we must not straightway think that we have gained more than we actually have by the Reverend Mr. Brown's admission : his assent to the principle of episcopacy is given with that legal caution which distinguishes him, and which, probably, his daily thumbing of "the Act" has infused into him. It is not of Bishops, *as Bishops*, i. e. as an order instituted by God and *essential* to the Church, that he

53. 56. 98 ; the 6th Can. of Sardica ; and the 9th of Archbishop Theodore's Canons, A.D. 673,) or by the Sovereign, by and with the advice and consent of the Synod. We are also very much mistaken if our modern Colonial Bishops have "any authority" given to them over their respective dioceses by "*Act of Parliament*." We believe that whatever "authority" they possess distinct from that conferred upon them by the Church, is derived from the same source as that of the Bishop of London "over foreign chaplaincies," i. e. from the Royal Letters creating their respective dioceses. (See Mr. Lowe's Appendix, p. 80, for an "Historical Proof of the Bishop of London's Foreign Jurisdiction.") Are we then to believe that our Colonial Bishops possess no jurisdiction over their clergy ?



approves; no such thing; but as "*learned and judicious men*," "*advising, guiding, and assisting*" (not *ruling*, remark,) "*their clergy*;" and that be it observed, "*within their dioceses*," a quiet hit at the Bishop of London, whom we doubt not Mr. Brown would fain have to confine his "*advice and guidance and assistance*" to the clergy of the diocese "*by Act of Parliament*" confided to him. No; it is not on the ground of its divine institution that the sagacious "*British Chaplain at Madeira*" "*gives in his adhesion*" to the episcopal order; but because he considers it *a most effective means* (!) of advancing the "*true interests of the Church and of our holy religion*." When Mr. Brown has grown a little older, and has learnt more of humility and self-distrust than, we grieve to see, he at present possesses; when his crazy boat has been rolled and tossed a little longer in the troubled sea upon which he has adventured himself, he may come to find, what wiser and better men have found before him, that the ways of God's appointment are *always*, not *a*, but *the*, most effective means of arriving at the end which the ALMIGHTY has in view; and that in acting as he has done, and is still doing, against one of the most awful of those "*means*," he has been, and is, "*fighting against God*."

We pass over his silly and disingenuous attempt to pervert the courteous language in which the Bishop of London couched his refusal of the licence into a tacit *approval* of the line of conduct Mr. Brown thought fit, subsequently, in defiance of the Bishop, to adopt. We could have wished that his lordship's conduct had savoured, not less of the Christian gentleman certainly, but, perhaps, more of one who bears the spiritual sword. We humbly conceive, however, with all deference to Mr. Brown, that the duty of "*admonishing him of the sin he was about to commit, and warning him of the consequences*," lay rather with the Bishop of Ripon, "*his diocesan*," than with the Bishop of London, who was therefore as unlikely to "*claim authority over him*," as he was to "*offer him support*," or "*counsel him to disobey Her Majesty's commands*!" (p. 29.)

We cannot, however, afford so to pass over in silence the remarks which he has thought fit to make on Mr. Lowe's conduct. It is a pity, for his own sake, that he had no friend at hand to counsel him to abstain from such flippant and unbecoming personalities; and to point out to him that the spectacle of a young Yorkshire usher, who, by the successful intrigues of others, has been enabled to step into a post of right belonging to another, and for which in more peaceful times he would probably never have been thought of, sitting in judgment upon the man whom he has thus jostled out of his right,—and that man one of Mr. Lowe's gene-

rally acknowledged high character, attainments, and position in the Church,—and, after a residence of barely *three weeks* on the spot, dealing around him at random such accusations, taunts, and insinuations as the following, is scarcely one to win either the sympathy or approval of his countrymen at home or abroad.

“What a contrast does this determination of yours to retain *at any cost of good feeling* your late appointment,” &c.—p. 30.

“Ask yourself whether such BITTER RAILING (*i. e.* in Sect. xiii. of Mr. Lowe’s Protest) is in accordance with” &c.—p. 31.

“The seed of schism which has been so widely sown *by your* revival of obsolete customs,”—p. 32.

“That the advice of the Bishop of London urging on you the necessity of caution and moderation, *was not sufficiently followed*—that the recommendation both of the Earl of Aberdeen and Viscount Palmerston to you (either to desist from a course which had brought scandal upon our national Church, and was derogatory to our national character, or to remove from a place *where your ministrations created religious animosities, instead of promoting Christian peace*) was *entirely disregarded*, ARE MATTERS OF PUBLIC NOTORIETY (!)”—p. 34.

“Whatever *blame* rests upon the chaplain rests upon *you*.”—p. 35.

“By *maintaining a CONVENTICLE* of your own, and by *leading away* others from the Church to this CONVENTICLE,” &c.—p. 38.

“With this party *you have, by disobeying the powers that be,*” &c.—p. 40.

The good taste and good feeling displayed in this language must, we conceive, be patent to every one. It is a pity when Mr. Brown thought fit to charge Mr. Lowe with *bitter railing* in his Protest, that he did not place in juxtaposition with his charge, the following extract from the *Postscript* to the Protest: “I requested him (Mr. Brown) to regard *any words or expressions* in this paper which might *seem strong or harsh*, as *forced* from me only by the very urgent circumstances and extreme nature of the case; and I *urgently deprecated* his considering them designed to be *in any way personally discourteous or needlessly painful*.” (!) The meanness and unfairness embodied in the other taunts and accusations, which we have extracted from the pamphlet, sufficiently betray themselves; the case is too well known to the public at this day, for Mr. Lowe’s conduct to need any defence on our part\*. One thing only remains to be noticed; and as a tit-bit of malevolence we have kept it till the end, although Mr.

\* The firm support afforded to Mr. Lowe by his Bishop, the memorial addressed to his lordship in his favour, but lately, by seventy-one *communicants* of his congregation, and the fact that but *three* out of *fifteen* English clergymen on the island were found to attend the anti-episcopal ministrations of Mr. Brown, may, we think, have at least *equal* weight, with the reader, with the assertions of Mr. Brown.

Brown has thought fit to put it in the head and front of his publication, and in the preface; doubtless hoping that as his pamphlet would be printed, and probably have some circulation in this country, the falsehood of his statement would not be detected here and exposed. The passage in the preface to which we refer is the following: "The history of the Communion plate used in this room" (the *new chapel* in which Mr. Lowe celebrates Divine Service under the Bishop of London's licence) "is as follows: A chalice *was purchased by the congregation*, at the British chapel, in 1844; and afterwards a paten and alms-basin *were added from the money collected at the offertory*. These the late chaplain kept in his own custody; and now *after his supercession by Her Majesty*, and the arrival of his successor, he retains them for the use of the congregation in the room above-mentioned. The reason assigned for this is, that they do not *belong to the Church of England as by law established (!)* but to 'the Church 'in communion with the Bishop of London.'"

Now in this statement the *first assertion is NOT TRUE*: the Chalice in question was NOT purchased *by the congregation*, but with money raised *by private subscription amongst a few members of the congregation*, a list of whose names is extant. The paten and almsdish were *not*, as Mr. Brown fallaciously leads his reader to suppose, "added from" the general fund collected at the offertory, but were purchased with money offered *specifically for that purpose*. However it is better to give the reply to this shameful charge in the words of a printed statement circulated in Funchal, (which Mr. Brown had evidently seen before he put forth his slander, *as he quotes from it*, and he is therefore utterly without excuse,) and which, with many other documents relating to this business, is now before us.

*" Madeira, February 24, 1848.*

"Statements having been made and circulated to the effect that the Reverend R. T. Lowe is not authorized in retaining possession of the chalice, paten, and alms-basin, sometime in use at the late British chapel, in the Rua da Bella Vista, and in employing the same at the administration of the Holy Communion in the congregation of members of the Church of England adhering to the Communion of the Lord Bishop of London, it has been considered due to Mr. Lowe to place the facts of the case before the public.

"In the year 1844, it having appeared to several members of the congregation at the late British chapel that there was no Communion plate properly belonging to the Church of England, (that which was then used being the property of the 'British factory,') a subscription was made for the purpose of providing a chalice. And as the intention of the subscribers was to devote the chalice in question, *for ever*, to the

sole use of the congregation in communion with the Church of England, it was resolved that it should *not be presented to the trustees of the late British chapel*, as no security could be given that that building would continue in the occupation of such congregation; the Act of Parliament allowing the establishment therein of the Presbyterian form of worship.

“Under these circumstances it was agreed that the chalice in question should be presented at the offertory with the following inscription: DEO ET SANCTÆ ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ, HUNC CALICEM HUMILISSIMI EX FILIIS OFFEREBANT. ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DEI MDCCCXLIV. and be thus placed at the sole disposal of the Reverend R. T. Lowe, to whom, as chaplain, by the 16th Regulation, an irresponsible control is given over all sacramental ‘alms and oblations,’ and who, it was well known, would take such measures, in any emergency, as he should deem best calculated to secure the object of the donors.

“With the same intention offerings were subsequently made *at the offertory* for a paten and alms-basin, all which Mr. Lowe, from that period to the present, has kept in his own possession.

“Late events have justified the wisdom of this course. Mr. Lowe holding the licence of the Bishop of London, (the ordinary whose virtual jurisdiction over all congregations of English churchmen abroad has been recognized by the Church and State for at least two hundred years,) and the congregation adhering to him being therefore the only congregation in this island in communion with the Church of England, has in the faithful discharge of his trust, according to the intention of the donors, retained the plate in question, in trust for the Lord Bishop of London, for the use of the Church of England in this place, instead of delivering it up to the trustees of what has now become, as publicly declared by the Lord Bishop of Cape Town, at a meeting lately held at the British Consulate, a SCHISMATICAL PLACE OF WORSHIP.

“The Sacramental plate formerly in use, and belonging to the ‘factory,’ remains, as heretofore, in the hands of the proper trustees.”

With this *exposé* we leave the Reverend Thomas Kenworthy Brown. We rise from the perusal of his pamphlet the more confirmed in our conviction of the unrighteousness of his cause, and the more impelled to offer our heartfelt sympathy and support to Mr. Lowe, who has so nobly, and at such great personal sacrifices, maintained the cause of our free and reformed Church. The schismatical leaven working in Mr. Brown is already bringing forth its inevitable results: placed in a position which cannot be maintained by honest argument, he endeavours to prop it up with the most preposterous and untenable *assertions*; knowing that the Church, in the persons of her bishop and clergy, disowns him, he unites with her enemies in undermining her and depreciating the divinely instituted authority of her rulers. Feeling that he is upheld in his present schismatical position only by an arbitrary exercise of the royal power, he not only shows

himself willing to sacrifice the independence of the Church in his efforts to exalt that power beyond the limits assigned to it by God, but shamelessly charges his opponents, who, having a deeper sense of their obligations than he has himself, remember that there is, above all, a God to whom they must answer hereafter, when all earthly kings and Cæsars shall be no more, *with disloyalty and faction!* But, to use Mr. Lowe's concluding words, "Let not true churchmen and true loyal hearts be disturbed by such calumnious or 'weak devices.'" Let them take courage rather (1 Pet. iv. 13), remembering that precisely this *false* accusation was alleged against their Lord Himself. (St. Luke xxiii. 2.) He is the best, and *in the hour of trial* will be found, as ever heretofore, the truest and most loyal subject of the Queen, who is the most faithful and devoted servant of the Church. He will ever be found most ready to "'render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's,'" who is most steadfast in yielding "'unto God the things which are God's'."

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† Appendix, p. 104.

ART. IV.—*Bishop Jeremy Taylor, his Predecessors, Contemporaries, and Successors. A Biography. By the Rev. ROBERT ARIS WILLMOTT. London: Parker. 1847.*

“I HAVE never believed, and never *will* believe, that any of the writers of the Tracts for the Times will separate themselves from their mother Church.” Thus wrote a respected author in 1844<sup>1</sup>; in the candour, trustfulness, and integrity of his heart. And thus, too, thought many others, who were disposed to look hopefully on the great Tractarian movement. All this while, Mr. Newman was hard at work on the “Development of Christian Doctrine:” and is now, as we all sorrowfully know, where that same respected author never thought to see him; having swept away with him a goodly secession of Anglican Presbyters, and grievously shaken the allegiance, we fear, of sundry others, who still painfully linger within the pale of their mother Church’s communion. And so, Rome is elate of heart, and full of sonorous jubilation, and prodigal of her orisons for the recovery of England,—once the fairest garden of the pontifical domain, but now, for 300 years, overrun with the weeds of a “pernicious heresy.” And, not content with prayers, she is benevolently unsparing of her more outward and visible activities and resources, on our behalf; if so she may win back her misguided children to her embrace.

But this is not all. The chorus of high gratulation and benignant appeal, is varied, from time to time, with notes of stern and contemptuous reproach. For instance, Rome boasts herself to be “fruitful of saints.” But where, she exclaims (by the mouth of her champions or her converts), where are the bright examples of sanctity which the revolted communion has to produce? You miserable Anglicans, “who have three centuries of apostasy to atone for—who expects to see you raising saints and martyrs? When is love ever likely to prompt you to deeds of devotion and sacrifice?” The taunt is bitter enough; but, bitter as it may be, and specially as it may be deserved by the men of this money-scraping, jobbing, gambling generation, we must not

<sup>1</sup> See a note to p. 218, of Mr. Gresley’s little volume on “Anglo-Catholicism.”

<sup>2</sup> See Maurice, Preface to Lectures on the Hebrews, 1846, p. cxix.

allow it to speak to us of despair. We may, indeed, take shame and confusion of face to ourselves; but, we must not surrender our *Church*, and her worthies, to the rebuke and the anathema. Out of the depths of our own personal abasement, it behoves us to look up, and to ask, can this impeachment be altogether just? Can it be true that our reformed communion is entirely without the note of holiness and self-devotion? Can it be true that our "three centuries of *apostasy*" have been three centuries of spiritual barrenness? And, for the answer to this question, let the annals of those centuries be searched; or, if that labour be too much for the patience, or the opportunities, of the toil-worn, mammon-ridden public, let comfort be sought in the lighter fragments and compendiums of Church history and biography. There is no lack of such appliances and aids. They are incessantly issuing forth, in vast abundance and variety. We have an instance now before us. And we do not hesitate to say that, if any man should be troubled in spirit by the "scornful rebuke" of Rome, and by the reproach of sterility, with which Rome evermore assails the Church of England, that man might well take courage from this one little publication—"Bishop Jeremy Taylor, his Predecessors, Contemporaries, and Successors."

A few words more, however, before proceeding to our notice of the volume. In the first place, then, it must, of course, be conceded, that the Latin Church is encompassed by an illustrious cloud of witnesses. To question this, would be to fly in the face of history. Neither is the notion to be endured, that all these wonders of saintliness were the product of a slavish, calculating, mercenary principle. Be the dogmatical theology of Rome what it may, we are persuaded that her very greatest men achieved their mighty works, not merely in order that they might thereby purchase heaven, or escape the pains of hell: but, because they were filled with love to God and man; because they loved righteousness and hated iniquity; because they were weary of the tyranny of sin, and impatient for the deliverance of the world from a bondage which they themselves had found to be intolerable; because they were anxious to realize, in their own person, the life and sufferings of the King of Saints himself. In the pulpit, or the confessional, they might perhaps tell their people that all good works were of great price in the sight of God, and would, assuredly, not miss their reward. And they might speak of the doctrine of satisfaction for past transgression; and might expatiate on the righteousness inherent in all those, who, by patient continuance in well doing, were seeking after immortality and honour. And the people might listen to their teaching, till they

came to fancy that they might, indeed, "place God in their account-books;" and, that they might contrive, at the last, to secure a handsome balance in their own favour. But, now, follow these same men into the oratory or the cell: and there we shall have before us a spectacle of what may justly be called their splendid inconsistency. For, can any man believe that the "burning and shining lights" of Mediæval devotion were ever overcast, for an instant, by a shadow of self-righteousness? Is it credible that, when such men were prostrate before God, in penitence or prayer, they could have borne the thought of offering up their own good deeds, in exchange for the joys of heaven? No; if the voice of conscious unworthiness, and deep humiliation, ever went up, with acceptance, to the throne of grace, it must have ascended from the hearts of these great Romanists, and such as these.

But then it must be remembered, that there is one element in the Romish theology, which has a tendency to impart to Romish saintliness something of a peculiar type and expression. A truly heart-stricken Romish penitent feels like one who has lost a treasure, which, if recoverable at all, can be recovered only by the most violent exertions, and the bitterest sacrifices. And hence, principally, the whole Romish apparatus of penitential discipline. And hence, too, it is that the perfect *ideal* of *Romish* saintliness usually appears arrayed in sackcloth, or something equally sordid and tormenting; and often gaunt and ghastly with austerity and maceration. Without these outward indications, there could, it was thought, be no assurance that the spirit of repentance had reached the sinner's inward life.

But there were other influences at work, which powerfully tended to invest the sanctity of Mediæval times, with an exterior of imposing severity and gloom. There is, in the human race, a very strong propensity for hero-worship; and this propensity is always most predominant in ages of ignorance and superstition. The unlettered and untutored million are naturally apt to look, with a mixture of amazement and veneration, on all great victories achieved over those necessities which enslave the larger portion of mankind. And the wonder with which this superiority is regarded, becomes, at length, a decidedly pleasurable emotion. Nay, it is sometimes found to become a passion, and even to grow into a positive want. And thus there arose in the world an incessant craving for the highest spiritual *heroism*; and, with it, something like contempt for all pretensions which fell short of it. The multitudes have generally been most pitiless in their exactions of self-renouncement on the part of those who stood forth as



their chief ghostly counsellors and guides: a truth which was strikingly illustrated in the reign of Hildebrand, when he waged his desperate warfare against the marriage of the clergy. He was vigorously supported, in his anti-matrimonial crusade, by the intolerant *hero-worshippers* of his day; till, at length, a married priest scarcely dared to show his face. He was pretty sure to be hooted and assailed, as a cowardly deserter from the ranks of sacerdotal holiness and dignity. And then, consider what an impulse must have been given to this demand for sainthood, by the contemplation of that vast reservoir of merit, which the lives of holy men kept constantly filled to overflowing; and which the Father of Christendom had to dispense, for the comfort and refreshment of unhappy sinners, who were but scantily endowed with any personal *heroism* of their own! Under the operation of such habits of thought and feeling, it is scarcely wonderful that the highest Mediæval piety should have assumed, for the most part, a sternly ascetic form. The sackcloth, the ashes, the hair-shirt, the iron girdle, the secret flagellation, all these, doubtless, are very marvellous phenomena. But a moderate insight into the mysteries of our nature will suffice to show that they are by no means inexplicable. They are phenomena, which indicate a variety of moving power. In spiritually-minded men, they indicate the agony of the struggle between the spirit and the flesh. In fanatical men, they indicate, often, a fierce intensity of mere self-will. In crafty and ambitious men, they indicate a love of influence and of admiration; a master passion which must be gratified at any sacrifice, however painful and unnatural. And, in some instances, all these impulses may have been strangely and variously combined. But lastly, they indicate that impatient longing for prodigies, which, in all periods, is an attribute of ignorant and vulgar minds; especially when the prodigies are such as to offer some vicarious relief to the pangs of an uneasy conscience.

But the days of ignorance at length began to pass away. First, the invention of the press let in the light upon the chambers of imagery and mystery. The Reformation speedily followed; the last and loudest of a long series of protests against error and corruption. Jerome never was without a representative, ready to brow-beat all resistance against certain expansive elements of evil, which had found their way into the Church. The Reformer of the sixteenth century, however, was armed, not only with an indomitable nature, but with the accumulated momentum of whole centuries of Protestation. And among other results of the mighty movement he achieved, we may reckon this,—that men began

boldly to inquire what was meant by that *crucifixion of the flesh*, which the Gospel speaks of and requires? Did it mean a course of self-inflicted torment, a morose rejection of those good things which God hath given us richly to enjoy, a forcible suppression of the kindest instincts, and tenderest affections of humanity? And did it mean that, without this incessant and savage war against our nature, all pretensions to eminent sanctity must be scornfully repelled? Or, did it mean an habitual strife for mastery over selfish and unruly passion; an inward conflict, manifested outwardly by a life of beneficence, sobriety, and righteousness, and by a readiness to meet tribulation and death itself, if the exigencies of the Christian warfare should demand it?

How this question has been answered by the Church of England, we all know. We know, too, that her solution of it, to this hour, excites the supercilious contempt of Romanists, and of many among those worshippers of the past, who can see nothing in the present but baseness and degeneracy. It is to no purpose to speak to them of our martyr-bishops: they, we are told, were no better than a set of obstinate rebels, and incorrigible apostates. To mention such names as Jewel, Hooker, Andrews, Hall, Jeremy Taylor, is only to bring down upon our heads a storm of derision. Mere holiday soldiers these! wholly unfit to encounter the hardness of the Church's warfare. Where, we are asked, are the "men of spare figures, and low plaintive voices," gliding about like ministers of peace and mercy, amidst the throng and turmoil of this sin-darkened world? Where is the mortified and solitary man of prayer, the painful wrestler with the Lord, on behalf of the millions who have forgotten Him? The Church of this country (if Church it can be called), we are assured, is absolutely going to decay and ruin for want of saintly and self-renouncing men. She is become a by-word among all who are conversant with the transcendent sanctity of better times! Now, we must confess, (and this, without the slightest inclination to cast dishonour on the bright examples of ancient piety,) that there is a great deal in all this which sounds in our ear much like the utterances of a fantastic sort of pedantry. Numbers of those who speak thus, we suspect, speak quite as much in the spirit of antiquarians, as of Churchmen. They may not, perhaps, be distinctly conscious of this themselves: but, nevertheless, we are pretty well persuaded that, with them, many things are venerable and precious exactly in proportion as they are old and obsolete. And, accordingly, they talk, at times, about as reasonably as certain other pedants have done; those, for instance, who have solemnly deplored the revolution which has been

effected in the art of war; and have complained that there can be no genuine military heroism in these degenerate days: why? because, truly, our warriors go forth no longer "clad in complete steel," nor armed with lance, or with two-handed sword! The monotonous outcry of these dwellers in by-gone time, is often insufferably wearisome. They seem utterly ignorant that religion itself, though immutable in its essence, is susceptible of variety in its outward modes, and visible manifestations: and hence, mere sanctity of life is no saintliness at all, with them, unless it comes provided with the ancient apparatus of self-torture. All things else are undergoing more or less of a superficial change, at least; but no matter! These men would have the precise Mediæval pattern stereotyped. The Anglican Church has thought proper to violate the sacred model; and, therefore, her worthies are not one of them fit for a place in the calendar. The "Devil's Advocate" would be irresistibly armed against their pretensions. We are but little moved by these violent sallies of spiritual Quixotism. We still fearlessly contend that the great worthies of our Church are deserving of all the canonization which they would themselves desire or accept. They, doubtless, would shrink from the thought of being set down in the long catalogue of Rome, which invests her champions with titles, that should, in all decency, be reserved for Apostles and Evangelists; and they would be amply content with an honourable place in the heart of their Church and nation. And, on their behalf, we might confidently say thus to their accusers: Those certainly did ill, who said of the recluse and mortified Baptist, *Behold, he hath a devil!* But, surely, those did worse, who slandered the social facility of our Lord, and exclaimed, *Behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber!* And we venture to hope, that wisdom may be justified of her children now, as she was then.

But, the most astonishing faculty of these dreamy idealists and idolaters of the past is, their power of ignoring every thing but the visions which are floating before their own eyes. They are sighing to bring back the golden age of ecclesiastical holiness and discipline: but they utterly forget that it was no pure age of gold, nor any thing at all approaching to it. In vast proportions, it was, likewise, an age of iron, of brass, and of miry clay. It was a long dreary period, illustrated here and there with great virtues, but also black with the most stupendous crimes: and what is worse, popes, and cardinals, and prelates, and monks, were often among the most flagitious of the criminals. But such is the infatuation of the Mediævalists, that they can see no deformity in the object of their admiration. They fix an impassioned gaze

on certain transcendent specimens of excellence and sanctity. To the surrounding and pervading depravity they are inveterately blind ; and they fiercely resent all efforts to disperse their blindness. And then they call heaven and earth to witness, that there can be no hope for Christendom, but in a restoration of the *saintly* glories of the Western Church ! Till that recovery is accomplished, the beauty of holiness must remain foully mutilated and defaced. Why, that single word of horror and abomination,—the Inquisition,—one would imagine might do something to exorcise the spirit which possesses them ; especially when accompanied by the remembrance that, of that accursed institution, many of the *saintliest* heroes of the Latin Church were among the foremost members. Yes, from the men of prayer, and fast, and vigil, and almost unearthly self-renouncement, the cry frequently went forth, which closed the gates of mercy, and let slip the dogs of havoc over provinces and kingdoms. And can this be the class of men whom any one with a heart of flesh in his bosom could wish to recall into life and action, and to reinstate in power, and to set up as the guides and luminaries of the Church ? Alas ! we fear it is even so ! With anguish and dismay we speak it ; it is but too clear that persecution itself does not look quite so ugly, as many think, in the eyes of the Romanists, or the Romanizers, of this nineteenth century ! We collect as much from certain calm, but ominous and frightful words, of the great leader of the recent movement. Every one who has read the book, must remember—surely, not without a shudder—that passage in the “Development of Christian Doctrine,” which concludes thus :—

“ St. Clement could not give judgment on the doctrine of Berengarius, nor St. Dionysius refute the Ubiquists, nor St. Irenæus denounce the Protestant view of justification, nor *St. Cyprian draw up a theory of persecution*. There is a time for every purpose under the heaven ; a time to keep silence, and a time to speak <sup>3</sup>. ”

There is no misunderstanding this. A *theory of persecution* is clearly among the legitimate developments of Christian doctrine ! The time for it was not come, in the days of Cyprian ; but, the time did come at last ; and that time has never yet passed away. The theory survives to this hour ; although, from the influence of circumstances, the practice may be suspended. We have here a phenomenon of very deep significance ; namely, a bright example of Romish sanctity, distinctly recognizing the *theory* of persecution. And can it then be imagined, that a man so honest

<sup>3</sup> Newman : Development, &c. p. 145.

would shrink from the *practice* of persecution ! No : if the tribunal of the Inquisition were to be revived to-morrow, of course he would be ready to take his seat there, if required by the Church. It would be positively injurious to his reputation for integrity to suspect that he would hesitate for an instant. And he would find, as his colleagues in that dark consistory, many other saintly men, conscientiously prepared to re-enact, if need were, the horrors of Mediæval Druidism !

But the Inquisition, we may be told, can never be revived. Religious persecution is exploded, and banished from the earth. We might just as reasonably expect the return of Judicial Astrology, or the search for the Philosopher's stone. We should very gladly share in the confidence of those who think so ! But we have not so read the history of Christendom. Persecution is a monster, which has, for some considerable period, lain "hushed in grim repose ;" torpid, and, to all appearance, powerless. It is, just now, about as harmless as a first rate man-of-war laid up in ordinary. But, it is no sheer hulk, waiting only to be broken up : and nothing could be more perilous than a rash belief that its thunders could never be awakened. If any should laugh at such apprehensions, and tell us that we "feared a painted devil," we would ask them to reflect for a moment upon Rome's terrific statute-book, the Canon Law, which contains, among other things, the whole Institute of Persecution, and of which not a single decree, provision, or enactment, has ever been repealed. We cannot, indeed, pretend to any very profound acquaintance with this Titanian collection ; but we believe that the following statement, so far as it goes, will be found to convey some just notion of the greater part of its contents. The Canon Law, then, consists first, of every text of Scripture which is capable of two meanings, one literal, the other mystical, or spiritual ; (a mighty convenient apparatus for those who seek to rule the world, whether by terror, or by fraud ;) next, of the whole body of Roman Law, which provides, abundantly and mercilessly, for the punishment of all spiritual offences, and which is adopted in gross, and distinctly, as a complement of the ecclesiastical code. It further consists of the decrees of somewhere about five-and-twenty general councils ; of certain councils *quasi generales* ; and of numerous local councils, in Greece, Africa, Gaul, Spain, Italy, Germany, England, and Ireland. Then we have a vast congeries of *constitutions* of the Roman pontiffs, from St. Peter to the present day ; and a mighty contribution from the writings of numberless fathers of the Church, from the earliest times. To these must be added a book, or books, *de Libro Diurno*, &c

*ordine Romano*; at least twenty-five collections of canons; the *Decretum* of Gratian, with various additions by subsequent popes; to say nothing of the works of a host of commentators, whose name is *Legion*. Of this gigantic compilation, the work of Gratian, together with sundry additions to it, forms the authorized compendium; and, so far as we are informed, of this huge mass, not one particle has lost its vitality: the whole is a living oracle, the utterances of which are conclusive at this very day. Behold, then, the vast armoury and magazine of Rome! And recollect, that its implements are not hanging up, "like rusty mail in monumental mockery:" they are bright and keen, and ready for defence, or for aggression, at a moment's notice; and, among them, the "devilish enginry" for the extermination of heretics. Dr. Doyle, and his brethren, may fill whole blue-books with evasive and prevaricating answers to parliamentary interrogatories; but they never can disguise the fact, that, at Rome, nothing ever falls into utter desuetude. *Nullum tempus occurrit Ecclesiæ*, is among her most favourite maxims. Her powers, her claims, her pretensions of every description and magnitude, may go into abeyance, but never can grow obsolete. Her language respecting them is, μέγας ἐν τούτοις Θεός, οὐδὲ γηράσκει: and this language her meekest and holiest men are, at all times, prepared to echo back in tempest and thunder. No, no; if we would call back Mediæval saintliness, we must be content to take it even as we find it; with all its fervency of love, and with all its intensity of hate; with its mantle of sanctity, and with the panoply of intolerance bristling beneath it. And this the world would speedily discover, if Rome should ever, for a time, win back her dominion.

But, further: it is quite impossible for any intelligent or thoughtful man to contemplate the saintliness of former centuries, apart from the whole system with which it was identified; or, to which, at least, it was obediently and devotedly subservient. A Romish saint was always, or almost always, one who had surrendered all his faculties to the supremacy of the Romish see; one, who considered the chair of St. Peter as the only centre of life to all Christendom; one, who felt that, separated from that vital centre, he might *have a name to live, but yet would be dead before God*. He was, therefore, one who virtually stood committed to all the absurdity, all the imposture, all the wanton extravagance of distortion and exaggeration, by means of which the Papacy succeeded in oppressing and bewildering the mind of semi-barbarous Europe. And, gracious Heaven! what an exhibition is presented to us, by the growth of the Papal dominion, of the measureless capacities of human credulity, and of the

stupendous audacity of human lust of dominion ! The effrontery of the pontifical pretensions would be almost laughable, if we could but banish from our recollection its mighty influences on the destinies of mankind. Its utterances remind us, at times, of the gibberish vented by the masters of thaumaturgy and leger-de-main. A few mystic syllables seem to alter the whole course of nature. A scrap from the Bible, launched from the Lateran or the Vatican, becomes a "thought-executing" element. It does the work of thunder and lightning. We have already adverted to the figurative and mystical applications of Scripture, as among the most sacred and formidable treasures of the Canon Law. And now for a few examples of their mighty virtue. "*Lord, behold, here are two swords ;*" (*Eccce duo gladii*). No sooner are the words pronounced, than the temporal and spiritual swords are, at once, within the grasp of God's Vicegerent upon earth. Again ; our Lord prayed for Peter that his faith might not fail. What, then, could be clearer than the inference, that the occupier of Peter's chair might contradict himself, without the slightest impeachment of his infallibility ! Further ; our Lord said to Peter, "*Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church.*" Who, then, can doubt the elevation of the Bishop of Rome to a transcendent superiority above the rest of the Apostolic college ; and, of course, above all future bishops and pastors of the Church of Christ ! Once more ; the Prophet Jeremiah is solemnly commissioned to proclaim the doom of impious potentates and kingdoms ; "*to plant, to build, to root out, and to destroy :*" and, lo ! all the thrones on earth are at the mercy of One far greater than the Prophets ! Lastly ; what the sun is to the moon, even such is the Spiritual Power to the temporal. For, is it not written, that "*the Lord made two great lights ; the greater to rule the day, the lesser to rule the night !*" Why, such prodigies of silly and impudent perversion, if attempted, for the first time, in modern days, would be met with one universal shout of derision and scorn. But the lying oracular fragments flew abroad, like wild-fire, in the mediæval darkness ; and, strange to tell, they did their work of *glamour*, not only on the ignorant and untutored multitudes, but also on the minds and hearts of the holiest and most learned men, and, thereby, subdued them to the purposes of the enchanter. It was partly, if not wholly, by their influence and potency, that the power which sent them forth continued to expand, from one generation to another, till it reached its plenitude of relentless majesty in the person of Innocent III. ; and, at last, in the person of Boniface VIII., went raving mad. And it is utterly impossible to think of that long Reign of Terror, without amazement at the heights of mortal insolence,

and the depths of human degradation. Of a truth, with the exception of events indisputably miraculous, Rome Ecclesiastical is, by far, the most astounding phenomenon in the history of the human race! Rome Republican and Rome Imperial are, each of them, marvellous enough. But they really sink into mere common-place, when compared with the history of Rome, as the citadel both of temporal and of spiritual dominion. And no one, we should imagine, can survey that history, without experiencing a sort of tumultuous confusion of thought respecting the real significance of that same phenomenon. But, of all the wonders which crowd upon us, while engaged in that survey, there is none perhaps more overpowering than this, that the finest intellects, and the purest spirits, should have been dragged at the chariot-wheels of this prodigious system of assumption. The moral of the tale, however, is clear enough; there must have been something unsound and false at the very core of that personal religionism, which could willingly render itself up to so questionable a service. The saintliness of Rome, admirable as it frequently appears, was, as if an Angel of Light were to bow down before an earthly counterfeit of the Invisible and Eternal Majesty. It cannot, therefore, be a safe and fitting object for us to imitate. At all events, we cannot be reasonably called upon to do it the homage of despairing admiration.

To those of our readers who may be familiar with Ecclesiastical History, some apology may be due, for wasting so much of their time and patience on topics so notorious. These pages, however, may chance to meet the eye of some, who are not so habitually conversant with the annals of the Church; and to whom, therefore, a few cautionary sentences may, from time to time, be not altogether useless. And to such persons we would say, that, with all the above considerations before us, we can perceive no rational ground for sympathy with certain thoughtful and learned saint-fanciers, who tragically deplore the poverty and barrenness of our National Church; or, with the tribe of equally fanciful, but not equally learned young gentlemen, who are following in their wake. With unaffected veneration for true sanctity of life, wherever it may be found, we certainly like it none the better for being arrayed in horsehair, or sackcloth, or disfigured with unnatural austerities. We look upon it with suspicion, when we behold it in abject subservience to a Polity which usurps the prerogatives of God, and tramples on the liberties of man. And we view it with positive repugnance and alarm, when we find it ready to launch the curse and the interdict, and to light up the fires of persecution. And, accordingly, notwithstanding the scowl of Romish arrogance and disdain, we

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shall continue to regard, with unabated reverence and gratitude, the milder and simpler piety of the worthies of our own Reformed Communion.

We cannot close these remarks, without recalling the attention of our readers to that wonderful portraiture of the genius of Romanism, which Mr. Newman has since retracted. And we protest that we do this, not with the paltry and vulgar object of holding up the author to obloquy and contempt for his inconsistency and defection; but simply because his description conveys what still appears to us a warning infinitely too valuable to be forgotten. Mr. Froude, in his bullying manner, may call it "slang." We call it a masterly and faithful exposition: and this exposition we hold to be most urgently needful at the present time. For, on the one hand, we have the genius of Rome collecting her scattered and almost dormant energies, and once more plying her divinations and enchantments, and dropping poison into the ears and hearts of our wholesome brethren of the English Church. And, on the other hand, we have the men of latitude and liberality, who find in science the only secret of human perfectibility; who laugh at Mediæval frauds or terrors; who tell us that we have no more to fear from the Woman of the Seven Hills, than from Olympian Jove, or Scandinavian Woden; and assure us, by the lips of their incomparable Momus<sup>4</sup>, that there are, at the Vatican, only "a wax-work pope, and wax-work cardinals," harmless as the groups of the ingenious Madame Tussaud. We, therefore, produce the testimony of one who, for twenty years past, has been intently studying the history and destiny of the Church of Christ. We appeal back, from Philip drunk, to Philip in his former sobriety. We appeal from the author of the "Development of Christian Doctrine," to the author of "The Prophetic Office of the Church." The utterances of what we hold to have been the period of sobriety, were these:—

"We must take and deal with things as they are, not as they pretend to be. If we are induced to believe the professions of Rome, and make advances to her, as if a sister or a mother Church, (which, in theory, she is,) we shall find too late that we are in the arms of a pitiless and unnatural relative, who will but triumph in the arts which have inveigled us within her reach. No: dismissing the dreams which the romance of early church history and the high doctrines of Catholicism will raise in the inexperienced mind, let us be sure that she is our enemy, and will do us a mischief when she can. In speaking and acting on this conviction, we need not depart from Christian charity towards her. We must deal with her as we would towards a friend who is

<sup>4</sup> The Rev. Sidney Smith.

visited by derangement; in great affliction, with all affectionate and tender thoughts, with tearful regrets, and a broken heart; but, with a steady eye, and a firm hand. For, in truth, she is a Church beside herself; abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, but unable to use them religiously; crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious, cruel, unnatural, as madmen are. Or, rather, she may be said to resemble a demoniac; possessed with principles, thoughts, and tendencies not her own; in outward form and in natural powers what God made her, but ruled within by an inexorable spirit, who is sovereign in his management over her, and most subtle and most successful in the use of her gifts. Thus she is her real self only in name; and, till God vouchsafe to restore her, we must treat her as if she were that Evil One which governs her. And in saying this, I must not be supposed to deny that there is any real excellence in Romanism, even as it is; or that any really excellent men are its adherents. Satan ever acts on a system, various, manifold, and intricate; with parts and instruments of different qualities; some almost purely evil, others so unexceptionable, that in themselves, and detached from the end to which all is subservient, they are really 'angels of light,' and may be found so at the last day. In Romanism there are some things absolutely good, some things corrupted, and some things in themselves sinful. But the system itself, so called, must be viewed as a whole, and all parts of it as belonging to the whole, and in connexion with their practical working and the end which they subserve."—*Proph. Off.* pp. 103, 104.

So much for Rome's monopoly of saintliness. And now for Jeremy Taylor. One is glad of any thing which recalls him to our thoughts. The very mention of his name is a refreshment to the spirit, wearied with the whims, and the caprices, and the extravagancies of what may be called the *archæological* school of saintliness. We have, in him, a saint of the seventeenth century, whom we would not exchange for any name in the Romish calendar, always excepting the names of Apostles, and of apostolic men. We have before us one who, to borrow the language of his present biographer,—

"taught men that the Gospel has no alliance with tyranny; that it searches consciences without an inquisition, and supplies martyrs without a wheel; that bigotry is not essential to faith, nor the perdition of our neighbour to the salvation of ourselves. Convinced that no party possessed a monopoly of truth, he weighed the reasons of men, rather than their names. . . . His sojourn among men was a journey to angels. Heaven was around him, not only when he entered the world, but when he left it. Always, and every where,—as student, priest, and Bishop,—persecuted or triumphant, joyful or weary, he beheld lights and faces which dwell not in the common day, but shine down upon the traveller who, in the wilderness, feels that he is in God's work and in God's house."—(pp. 290, 291.)

The present biography and criticism, the author tells us, is "an

attempt to bring the subject of it nearer to the eye and hand." The *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, it is true, had already been executed by the masterly and sainted hand of Heber. But the work of Heber, he goes on to inform us, is wholly inaccessible to a very large class of readers, and "may be said to be within sight rather than within reach;" seeing that it is prefixed to the fourteen volumes of Bishop Taylor's writings, and is not to be procured in a detached form. Now, who would not conclude from this statement that no separate edition of the *Life* by Heber had ever been given to the public? And what will be the surprise of the less-informed portion of the public, when they learn that two separate editions of the *Life* have actually been printed; one in two small volumes, and another in one volume octavo! For any thing we know, indeed, both these editions may now be out of print; and if so, they may, for the time, be, intelligibly enough, described as inaccessible. But, even if this should be the case, it would afford no excuse to Mr. Willmott for committing himself to a broad assertion, which obviously suggests the inference that none could have seen the *Life* of Bishop Taylor, but those who may have had access to the complete edition of his works.

But, be this as it may, the present volume may not be altogether without its use. In the first place, it is written with considerable vivacity; though, perhaps, with something too much of ambition and pretension. Secondly, it is of very moderate dimensions; "all elaborate analysis of 'treatises and doctrines' having been avoided." And, in our judgment, the author has done wisely in thus limiting his design, and eschewing all diffuseness. After the labours of Heber and others, an additional and lengthy discussion of Taylor's character and merits would have been wholly superfluous, and almost impertinent; nearly as much so as a new and copious essay on the writings and genius of Shakespeare himself. Besides, a bulky disquisition might have deterred that very fastidious and impatient personage, the general reader. Even the separate octavo volume of Heber might, possibly, be too much for those who sometimes read only "for want of other idleness;" whereas the patience even of the divinities of the drawing-room will scarcely be exhausted by a little book of three hundred small pages, comprising not only the *Life* of Taylor himself, but also brief notices of his predecessors, contemporaries, and successors. The work, therefore, may very well be allowed to appear on the great central round table of many a brilliant saloon; and there, perhaps, may become the means of awakening, among the high-born and the elegant, a passionate desire to become more familiar with the most imaginative of divines, and the most heavenly-minded of Christian prelates. It might, to say the least, be quite as worthy to be so placed as certain little volumes, garnished with

black letter, and red lines, and margins fantastically patterned or illuminated, which we so frequently see glittering on embroidered ottomans and sofas.

The author claims some merit "for originality." But the originality seems to be exemplified chiefly in this, that "the reader who is familiar with Heber's history of Taylor will find some circumstances untold before, and see facts, already communicated, placed in a new light." The additions and corrections, however, appear to be of no very weighty importance. Of these, perhaps the most interesting will be found in the following passage:—

"The parliamentary resolution, in the October of the same year (1642), to sequester the livings of the loyal clergy, was soon felt at Uppingham. Upon this interesting portion of Taylor's history the researches of Heber were unable to throw any light; nor could the friendly inquiries of the Bishop of Peterborough ascertain the date of his deprivation, or the name of his intrusive successor. One of these difficulties may now be removed, upon the evidence of a contemporary writer, from which it will be seen that the reputation and piety of Taylor failed to preserve his house from plunder, or his family from insult and ill-treatment. The following remarkable passage from the '*Mercurius Aulicus*,' for the week ending May 2, 1644, is now reprinted for the first time after an oblivion of two hundred years'. The writer, illustrating the character of the puritan preachers, thus continues his history of the week:—

"Monday, May 6.—Now, if you would see what heavenly men these lecturers are, be pleased to take notice, that at Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, the members have placed one Isaac Massey to teach the people, (for the true pastor, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, for his learning and loyalty is driven thence, his house plundered, his estate seized, and his family driven out of doors). This Massey, at a communion this last Easter, having consecrated the bread after his manner, laid one hand upon the chalice, and smiting his breast with the other, said to the parishioners, "*As I am a faithful sinner, Neighbours, this is my morning draught;*" and turning himself round to them, said, "*Neighbours, here's to ye all!*" and so drank off the whole cupfull, which is none of the least. Many of the parish were hereby scandalized, and therefore departed without receiving the sacrament. Among which, one old man, seeing Massey drink after this manner, said aloud, "*Sir, much good do it you.*" Whereupon, Massey replied, "Thou blessest with thy tongue, and cursest with thy heart; but 'tis no matter, for God will bless whom thou cursest." This Massey, coming lately into a house of the town, used these words, "*This town of Uppingham loves Popery, and we would reform it, but they will not;*" and without any further coherence,

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted for the discovery of this passage to a notice in Mr. Churton's *Minor Prose Works of Bishop Pearson*, i. 25. Oxford, 1844.

said, "*But I say, whosoever says there is any king in England beside the Parliament at Westminster, I'll make him for ever speaking more.*" The master of the house replied, "*I say there is a king in England beside the Parliament in Westminster.*" Whereupon Massey, with his cudgel, broke the gentleman's head. Whoever doubts that Mr. Massey is injured by these relations, may satisfy themselves by inquiring of the inhabitants of Uppingham parish."

"This narration is very painful to read; but our disgust should not induce us to question its truth. The '*Mercurius Aulicus*' was a newspaper issued by the royalist party, and frequently written by Sir John Birkenhead. The present number may have proceeded from his pen. In that case, he probably derived his information from Taylor himself, who knew Birkenhead, often meeting him at Oxford, and other places. One allusion to him occurs in a letter to Evelyn, in reference to the sneer of some Romanists, that the Church of England had lost her head in the martyrdom of Charles. 'I remember that when the Jesuits, deriding our calamity, showed this sarcasm to my Lord Lucas, Birkenhead, being present, replied as tartly, 'It is true our Church wants a head now; but if you have charity, as you pretend, you can lend us one, for your Church has had two or three heads at a time.'"—pp. 104—106.

From the above account it would appear that Bishop Rast, who preached the funeral sermon on Taylor, must have been "incorrect in saying that the storm descended on him as soon as he launched into the world;" for, Taylor was presented to the rectory of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, early in the spring of 1637 (March 23): and his expulsion can hardly have taken place before the parliamentary edict of 1642; and, if so, he must have remained unmolested, in his parochial retirement, during a happy interval of five years. For the next eighteen years, his life was one of almost perpetual unsettlement and suffering; so that, as the author remarks, "it is one of the painful difficulties of Taylor's biographer, that he is often unable to trace his path, except by his calamities." (p. 173.) And yet we find him always bearing up against the onset of adversity with a cheerful and contented spirit; thankfully rejoicing "in that mercy which daily makes decrees in heaven for his comfort and support."

The history of Taylor during the civil wars is but obscure and indistinct. Wood tells us that he followed his royal master in the capacity of chaplain. And this assertion, the author thinks, is confirmed by the internal testimony of his works.

"I am not aware," he says, "that any of his biographers or critics have pointed out the vividness and number of his martial images. Keble proves the military experience of Homer from the allusions to arms and combats; and the reader of Taylor's sermons often finds himself hurried into the tumult of the camp, or the terrors of the conflict,

by the same freshness and truth of description. A striking example occurs in his discourse entitled 'Apples of Sodom'<sup>6</sup>, where he represents the sinner overcome by the violence of a strong temptation, and awaking, when the fever subsides, to the full horror and peril of his condition: 'But so have I known a bold trooper fight in the confusion of a battle, and, being warm with heat and rage, receive from the sword of his enemy wounds open like a grave; but he felt them not: and when, by the streams of blood, he found himself marked for pain, he refused to consider then what he was to feel to-morrow; but when his rage hath cooled into the temper of a man, and clammy moisture hath checked the fiery emission of spirits, he wonders at his own boldness, and blames his fate, and needs a mighty patience to bear his great calamity.' The wounded trooper carries us back to Naseby or Marston-Moor. The following sketch of a humbler hero bears indications of having been painted from life:—

“‘And what can we complain of the weakness of our strengths, or the pressures of diseases, when we see a poor soldier stand in a breach, almost starved with cold and hunger, and his cold apt to be relieved only by the heats of anger, a fever, or a fired musket, and his hunger slacked by a greater pain or a huge fear? This man shall stand in his arms and wounds, pale and faint, weary and watchful; and at night shall have a bullet pulled out of his flesh, and shivers from his bones, and endure his mouth to be sewed up from a violent rent to its own dimensions’.”

“In another place, the man who prays with a discomposed spirit is compared to him ‘that sets up his closet in the out-quarters of an army, and chooses a frontier garrison to be wise in.’ Where no particular allusion to military affairs is detected, the language shows the writer’s familiarity with the field and the camp. In the case of a believer who has intermitted the watchfulness of prayer, ‘the temptation returns and forages, and prevails and seizes upon our unguarded strengths.’”—pp. 109—111.

These passages (and similar ones might probably be found) certainly appear to indicate much personal familiarity with “scenes of broil and battle;” and to show that Taylor had many opportunities of seeing the warfare of faith sternly illustrated by instances of bitter suffering and heroic endurance, in the warfare of loyalty. The warfare of faith he had himself still to sustain, in sharp poverty and heavy tribulation, when the warfare of loyalty was over; and it is abundantly notorious that he, and numbers of his persecuted brethren, acquitted themselves like dauntless and faithful soldiers of the cross. The Restoration put an end to his trials as a public man, and promoted him to an Irish bishopric: why not to an English one, it may be difficult to say; for who had more righteously merited the most eligible preferments and

<sup>6</sup> Works, v. 293.

<sup>7</sup> Holy Dying, ch. iii. § 4.

honours of the Church? Our author conjectures that it was his second marriage which banished him from England. The lady, it is said, was a natural daughter of Charles I. And Charles II. may, perhaps, have been desirous to remove, as far as possible out of sight and recollection, the memorial of his royal father's lighter moments. Not that the adventure was one which was likely to have much impaired his own filial veneration for the name and memory of his honoured sire; only the affair might look rather awkward in the eyes of a grinning, meddling, and censorious world.

But though the storm of adversity was overpast, the Bishop was followed by an unhappy destiny into his domestic retirements. Of his surviving children, one son is said to have fallen in a duel with a brother officer of his regiment; the other died of consumption at the seat of the profligate and worthless Duke of Buckingham, of whom he was the favourite companion and secretary; too probably the victim of that licentiousness which has made the reign of Charles II. perhaps the most infamous in the annals of England. It is unspeakably painful to contemplate the deadly shadows which thus extinguished the lineage of so holy and so illustrious a man. But the dispensations of God's providence are inscrutable. From the days of Eli and his sons to the present hour, many an instance, we fear, might be found of precipitate degeneracy from paternal sanctity and virtue. We are not, however, to suppose that Taylor erred after the similitude of Eli. There is no reason to imagine him guilty of culpable flexibility in the training of his children. On the contrary, as our author observes, his system of education seems to have embodied the Grecian hardihood of Milton.

"Fathers," he says, in his 'Holy Dying,' "because they design to have their children wise and valiant, apt for counsel or for arms, send them to severe governments, and tie them to study and hard labour and afflictive contingencies. They rejoice when the bold boy strikes the lion with his hunting spear, and shrinks not when the beast comes to affright his early courage. The man that designs his son for noble employments, to honours and to triumphs, to consular dignities and presidencies of councils, loves to see him pale with study, or panting with labour, and eminent by dangers."—p. 216.

Whether Bishop Taylor may have been tempted to drive his rigorous principles of discipline to an unwise extremity, and so to produce a vicious reaction, which carried his unhappy sons in the opposite direction, it would be idle to conjecture. It may have been so; but it is difficult to imagine it. The very surmise seems to do injustice to the inborn humanity and gentleness of him

nature. Such things, however, have not unfrequently happened, and are still constantly occurring. Fathers are often found to forget the apostolic precept, *Provoke not your children to wrath and irritation, lest they be discouraged*. It requires no ordinary measure of wisdom and of grace to attain the due temper between facility and rigour.

Whether the days of Taylor were shortened by the pressure of these heavy visitations cannot now be known; but be this as it may, the evil courses of his sons must have brought him to the grave in sorrow. And that grave, unhappily, was an early one.

"At Lisburn, on the 13th of August, 1667, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the seventh of his episcopate, expired the more than Chrysostom of England. . . . He passed through the dark gate into the garden, when the eye of fancy had not grown dim, nor the arm of intellect become feeble. Having borne the heat and burden of the day, he received his wages before the sun was set and the dews of the night began to descend. . Called home in the rich autumn of his life, he was busy in the field and the harvest. The sheaves were piled round him when he fell asleep,

'And from his slack hand dropped the gathered rose.'"—*Willmott*, p. 212.

Mr. Willmott has enriched his pages with numerous extracts from the works of Taylor, illustrative of the very peculiar character of his mind. The task of selection must have been a very delightful one, though somewhat perplexing from the vast extent and variety of opulence spread out before him. We have "Beauties of Shakspeare," and "Beauties" of many other writers both in prose and verse; but we know of scarcely any other writer who could furnish forth a more enchanting "Book of Beauty" than Bishop Taylor. He has often been called the Shakspeare of Theology; and we would gladly see the choicest specimens of excellence selected from the poet and the divine, and bound up together. In one respect the divine would have the advantage, seeing that the whole of his costly treasures,—his gold, his frankincense, and his myrrh,—all were consecrated to the honour of his Redeemer and his God.

We can scarcely listen with common patience to the complaint of Coleridge, and of others not worthy to hold a light to Coleridge; namely, that Taylor's exhibition of the work of redemption, and of the Divine Author and Finisher of the Faith, is but occasional and imperfect. As Mr. Willmott truly observes, "If there be one feature in his sermons more remarkable than another, it is the chaste and loving reverence with which he delineates the character and attributes of Jesus Christ upon earth in his relation to the human family." A mind scholastically trained may, per-



have, desiderate more of dogmatic hardness and precision than he will often find in Taylor's doctrinal statements ; but a gentle and docile spirit, while conversant with him, must feel itself to be living and moving in the very midst of the work of redemption, breathing the very air of divine love, and expatiating, as it were, in the cloudless serenity of heaven. That the austere and withering genius of Calvinism should look angrily upon him is, indeed, very far from surprising ; for, although no Christian teacher has ever presented more overpowering exhibitions of the *terrors of the Lord*, yet it is quite evident that he never can be numbered among the *doctores inmisericordes* of the Calvinistic school. The Divine benignity and compassion were far more favourite themes with him. As a clear indication of the natural tendency of his thoughts and hopes, we shall add to Mr. Willmott's collection, by transcribing the following passage from his second sermon, on "The Miracles of Divine Mercy :"—

"There are many secret and undiscerned mercies by which men live ; and of which men can give no account, till they come to give God thanks at their publication : and of this sort is that mercy which God reserves for the souls of many millions of men and women, concerning whom we have no hope, if we account concerning them, according to the usual proportions of revelation, and the Christian commandments ; yet, we are taught to hope some strange good things concerning them, by the analogy and general rule of the Divine mercy : for, what shall become of ignorant Christians ; of people that live in wildernesses ; people that are baptized, and taught to go to church, it may be, once a year ; people that can get no more knowledge ; they know not where to have it, nor how to desire it : and yet, that an eternity of pains shall be consequent to such ignorance, is unlike the mercy of God ! and yet, that they should be in any disposition towards an eternity of intellectual joys, is nowhere set down in the leaves of revelation : and, when the Jews grew rebellious, or a silly woman of the daughters of Abraham was tempted, and sinned, and was punished with death, we usually talk as if that death passed on to a worse : but yet, we may arrest our thoughts on the Divine mercies ; and consider that it is reasonable to expect from the Divine goodness, that no greater forfeiture be taken upon a law, than was expressed in its sanction and publication.

"The effect of this consideration we would have to be this : that we may publicly worship this mercy of God, which is kept secret ; and, that we be not too forward to sentence all heathens and prevaricating Jews to the eternal pains of hell, but to hope that they have a portion in the secrets of the Divine mercy ; where, also, unless many of us have some little portions deposited, our condition will be very uncertain, and sometimes most miserable. . . . But, as in these things we must not pry into the secrets of the Divine economy, (being sure that, whether it be so or not, it is most just even as it is ;) so we

may expect to see the glories of the Divine mercy manifested, in unexpected instances, in the great day of manifestation."—(*Mir. of Divine Mercy*, Sermon ii., *ad finem*.)

At all this, a rigid Calvinist would, perhaps, be ready to rend his garments, and to stop his ears. He would tell us that all, without exception, come into the world meriting damnation; that God designs to ransom only a few from the general doom; that they who are without sufficient means and opportunities of knowing the truth, cannot be of that elect number, and must therefore perish everlastingly; but, that still they have no reason to complain; seeing that, after all, they meet with no more than their deserts! Of course, we are not going to plunge into the bottomless pit of the dispute. We shall just content ourselves with professing that, on this matter at least, we should rather be disposed to err with Taylor, than to be right with Calvin; if right he can possibly be!

We subjoin the following specimen of Mr. Willmott's criticism and composition:—

"Without lingering to subject these discourses to any further analysis, I may notice the sublime description of the world, suddenly transformed into a kingdom of fear, pervaded by a dreadful twilight, and echoing with the simultaneous shriek from an infinity of graves, bursting open at the summons of the trumpet, which is heard rolling over the dissolution and crash of all this wonderful fabric of external nature. Every where we see a tremendous power of aggravation, and a breadth and vehemence of execution, that belong to the noblest scenes of tragedy. One image has always struck me by its immeasurable capacity of terror; it is the comparison of the sufferings of the doomed sinner, converging into a dark and indivisible unity of torment—not broken or weakened by the participation of millions of lost souls—to the whole body of the sun, which is seen by every one in the same horizon. The Contemplations of the State of Man contain a simile of equal power, where the Divine justice is likened to a river of fire, obstructed and dammed up during thirty or forty years, but rushing upon the sinner at the last day, with an irresistible inundation, and flooding him, at the same moment, with flame and vengeance.

"Other sermons display the abundance or the brightness, the wisdom or the tenderness of his learning and intellect, his experience and sympathy: that on the Marriage Ring is more beautiful; that on the House of Feasting more varied; that on the Good and Evil Tongue more ingenious; that on the Faith and Patience of the Saints more pathetic; but the discourses on the Second Advent of Christ unfold the action of his mind in its grandest operations of creative energy<sup>8</sup>. They are the best examples of the sublimity which formed a chief element of

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Alexander Knox (*Remains*, i. 271) mentions the third volume of Taylor's Sermons, as equal to any composition in the English language.

his genius; that mysterious faculty of representation and impression, which makes dead thoughts to live and move; peoples the Purgatory of Dante, and animates the portraiture of Tacitus; too subtle to be enclosed in a definition, and evaporating from the crucible of the critic; a flame often invisible, but never extinguished; sinking in one age, to ascend in another; here, flashing upon the chisel of Phidias; there, driving on the pen of Sallust; now making the sails of the Argonautic ship to quiver beneath the wings of the eagle, in the verse of Apollonius<sup>9</sup>; and now darkening the creation with the solitary hand of God, in the epic of Milton<sup>1</sup>. Descriptions such as these resemble certain pictures, and are not to be looked close into, like the Candle-light of Shelken, or the interiors of Mieris. You must stand back to contemplate the figures and scenery of Shakspeare or Taylor, and supply the atmospheric calculation of the painter by the softening distance, which a cultivated taste interposes as the medium of vision.

"In some of his speculations upon the invisible world, and its retributive sufferings, he indulged in a daring extravagance, that combines the monstrous associations of Bosch with the hideous realities of Morales; but in the discourses on the Advent, his juster parallel is supplied by the most famous work of M. Angelo. Perhaps the sermons and the picture fail in sufficiently awakening our sympathy. We wonder and tremble; but the heart is not proportionably affected. The vigour of conception, the austerity, the confusion, the turbulence of thought, and, what Foster well called, the assailing impetuosity of the argument, unite in bending the proudest spirit. But the exhortation is sometimes too learned to be natural; and the preacher is lost in the scholar, as the painter was in the anatomist."

The criticism in the concluding paragraph, we hold to be eminently just. Old Samuel Johnson never spoke a truer word than when he said, that the thought of final retribution carries every man far beyond the domain of poetry (further still, we may add, beyond the domain of rhetoric),

"By spreading over his mind a general obscurity of sacred horror, that oppresses distinction, and disdains expression."—*Life of Young*.

"Our Lord's discourses," says Paley, "exhibit no particular description of the invisible world. The future happiness of the good, and the misery of the bad (which is all we want to be assured of), is directly and positively affirmed; and is represented by metaphors and comparisons

<sup>9</sup> B. ii. v. 1251.

<sup>1</sup> The archangel reproaches Satan for presuming to war with God, who,

"Out of smallest things could without end  
Have raised incessant armies to defeat  
Thy fully, or with solitary hand  
Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow,  
Unaided could have finish'd thee, and whelm'd  
Thy legions under darkness."

Of these lines, Mr. Haydon truly observes, that they embody one of the most awful conceptions upon earth.

which were plainly intended as metaphors and comparisons, and as nothing more. As to the rest, a solemn reserve is maintained."—*Evidences*, vol. ii. c. 2.

And the inspired ministers of our Lord, of course, never presumed to violate that mysterious concealment. But, in after-ages, superstition rushed in, where apostles feared to tread. And hence, the "fiery floods"—the "thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice"—the "imprisonment in viewless winds"—and all the other monstrous creations of "unlicensed thought," which peopled the purgatory and the hell of Mediæval Christianity. Hence the frightful pictures of the *Inferno*; the images at once hideous and disgusting, and often abominably grotesque; the scenes which curdle the blood, and make the flesh creep; but which never yet bowed down any soul of man in reverential prostration before the majesty of Divine justice. The painters were as bad as the poets. Who at the present day can look, without positive loathing, on their representations of the day of judgment? Who is there that does not feel religion to be shamefully degraded by exhibitions of the sulphurous furnace, and the imps of vengeance, armed with torch or pitchfork, and arrayed in all the vulgarest attributes that ever were conceived in barbarous days, by daring and almost delirious imaginations? The mere artistic execution may, as such, often command the warmest admiration; but the picture produces no more moral effect than the closing scene of the opera of Don Juan. We may be enchanted by the forms and colours of Michael Angelo, or by the wondrous harmonies of Mozart. But who was ever made a better Christian by these miracles of their genius? It so happened, however, that Taylor lived when the pure blaze of truth had not wholly chased away the *Dantesque* visions which haunted the owl-light of darker times. If he had flourished a little later, his taste would, probably, have been more chastised, and his fancy under steadier control.

We have no space left for the Predecessors, Contemporaries, and Successors, of Jeremy Taylor. We must content ourselves with the central figure of the group, as presented to us by one, who, to use his own words,

"May plead a long and affectionate intimacy with the illustrious Bishop himself, in the relation of disciple and master, as an apology for confidence. Accustomed, from early youth, to sit at his feet, he has watched (if the figure may be allowed), each varying expression of that countenance of beauty and peace, which looks out from every solemn and learned page. He, whose eye constantly turns to one portrait, however rude his knowledge of art, may sometimes give a truer account of it, than the most accomplished spectator, with all the galleries of Europe in his remembrance."—*Preface*, pp. x. xi.

*ART. V.—On the English Policy in Greece.*

[The following paper having been sent to us, we have pleasure in directing attention to the important statements and views bearing on the present state of Greece, which are comprized in it.—  
Ed.]

GREECE is but a small country, possessing barely a million of inhabitants, a revenue of five hundred thousand pounds sterling, and an army of five thousand men. Yet, such as it is, it attracts considerable attention, and has always had the privilege of exciting general interest. It is the country of our early studies, the theatre of ancient prowess, the birth-place of Homer and Socrates; and its recent resurrection was hailed with enthusiasm by all the nations of Europe, and in England more than elsewhere. The Greeks still preserve a grateful remembrance of Byron, whose inspired songs sustained them at the outset of their struggle; and of Hastings, who nobly shed his blood in their cause.

But it is not only her past glory or her recent exploits that entitle Greece to most serious attention; she possesses certain advantages which, in spite of her present feebleness, give her some weight in the political balance in Europe. She may be considered as the head of a great body, whose members are discovered. The language which she has inherited from Plato is spoken by several millions of men, spread over all the coast, and a great part of the interior of Asia Minor. The identity of her origin and of her religion, and the superiority of her civilization and of her political institutions, give her an incontestable influence over all the Grecian populations which are politically detached from her, and that influence may also become of great importance with regard to the other Oriental races. The Greeks, though still a European people, are still more than half Asiatic; their character, as well as their origin, partakes of the two quarters of the world, on the confines of which they are situated; their ideas are drawn from the schools of the West, while their habits are those of their eastern climate. If it is important to Europe to extend to Asia the benefits of her civilization and the truth of her doctrines, no people is better placed to effect the transmission, and to render the East accessible to the progress of the West. But Greece seems to have been, above all, destined, by her position, for commercial prosperity. Situated in the

centre of the Mediterranean, as near Asia as Africa, on the high road to India, as well as on that to the Black Sea, she is the natural mart of all exchange between the three parts of the ancient continent. Her territory, intersected in every direction by arms of the sea, which advance into the interior in deep gulfs, is surrounded by a continuous belt of the finest harbours in the Mediterranean, and which are in every direction explored by trade. Her inhabitants, cradled by the waves from their very infancy, form a whole people of intrepid and experienced mariners, and have already set afloat some fifteen thousand ships, of which the smaller perform the coasting service of the Egean, and the larger trade to the Black Sea. A country possessing advantages of this nature may, in a short time, and under propitious circumstances, acquire sufficient importance to render the influence which Great Britain exercises there a question of no slight interest.

But we have also to indicate considerations of a higher order, and which seem to us to recommend more particularly to public attention the country of which we speak. It was St. Paul himself who, from the top of Mars' Hill, announced the truths of the Gospel to the Greeks; it was in their language that these truths were principally written, and that the Apostles added to them their inspired commentary. Scarcely had the religion of Christ risen from the state of an obscure and persecuted sect, than it was installed by Constantine upon a Grecian throne, whose empire extended over the whole world, and whose magnificence clothed it with a splendour of external rites sanctioned by the early Fathers.

The Greeks still maintain, with all the rigour of a nation who, during long years of captivity, had no other bond of nationality, no other hope of deliverance than their religion, the observance of those forms and ceremonies instituted at Byzantium in the ancient days of the Church, by the venerable Fathers who first established Church discipline, on the foundation laid by the Apostles. A more studied acquaintance with the Eastern Church, and a more continued connexion with her, might exercise a happy influence, not only on herself, but on the Church of England. To those who search for forms in order to give the necessary stability to ideas, the Greek Church can furnish many more respectable by their antiquity, and more pure in their origin, than the Roman; and it might be possible to arrive through her at many a primitive institution without passing through the corruption of Rome. While, on the other hand, the intellectual character of the Church of England might contribute powerfully to raise that of Greece to the height of purity from which every religion sub-

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jected to material forms runs risk of falling away; and to accustom the people to elevate their minds to the spirit of their religion, by dissipating the darkness of ignorance and superstition into which long ages of thralldom have plunged them. In fine, English influence in Greece might effect the completion of their moral regeneration, as the Greeks, whatever may have been said of them by those who find it easier to judge a nation by the prejudices of others than to examine for themselves, are by nature a people gifted with a fund of common sense and sound judgment rarely to be found; and as to their honesty, the quality which is the most resolutely denied them, it is a notorious fact that before the Revolution at Hydra, which was the centre of the maritime and commercial activity of the Greeks, bonds were unknown, and capitalists confided to the captains of merchant ships large sums on their word alone, which sums, with their portion of the gains, were always faithfully restored. Speaking then of the people, not of the political men who in most countries form a class apart on this head, we maintain that the Greeks only require a good religious education, good precepts, and good examples, to become worthy of their ancestors.

But it is important, above all, to examine whether the influence of another foreign power is not so well established and so absolute in Greece, as to render that of Great Britain an impossible vision. Some politicians think so; and seeing that English influence has not yet taken firm root in the country, draw from thence the conclusion, that it can only be established and maintained by force. We think that they deceive themselves as completely, and compromise the English interests in the East as imprudently, as those who, starting from a diametrically opposite principle, arrive at the same result; believing that English influence can and ought to reign exclusively in Greece, and who regulate their conduct according to that conviction. Facts will prove our assertion. The most generally received idea is, that the near neighbourhood of Greece to Russia, the identity of religious doctrines, the plan long since determined on and most skilfully carried out by the Muscovite government, and the hopes of further deliverance entertained by them among the Greeks, must irremissibly fix them in the wake of Russia.

But that the identity of religion establishes an indisputable link, is true only under certain conditions. History does not authorize us to admit this axiom as a general theory, and the exigences of politics have occasioned wars between those of the same religion not less frequently than alliances. It certainly cannot be denied that the Greeks while groaning under the tyranny of a barbarous people, the enemies of their religion, and burning

with the desire to break their chains, though not feeling themselves strong enough without foreign assistance, turned their eyes to their-fellow-Christians, whose faith was outraged in their own, and founded more particularly their hopes on those who had a more immediate interest in avenging their dogmas, and who fomented these hopes by brilliant promises. The cause of the Greeks under the Turks was as much that of religion as of liberty; it was, therefore, natural that religious affinity should be of great importance to them; and the Russians, who have since the days of Catherine the Great had their eyes fixed upon Constantinople, spared no pains to keep up this disposition among the Greek populations. Their young men were invited to the schools of Russia, the highest posts in the army and in the administration were open to them, and on every occasion where a stroke of Mussulman tyranny could be averted, Russia alone interposed between the victim and the oppressors, while the other powers abandoned to her the part of benefactress, which the Greeks gradually became accustomed to recognize in her. Besides this, Russian emissaries continually traversed the country, keeping up by their promises the hope of liberty smouldering in the heart of people; and among other means employed to this end, one of the most curious were the prophecies published towards the close of the last century under the title of Agathangelos, and which circulate to this day throughout Greece, where they pass for inspired, and of the remotest antiquity. In the midst of much mystical phraseology, it is said that the Greeks shall be delivered by the *fair-haired nation*; but what is an extraordinary co-incidence, it is also said that a *Bavarian* shall reign over Greece! These means, of course, acted powerfully on the minds of an enslaved people; and every time the Russians wished to cause embarrassment to the Turkish government, the Greeks responded to their call, and rose in arms: but as soon as the end in view was obtained, they were abandoned, without defence, to the vengeance of their angry masters, and paid with their blood their passing dream of independence. This policy, several times repeated, however, soon produced distrust; and when Riga once more attempted the deliverance of his country, it was on France, not on Russia, that he founded his hopes; and some time later the Bey of Maina, old Mavromichali, who died only a few months ago, personally solicited Napoleon in favour of Greece. The independence of Greece changed still more her position with regard to Russia: in freeing herself from the yoke of the Turks she emancipated herself from the patronage of Russia, whose protection was no longer necessary. But, at the same time, it cannot be denied that as long as the Greek people, by a decision



of European diplomacy somewhat similar to that of Solomon, remain cut into two halves, equally deprived of life, Russia will always have an excellent hold over them, having in her grasp the Church of Constantinople, and threatening them with the thunders of excommunication every time they attempt to escape her influence. As long as the Greek race is feeble and dismembered, it is only by an effort that they can escape the preponderancy of Russia; but if the day ever comes when they shall reconquer the extent of territory and the unity which are their due, they will have reconquered, at the same time, their independence of all Russian tutorage. For if the name of religion is a means of action upon the ignorant people, the enlightened class understands perfectly that as soon as the whole of Greece is free, her religion has nothing to fear, and requires no protection whatever. This class is very numerous in Greece in proportion to the amount of population; so much so, that this little kingdom, with only its million of inhabitants, and its numbers of men capable, or thinking themselves capable of holding office, has often been likened to a small body with an enormous head. But this class have no sympathy with the despotic system of Russia, which they repulse as retrograde and unworthy of a free people; but, on the contrary, receiving all their ideas from the nations of Western Europe, they copy their institutions, and consider their influence as most salutary; and every time that that influence fails in its object, it ought to be attributed to the faulty policy which directs it rather than to the sentiments of the Greek people.

A short sketch of the relations of Greece with Russia and with England since her emancipation will prove the truth of this. The Greek revolution emerged with Ipsylanti from the very heart of Russia, and the hope of an active intervention of that power sustained his first steps. But the destruction of the expedition in the Wallachian provinces soon enlightened the Greeks, and gave them to understand that they were once more to be sacrificed by the Russians, who had urged them on, hoping that the times were ripe for their own projects. But this time, though abandoned, they determined to recoil no longer, and begun alone their long and glorious struggle with a feeling of bitterness against Russia, by whom they had been so often exposed without ever receiving help; and during the first years of the revolution that power was represented by no party, nor exercised the smallest influence in the country. In 1824, when a party was formed in Greece, who, looking to France, conceived the hope of sanctioning the revolution by calling to the head of the nation a prince of the house of Orleans, the present Duc de

Nemours; at the same time their political rivals formed an English party, which made the first step and committed the first fault of English policy in Greece. Great Britain, before any party took her interests, as it were, under their guardianship in the private intention of turning her influence to their own profit, was in Greece the object of universal sympathy. The Greeks recollected with enthusiasm that, when at their very worst, England alone had employed her omnipotence on the sea to come to their aid, that in their desperate struggle she had encouraged them with sympathy, and that she was the first to recognize their national independence. In 1824 then, when Ibrahim Pasha was devastating the Morea, and when Greece, on the brink of the precipice, would have considered as a saviour sent from heaven whoever extended a helping hand, had England given her disinterested aid, she might have established an influence as durable as legitimate. But the self-constituted friends of England in Greece, consulting their ambition rather than their strength, came forward with a proposal which was nothing less than a barter of the independence of their country against the first places which they aspired to hold therein. They presented a petition with a great number of signatures, demanding the exclusive protectorate of England as in the Ionian islands. This inconsiderate proceeding raised suspicions against the honourable and disinterested views of England, and excited all the national susceptibility. The austere and virtuous patriot, Ipsylanti, made a solemn protestation in the National Assembly; and though the English government wisely abstained from adhering to the petition, still their influence suffered severely, and the election of Count Capodistria by the Assembly of Egina was the counter-blow of that impolitic act. But that election was no proof of the existence of a Russian party in Greece; for it was not as an adherent of that policy that Capodistria was chosen by the Greeks, but because he was their countryman; because he was preceded by a great reputation of capacity, and because for some time before he had declared his renunciation of the Czar and his policy; and to give a greater guarantee of his conversion, had retired to the lake of Geneva, as if to breathe the air of liberty. It was there that his election found him. With a skill which was quite peculiar, and which bore witness to his apprenticeship in the service of Russia, he succeeded in a short time in rooting himself firmly in the country, and in drawing round him, by the attraction of material interests, a great many elements of power. But no sooner was he so firmly established as to be obliged no longer to conceal under the mask of the democrat of Geneva the agent of the Emperor of Russia, than a tempest of opposition broke out against him, and except Colocotroni and a few Pelopon-

nosian military chiefs, who still upheld him, the nation rose like one man to repulse his policy. The aversion against the Russian system was not the work of a party, it was universal; and it is well known that this general feeling of indignation among the Greeks ended in the assassination of Capodistria. The opposition which was acting then so strongly against the Russian policy thus imposed on the Greeks, represented the only two parties (the English and the French) which had existed at all, till Capodistria himself formed a third. Prince Leopold, elected to the throne of Greece, was saluted with universal joy by the nation, though his intimate connexion with England was well known; and what excited against Capodistria the greatest animosity, was the discovery of the secret machinations by which he obtained the abdication of that prince, to whom he represented the people as impossible to govern, though he continued to govern them himself. It is evident, then, that the idea of the exclusive influence of Russia in Greece, founded on the identity of religion, is quite erroneous; that a party of that colour did not exist at all till formed by the head of the government himself, and that the balance of the political sympathies of the Greeks has always, on the contrary, leant towards England and France.

The death of the President allowed these two oppressed parties to appear in their true strength, but also with their respective weight. The Count Augustine Capodistria, who succeeded to his brother, remained at Nauplia surrounded by a handful of men, whilst the liberal government named in opposition to his, and who had retired in arms to the rocks of Perachora, were followed by almost all the distinguished statesmen and principal chiefs. But it then became evident that the French party had more real strength than the English. Though the latter had put themselves more forward in the opposition during the life of Capodistria, it was the former who played the principal part, when it became necessary to act, because they were in reality stronger. And this ought to have served as a lesson to the English party, not to put themselves imprudently forward, without measuring their strength. This is the secret of the bad success of English influence in Greece. The great fault of those who constitute and direct the English party has always been to mistake their own strength, and to pretend to a complete monopoly of power, to which they can never attain; and the great fault of the policy of the English government has been to follow them in that false line. The preponderancy of the French party proceeded, first, from the greater frequency of the commercial relations of Greece with France than with England; and, next, from the circumstance that the young men frequent by preference the universities of France, when more serious studies do not attract them to Germany; but

the principal reason for the greater development of the French party over the English, may be found in the different characters of the two men who have always been at the head of these two parties, and in the different lines of conduct which each of them have followed. In speaking of these two men, whose history, it may be said, is the political history of Greece, we shall try to paint them without allowing ourselves to be influenced by the high colouring given to them by parties prejudiced for or against them.

Coletti, born in Epirus, studied medicine in the universities of Italy, and returned to practise his profession at the court of the famous Ali Pasha of Jannina. It was there that he became connected with all the warlike chiefs of Roumelia; and being initiated in their projects for the approaching insurrection of the Greeks, soon obtained a very great influence over them. He was a man of serious and profound thought, and at the same time enthusiastic, and of great feeling. And as the chief strength of the Greek revolution lay in the Roumeliote warriors, Coletti, who had them at his disposal, acquired great weight in the destinies of his country. During the internal divisions which always ravaged Greece, even during her fiercest struggle against the Turks, Coletti's interest, as well as position, attached him to the party of the soldiers against the primates or landed proprietors; and he had always to combat the difficulties that the latter continually threw in the way of the defenders of their country, in their jealous fear lest the influence of the military chiefs should become greater than their own. It was thus, that at a time when all seemed lost, when Missolonghi was offered up as a holocaust to liberty, and Nauplia was almost the only town occupied by the Greeks, he formed the bold project of an invasion of the provinces occupied by the Turks; and having armed Caraiskaki, the greatest warrior whom modern Greece has produced, he had the happiness of contributing to the salvation of his country. This conduct attached the soldiers still more to him, and gained him the affection of the people, who, exasperated at the petty intrigues of personal ambition, and indignant at seeing the strength of the nation neutralized by internal quarrels, demanded loudly to march against the enemy, and enthusiastically applauded those who used their influence to that end.

Mavrocordato, the leader of the English party, bears the original and indelible stigma of being a Phanariote; this is sufficient to prevent his ever attaining to very great popularity. But all our readers may not be equally familiar with the signification of this term, which amounts to a sentence of condemnation in Greece. The Phanariotes were before the revolution the princes

or Grecian nobles at Constantinople, living in a quarter of the town called the Phanar. From among them were chosen the almost independent princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, and they directed all the foreign relations of the Ottoman empire with the European powers. They always employed their great influence in protecting their nation against the oppressor, in defending their privileges, and spreading the benefits of education by instituting schools all over Greece. The first idea of the Greek insurrection was conceived and fostered by them; they were almost all members of the Hetocria which prepared this movement, and as soon as it broke out, their blood was the first to be shed in torrents on the altar of their country's liberty. The Turks satiated on them and on the venerable Patriarch of the Church their first rage for vengeance. Of the few who escaped the carnage, some died sword in hand; others, as Negri, who was the author of the first code of laws which ruled free Greece, Mavrocordato, &c., have rendered signal services to their country. Such are the Phanariotes, and yet they are detested. This arises from those who, seeking to excite the popular feeling of the nation in preparation for the revolution, attacked as a means all aristocratic principles, and the class which was considered as representing them. This class was, therefore, cried down and calumniated, when it was no longer there to defend itself; the axe of the Turks had reduced it to silence. This was unjust, certainly, but it was so; and Mavrocordato has the disadvantage of belonging to this class. This circumstance, however, gave him on the other hand the advantage of a superior education, and he entered on his career with a much greater knowledge of the world than Coletti. Mavrocordato has an extremely subtle turn of mind, an insinuating character, great skill in turning to his own profit the interest and the weaknesses of others, and an ambition without bounds. He played an important part in the national assembly and provisional governments in which he had a share; but his party, for the double reason which we have just explained, always possessed less material strength than that of his rival, and ought never to attempt to combat alone.

But, though the English party may, in consequence of these circumstances, have less numerical force than the French, it does not the less exist, and has taken deep root in the country. And it now remains to be proved whether, on the institution of the royal government, it found in King Otho, as has been alleged, a prejudiced adversary systematically hostile to English policy; or whether its unsuccessfulness may not, after as well as before that period, be once more attributed to the false line which it con-

tinued to follow. The first relations of the King of Greece were with England. He arrived in his new kingdom on board an English frigate; and he then conceived such a friendship for his host of the Madagascar, that he asked as a particular favour that he should be chosen ambassador. It was thus that Sir Edmund Lyons changed his naval uniform for a diplomatic one. The person placed at the head of the regency was the Count Armansperg, formerly Bavarian ambassador in London; and when some months after the arrival of the Bavarians in Greece, the divisions in the regency rendered it indispensable that either the president or the members should be recalled, the court of Bavaria awarded the triumph to the former, who was well known to be attached to English policy. The Count Armansperg became from that moment the adherent or rather the idol of the British legation in Athens; all his acts were represented as prodigies; the golden age had returned to fortunate Greece, so much so, that when the Duc de Broglie proposed to give Greece a constitution, the English government answered that she had no occasion for it, notwithstanding that this country reputed to be so happy, was undergoing the consequences of the bad administration of the count. Inferior to the colleagues he had supplanted, he had neither the practical knowledge, the untarnished integrity, nor the philhellenic sentiments of Maurer; nor the habits of business and the great activity of Abel. His principal object was to maintain himself in power; he sought by every means to create adherents, and descending from the elevated position which belonged to the head of the government to the petty intrigues of a partizan, he shut his eyes to all abuses, tolerated the irregularity of the service, sacrificed public interest to that of his own preservation, and only sought to dazzle the country and foreigners by ordonnances full of sounding words, but emanating from an entire ignorance of the country, and a complete indifference to its wants. In short, his administration finished by destroying all the good effected during the first period of the regency, and putting every branch of the service into disorder. Still, however, the epoch of the presidency of Armansperg, was the most successful period of English policy in Greece. It was neither Mavrocordato nor the British legation that then represented that policy in Athens; it was the count himself. But he did so with moderation; he showed no exclusive preference for individuals, he persecuted no party, and no party had any interest in persecuting him, or rather he had reduced all parties pretty much into one—his own; and consequently he was strong against opposition from abroad, as that opposition would have had but little footing in the country; and if he had managed the affairs of Greece as well as he did his own

and those of England; his power and British influence might have lasted very long indeed. And this period of omnipotency has left in certain minds reminiscences and regrets, which have probably contributed to fix the line which English policy has since followed in Greece.

King Otho, on attaining his majority, still confided to Count Armandsparg the direction of affairs, naming him high chancellor of state. It was, therefore, towards England that the young monarch bore him; but the vices of the administration were too flagrant. The king who, during his minority, had been kept carefully by Armandsparg in ignorance of public affairs, began to see clearly for himself, and was not long in understanding all the faults of the system; and after much hesitation, yielded at length to evidence, and determined to dismiss a man who was in his name ruining the country. The king went to Germany for his marriage; the count, aware that his conduct was observed, began to entertain serious doubts as to the royal intentions towards him. At length he learnt by a secret dispatch, that King Otho had arrived at Corfu on his return, and was accompanied by a sort of councillor, who seemed far advanced in his good graces. Immediately the Greek public, who knew nothing of this fact, were surprised by unwonted symptoms of activity on the part of the high chancellor. A perfect shower of ordonnances, organizations, and regulations of the highest importance, fell upon all the branches of the administration. The count, fearful lest the king was bringing a successor to his office, inundated the government in the course of three or four days with all these ill-digested regulations, for the most part copied in haste from those of Bavaria; in order to prove that he had settled every thing during the king's absence, and that his successor would find nothing to do. But these hasty labours, of which one of his secretaries was the author, or rather the copier, bore the visible impress of the speed with which they had been compiled, and more than one branch of the public service suffers to this day from their imperfections. At the same time he caused the senate to vote an address to the king, in which it was said that Greece could not possibly be governed without the count, and demanding respectfully, but distinctly, a constitution. This constitution, which had been declared a superfluity in London as long as Armandsparg was at the helm, was now put forward as a Medusa's head, to petrify the new councillor, and to bring the king repentant into the arms of the chancellor. But these machinations did not succeed, his cause was already decided.

In all this it was the circumstances, and not a coldness towards England, which caused the substitution of Budhart for Armandsparg. It was one of those many changes of wind in politics

which circumstances bring about, and of which prudence, with patience and gentle means, get the better. On the contrary, it is especially since that time that the English policy in Greece has completely changed its character. A violent and vindictive line of conduct was adopted, which only embittered the mutual relations instead of re-establishing them; instead of trying to win back the Greek government by gentle means, and by acts of benevolence, which are always the surest ties, an offensive position was unskilfully taken up, which had the contrary result from what was intended, as it only threw Greece forcibly towards the other powers; and the end in view was rendered still more distant by the complete incorporation of the English interests with one of the factions of the country, whose passions were espoused, and the blame of whose faults became mutual. To make their principles prevail by persuasion or ability, ought to have been the object of the English government; on the contrary, they have attached their fate to that of a few individuals, whom they uphold by violent means. This is a double fault, a bad appreciation of the means by which influence is acquired or preserved. Budhart, it is true, leant towards Russia; but so evident is it that he was not chosen in the view of changing the line of foreign policy, that in spite of his estimable qualities, the king not finding in him the capacity and knowledge of business which he had expected, soon replaced him by a Greek ministry. All along King Otho still continued to show no repugnance to English policy, and never refused to return to it, when circumstances rendered it necessary. Armansperg had while in power sent, for reasons of his own, into an honourable exile all the *too* influential men. Coletti was sent to Paris; and Mavrocordato to Munich, and afterwards to London. But when, in 1841, King Otho determined upon making some fundamental changes in his system of government, which the wants and the development of the country demanded, and anxious at the same time to do every thing in his power to conciliate the good will of England, it was Mavrocordato whom he recalled, with the advice also of his brother, the present King of Bavaria, then in Greece, for the purpose of confiding to him that important task; which proves that neither the king nor the court of Bavaria, on whose inspiration he was supposed to act, had any prejudice against that statesman, or against the policy he represented. And that this ministry failed at its very outset, was no proof to the contrary, as the king made very considerable concessions to please Mavrocordato. He consented to suppress his cabinet; to dismiss from the court individuals in whom he had the greatest confidence; but he could not come to an understanding with him on the



modifications necessary in the state. It was a misfortune for Greece, and the king ought, perhaps, then to have yielded; but it was as much the form as the substance of the measures proposed that retained him. Mavrocordato presented them as a project determined on between himself and the cabinets of London and Paris, without the participation or knowledge of the king. Besides, these measures had the disadvantage of being most unpopular. In fact, when Mavrocordato was recalled to Greece, all eyes were fixed on him, no one doubting that he would demand the constitution, which had become the password of the English legation, since their influence over the government had escaped them, and thus save the country from the risk of a subsequent shock, in obtaining at once all that could be desired. It was, therefore, a cause of universal disappointment, when Mavrocordato only demanded several slight modifications in the council of state. Public opinion disavowed him at once, and the negotiations ended in his accepting the embassy to Constantinople, and the ministry being formed by Christides, on a simple promise from the king that he would prepare the constitution. This minister had formerly, it is true, been one of the friends of Coletti; but he always had an ambitious desire to stand alone, and then also hoisted his own standard, and deserted that of his ancient leader. He was then quite disposed to conciliate the English party, if they would have accepted his advances. But it was in vain; Christides, in the eyes of certain persons, had the unpardonable fault of not being Mavrocordato, and unfortunately the English policy in Greece, forgetting its own interests, already shared the interest and the prejudices of these individuals, and instead of treating with him, war was declared. Thus forced to look to his own defence, Christides turned for support to France, which, on the arrival of Piscatory in Greece, only agreed to support him in concert with England. But these efforts did not alter the English policy, and the British and Russian ambassadors, in combination, raised the excitement which ended in the revolution of September, 1843. However the king, faithful to his promise to Christides, did in fact employ himself in preparing a form of constitution adapted to the state of the country; and it is as little known, but a positive fact, that the revolution of September, 1843, broke out on the evening of the very day on which the king had announced to the foreign ambassadors that he had decided on proclaiming the constitution. And it is thought with reason, that those who having other ends in view, were interested in a revolution taking place in Greece, hurried on its explosion as soon as they knew that if another day passed it would be superfluous. However, this revolution was of little advantage to

its principal authors, at least, to those of the English party. In the first place, the unjust decree of the National Assembly, which excluded from all public offices all Greeks not born within the now free part of the country, deprived them of many of their advantages; besides, they fell once more into the same fault as before, by trying to grasp at more than their strength permitted. During the National Assembly, as long as Mavrocordato and Coletti from the gravity of the circumstances remained united, their influence was so great that all others were obliged to give way before them, and the king confided to them the formation of the cabinet. This ministry would have combined every possible element of strength; but it broke down on the division of the portfolios. Coletti proposed either that he should divide the offices in two parts, and that Mavrocordato should choose the share that suited his friends, or that Mavrocordato should divide the offices, and Coletti have the choice. So equitable a proposal was not accepted; and the king, compelled to choose between the two statesmen, decided for Mavrocordato, who composed his cabinet entirely of adherents to the English party. This was a serious error, as he was not strong enough to maintain himself thus isolated. Coletti promised to support him, and did so at first sincerely; but the new ministry seemed, as if purposely, to act so as to render this impossible. In the distribution of places, not only all the friends of M. Coletti were completely set aside, but all those who had employment were dismissed. The consequence was that all united to threaten Coletti that they would abandon him altogether, if he continued to support a ministry which acted in such a hostile manner towards them. All these circumstances would have been of very little consequence to the influence of England in Greece, if the policy of that nation had not been so completely identified with the individuals then in power, as to make its fate depend entirely upon theirs. The ministry was therefore supported to the utmost; all their acts were declared legitimate, the complaints of the other two parties were treated as seditious and calumnious, and their candidates in the elections were denounced in every possible way as enemies to order. In spite of all this, however, the ministry was too weak to stand, having to combat two factions, each of which were stronger than itself; and besides, what gave the finishing stroke to its unpopularity, was the barefaced manner in which the elections of the first chamber of deputies were interfered with: it is true, that these accusations were denied as calumnious; but a letter from the minister of justice, which was discovered and published in the newspapers, proved their truth, and caused so much scandal, that the retreat of the ministers became inevitable.

They only lasted a few months longer, and fell before a popular riot, in which King Otho presented himself courageously to the crowd, and only succeeded in preventing the effusion of blood, by promising to change his ministry. It is then evident by all that precedes, that King Otho at several different periods called the English party to the direction of affairs, that he never treated them as enemies, and that he was always ready to give them their equal share of power when they were willing to accept it.

M. Coletti and M. Metana, chief of the Russian party, succeeded to the Mavrocordato ministry; but had those who directed the policy of England in Greece done so with greater skill and coolness, they might have foreseen that this forced alliance could not last, and that, with a little patience, the French party must come round again to them. On the contrary, the fallen faction let loose all their fury against their successors; no means was spared to overthrow them; their newspapers were crowded with the most revolting accusations; their tone became even seditious, and at length they ended in using open revolt as an arm.

In 1845, a wise and moderate speech of Lord Aberdeen's, in the House of Lords, repelling the bitter accusations of Lord Beaumont against the Greek government, produced the greatest effect in Greece, was spoken of in the two chambers of that country with gratitude, and turned anew all the sympathy of the Greeks towards England, with the hope that the English government did not perhaps share the errors of the legation, who were becoming more and more the dupe and the organ of the ambition of certain individuals. But since 1846, and the formation of the present ministry in England, the evil received a still greater augmentation, and emanated from a higher source. Lord Palmerston saw with the eyes of Sir Edmund Lyons, who saw with those of the Greek opposition. From that moment all the diatribes of the journals of that party (and the *sycophants* of modern Greece are well worthy of their ancestors) were embodied in the despatches, and often became the subject of violent notes. The greatest exaggerations, the most monstrous fables, were put into the mouths of the orators of both houses of Parliament, and in substance confirmed by Lord Palmerston. In consequence of this system, the most vexatious demands were addressed without ceasing to the Greek government, and leaving them neither rest nor respite. This was certainly not the most skilful way of conducting the affairs of England in Greece. The most influential party being in power, the English government ought to have kept on good terms with it,—to have tried to win it, not to combat with it. England was loved in the country,—they ought not

to have alienated that affection : her influence was established on anterior benefits conferred,—they ought not to have destroyed it, nor to have made it depend on the fall of such or such a party ; they ought not to have confided it to the patronage, and united it to the fate of a faction ; above all, since that faction put as a condition to its existence the overthrow of the throne : for, since the death of Coletti, the opposition have taken a still more significant attitude. It is no longer against the ministry, but against the king himself, that their attacks are now directed. All this, for England, is like seeking, by the most thorny, the longest or perhaps an altogether impossible road, to obtain what is already within her grasp. Even were all the recriminations of the Greek opposition indubitably true, England ought to have limited herself to advising, to exhorting, remembering that advice given with a good grace is generally received in the same manner, keeping completely out of party quarrels, and not giving the lie to the good-will which the English have always shown to Greece.

But it may, perhaps, be said that it is precisely the interest which the English government take in the prosperity of the Greek people that makes them consider it as a duty to raise their voice in their defence, and to sacrifice their relations with a government which is ruining the country, by taking the side of the opposition which promises to save it. This point of view, if it really is the true one, certainly does honour to their philanthropy ; but it also obliges us to give a rapid glance at the principal accusations brought against the Greek government and its chief, and to examine how far they are conformable to truth, and serious enough to justify the extreme severity of the English policy ; and whether the latter has not, with too easy confidence, admitted as a rule of conduct the inventions, or at least the exaggerations of party spirit.

An opinion received without contestation by all those to whom the Greek opposition journals serve as an authority, is, that King Otho is devoid of even the most common-place intelligence. This is so well accredited, particularly in England, that an assertion to the contrary would probably be treated as a paradox : yet we are firmly persuaded, that if all the ministers who have ever served under King Otho were to be interrogated, they would not bear witness to his want of intelligence. What they particularly complain of in him is the excessive perspicuity with which he distinguishes the most minute details in an affair, and often startles and embarrasses them excessively by the most unexpected, but often the most just objections. If this is not a kingly virtue, for too great an attention to details smothers the whole, and disturbs the general point of view, it is certainly

a proof of subtlety and penetration in the intellectual faculties of the King of Greece. As to his other qualities, his love of justice is proverbial in Greece, and acknowledged even by his enemies: he often carries it to an excess which almost becomes a fault: for in a king, who ought to combine all things in such a manner as to hold the balance equal between opposing interests, even excess, even that of a virtue, may be considered as a fault. His humanity cannot be contested any more than his justice; he has perhaps abused, if one may say so, his privilege of pardon, and never seriously punished a political crime. Successive amnesties have always re-instated all those whom the law had condemned for reasons of this nature, and it has even been said that so much clemency resembled weakness. His private life is of a most exemplary austerity; on this head the court of Greece has indeed exercised a most salutary influence on the morality of the higher society of that new-born nation. In fine, it is also beyond doubt that King Otho is gifted with great natural intrepidity. On the night of the 15th September, 1843, and in the riot of the 16th of August, 1844, he presented himself courageously to the mob; and at all times, when the opposition is declaiming against his person in the most violent manner, both in the newspapers and in the taverns, he is to be seen traversing the town almost alone and with the most perfect calmness. But, of course, the medal has also its reverse. The indecision and temporizing of King Otho are well known, and are often a serious hindrance to the regular march of the government. But these faults spring also from his punctilious equity, which makes him never decide upon any thing until he has examined every thing himself, weighed every thing; for his attachment to the country he governs is deep and sincere,—so much so, that it has often been said by those who lose patience at the disastrous intrigues of some individuals, who may truly be called the enemies of their country, that King Otho is the most true Greek at heart in the kingdom.

Another accusation which the opposition direct against the king himself, in order to take from him the affection of the people, is, that he accepted the constitution with hypocritical intentions, and that he is working secretly to destroy it. The constitution of Greece is far from being a master-piece as regards the country, and the result has proved it; but, such as it is, it is indispensable; and King Otho having once admitted it as the fundamental law of his kingdom, whoever is acquainted with his character and his religious strictness in every thing concerning an oath or a promise, never could believe the aim of his policy to be that of which he is accused. The revolution of 1843, in which

he had been forced to resign himself even to thank and decorate the troops who had risen in revolt against him, had shaken the throne to its very foundation; and, to save the country from impending anarchy, the most urgent necessity was to give back to royalty a part of the prestige and strength it had lost. Mavrocordato, the first to whom the task was committed, would not or could not acquit himself of it. Instead of trying to raise the king, he seemed rather resolved to humiliate him still more: he imposed upon him, in his own palace, as aide-de-camp, the General Callergi, the leader of the revolt; and as orderly officer in waiting, an infantry lieutenant, who, in the tumult, crowned with roses, like a Bacchus, had the insolence to hold out a bottle of wine to the queen, who was at the window of the palace, for her to drink to the Constitution. In short, Mavrocordato, during the few months of his administration, weighed upon the throne with all the weight of his unpopularity. Coletti, who succeeded him, saw that the safety of the state was at stake; that not a moment must be lost, and no means spared to prop up the throne with all the elements of strength that were to be found in the country. This was the first necessity; every thing else was secondary. He surrounded the king with the greatest possible respect, and tried to rally round the government all the depositaries of strength and influence, be they whom they might, such as General Tzavella, Colocotroni, Glaraki in the Russian party, and Stratos in the English. He repulsed those of his ancient friends, who, like Generals Grivas and Grisiotti, thought they might impose their pretensions on the royal authority; and it ought not to appear surprising that he took from Sir Richard Church the very important post of commander-general of the forces; for, though a most excellent man, he belonged to the least moderate faction of the opposition; and he left him his rank in the army, which was afterwards resigned, and his place as senator. When the opposition raised the rebellion of Grivas first, and then of Grisiotti, Coletti succeeded, in a few days, in quieting these disturbances; and the English policy being then hostile to Greece, he assured to the government the support of France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria. These were services sufficiently important to explain the trust that King Otho placed in this minister, without considering it as the reward of a plot woven against the constitution. Besides, had this plot existed, M. Coletti and the king must have been very skilful never to allow the slightest trace of it to appear, and very unskilful never to have tried to put it into execution. The Coletti ministry, named after the elections had been terminated under the auspices of M. Mavrocordato, yet disposed of a very compact

majority; still that majority was never employed to destroy the constitution. A year later, the opposition, profiting by the discontent of several deputies, who had supposed that their position authorized them to make the most exaggerated personal demands, succeeded in gaining them over against the ministry, whom they thought thus to constrain to every concession; but the opposition, thus augmented, chose an unfortunate field of battle in opposing the highly popular mode of tax-gathering which the ministry had proposed. M. Coletti preferred dissolving the chamber, and consulting the nation; and the nation answered by a general manifestation of confidence in electing a chamber in which the opposition was scarcely represented at all. As far as this, there was nothing unconstitutional.

But here the opposition entrenched themselves in their last stronghold; the senate had been constituted under the ministry of M. Mavrocordato, and almost exclusively of his friends. In the answer to the king's speech, the senate chose therefore to attack the lower chamber, declaring it illegally elected. Such a collision between the two legislative bodies would have been the ruin of the constitution, and might have the most fatal results. The king declared to the senate that he could not accept such an address: this was cried out against as a violation of the constitution, whereas in reality it was its salvation. But the opposition from thenceforward continued to declare the chamber illegal, the ministry guilty of having interfered in the elections, and the king the author of all the evil for having tolerated and directed these proceedings. It is not necessary to be very deeply versed in the theory of constitutional government to understand that the ministers being alone responsible, the king has no right to oppose their acts, until the nation has pronounced against them by the voice of the parliament. Besides, if we are correctly informed, and we believe we are so, the intervention so much blamed of the Coletti ministry was not that of violence, but on most occasions the simple expression of the desire of the government with regard to the candidate to be preferred; and almost every where the people returned the ministerial candidate, which proved nothing else than that the people, tired of internal divisions, only wished the stability of order, and placed implicit confidence in the government. According to the opposition, however, the chamber was illegal, the ministry supported by it was in good logic anti-national, and the king who maintained the one and the other an enemy to the constitution and the leader of a party. And the truth of this they tried to prove by three successive revolts, which if they proved any thing it was quite the contrary, for the nation repulsed them. That King Otto should maintain a ministry sup-

ported by the parliament of the country, and by the great majority of the foreign diplomacy, was, in our opinion, as prudent as it was constitutional; and that he had become the leader of a party was disproved, when, after the death of Coletti, he immediately thought of, and in the month of March last, finally proposed to Mavrocordato to form a cabinet, notwithstanding that the newspapers of his party were full of the most malignant insinuations against the king himself, whom they represented as the author of all the evils that were, according to them, destroying the country. But Mavrocordato annexed to his acceptance conditions which gave it to be understood, that the opposition had something quite different in view from the mere change of the ministry. He demanded the dissolution of the chamber, and a general amnesty for all the rebels. But the chamber had already been dissolved the year before; and the exercise of the royal prerogative of dissolution twice in the space of one parliamentary period, is a constitutional anomaly, almost a violation of the will of the nation, not to speak of the financial embarrassments it would indubitably cause. Besides, the late events in France had caused such excitement in the country, that it was not without very great danger that new elections could have been attempted; besides it was unnecessary, as the chamber promised to support the new ministry, and at the same time the king offered them an act of dissolution to be had the moment that promise was transgressed; but Mavrocordato insisted. In the same manner he insisted on the general amnesty, in spite of the observation that continued impunity was lowering the consideration of the government and emboldening crime, and that this measure would bring back into the country a horde of dangerous and perhaps ill-intentioned men. But the king finally ended in sacrificing prudence to humanity, and yielded this point, though the result was soon seen. No sooner had the protégés of the opposition received their pardon, than they passed the frontiers as rebels, bringing even Turks to overthrow the throne. However, King Otho not having come to terms with Mavrocordato, not the less changed his ministry, and formed the new cabinet from among the more moderate of the English party; which is another proof that he did not systematically avoid that party, and that if Mavrocordato is not at the head of affairs, it is his own fault. But what characterises the line followed by the English policy in Greece is, that scarcely was this ministry formed when it was disowned, because one man was wanting in it. Every thing for him, nothing without him.

We cannot pass in silence another accusation against the king of Greece and his ministers, which has furnished ample matter for the opposition. It is, that the country is infested by numerous



brigands liberated by Coletti. During Mavrocordato's ministry the rather cavalier manner in which the elections were watched over, had exasperated and roused to arms many individuals; perhaps the then opposition was not perfectly innocent in this, but any way the government treated these men as brigands, and in that they were to a certain degree right. But when the then opposition became in their turn government, these men, who had no further reason for discontent, demanded their pardon; and the Coletti ministry knowing well they were not brigands, and not caring to have to reduce them by force when they were ready to yield of their own accord, pardoned them. The opposition, therefore, cried loudly for two years that Coletti had covered Greece with brigands, whom he had in his pay to serve his own purposes; and Mr. Baillie Cochrane several times repeated the same in parliament. But, in the first place, it is singular, that these same brigands should have been every where pursued and exterminated by the very government who was supposed to keep them in pay; secondly, that all those who were caught, or whose name was known, happened to be by their antecedents in connexion with the leaders of the opposition; and, finally, that that very opposition, who raised such cries of holy horror against the amnesty of those whom they called brigands, lately annexed as a condition to their acceptance of power a general amnesty and without restriction, to several hundreds of real brigands.

To complete the picture of ferocious tyranny of which King Otho is accused, it has been often repeated in England, and was the great hobby of Mr. Baillie Cochrane, that that prince rejoiced in the blood of his subjects and delighted in torture. But this extraordinary accusation must have been generally treated as a calumny, or it would have awakened all over Europe a cry of horror against a prince, who, in the middle of the nineteenth century, ventured to renew the amusements of Nero; and the Greeks must be wonderfully inconsistent to have fought ten years against the Turks, and now submit to a king who orders them to be tortured. But no, there is not a single man who has known the King of Greece, who would not repulse such a calumny. We have already said that his fault is, an excess of humanity.

It is, above all, a certain Tzino, a captain of gendarmerie, who is said to be the executor of these acts of tyranny. This Tzino is a very active officer, who extirpated the brigandage in Acarnania, where that evil is endemic. Did he always do so with the code of laws in his hand? Perhaps not; for, from the habits and peculiar circumstances of that province, with legal forms he never would have caught a single brigand. It seems that he found the best way to take the brigands was to attack those who concealed

them, which he did by extra-judicial means, such as lodging his soldiers in their houses, &c.; and though these means may seem irregular in a regularly organized society, in Arcanania they never failed in their effect. And the best proof that this officer never employed torture, nor committed any act of barbarity that could be complained of, is, that when the late ministry recalled him from that province, the inhabitants earnestly solicited by successive petitions his return, as being the only officer capable of insuring public safety. All the horrible stories which have been told of him, were at the time contradicted by the official journals in Greece, as gratuitous inventions of those whom he prevented from exciting disturbances; and yet not the less, every time the Greek loan is taken into consideration in either house of parliament these stories re-appear, to heighten the interest of certain harangues, by giving them a more dramatic turn.

In short, the Greek opposition and their upholders elsewhere have done and said so much, that it is now a generally received idea by some, that Greece is a sort of political abortion, destined to die of inanition; by others, that a bad government has dried up in her the sources of life, has made her go back in the path of civilization and prosperity, has squandered her resources, and fraudulently subtracted, or foolishly dilapidated the funds with which they ought to acquit the debt due to the European powers. That Greece does not possess the conditions of existence is a great error. Excepting her small extent, and consequently her political weakness, she possesses advantages that are wanting to many countries larger than herself. Her position and her geographical conformation, her situation with regard to the populations of Turkey, the fertility of her soil, her fortunate climate, the intelligence and activity of her inhabitants, their degree of civilization, and even their small number in proportion to the extent of their territory, are sources of prosperity so abundant, that the plague of pauperism, which consumes the kingdoms of Europe, is almost entirely unknown. The second question now remains to be examined, whether all those benefits bestowed by nature on Greece, are not lost to her through a government which represses her development, and throws her resources to the wind. The too impatient friends of Greece, as well as her too exacting creditors, may reasonably regret that her progress is not more rapid; but it is also just to inquire whether it could easily have been so, and how far it could be asked of the government. The successive diminution which may be remarked for some years past in the revenues of the country, is undoubtedly an alarming symptom; the existence of the evil is undeniable, but the cause to which it has been attributed is not so. If, as it has been pretended, the primary cause is the King of Greece himself, or the

government acting at his instigation, this diminution ought to have manifested itself, above all, during the reign of absolutism, and not since the constitution has set bounds to the royal power ; yet it is the contrary that has taken place. It is since 1843 that the financial position has become worse. The people pay more, and the treasury receives less. Before the revolution the receipts were gradually augmenting, and in 1840 the revenue had risen to seventeen millions of drachms, (about 671,000*l.* sterling,) and the state was then able to pay three and a half millions of the interest of the foreign debt. From 1844 to 1847, on the contrary, the revenue has diminished gradually to thirteen, twelve, eleven, and finally to nine and a half millions. It is therefore evident, that nothing can be more unjust, than to lay on King Otho the blame of the squandering and consequent reduction of the revenue. Nor can the Coletti ministry, who governed the country from 1843 to 1847, bear that blame, as these afflicting symptoms in the finances had already begun in 1844. It is, therefore, elsewhere that the reason is to be sought for, and the epoch of their first appearance furnishes it at once.

We are far from admitting the doctrine of a certain absolute sovereign, who styled a representative constitution a *system* of corruption. A constitution, applied to Greece according to her real wants and her local circumstances, composed by disinterested men, having nothing in view but the good of the country, would be the greatest boon that could be granted to the country. That of 1843 is a production of theory, admitted in Greece on the faith and example of other nations ; having nothing in common with her, neither her morals, nor her wants, nor her social condition. In France, and still more in England, influence and capacity go together ; and the representative elections send to the capital a contingent of learning, probity, experience, and knowledge of local wants. Malversation, in the exercise of public functions, is branded as the most infamous of actions. In Greece, on the contrary, in the present state of society, influence, at least local influence, is quite distinct from capacity. The former is to be found in the provinces among men who are in immediate contact with the people, and not very far distant from them by their education or their amount of learning ; the other is concentrated almost exclusively in Athens among men who have no immediate connexion with the provinces. It was to these last that before the constitution the functions in the State were principally confided, as their superior education, their greater erudition, their respect for their duty, were a warrant of their probity. But, since the nomination of the ministers depends upon the deputies, and the election of the deputies depends upon the electors, whose ideas of right and wrong have been considerably influenced

by the system of disorder under which they had grown up, and who cannot yet comprehend that the right they exercise is a precious privilege which they ought to be careful of profaning, it is no longer capacity, but influence, that is demanded of those who are at the head of affairs,—the influence of the ministers upon the deputies, the influence of the deputies upon the electors. And as, in a struggle between two equally influential candidates, the highest bidder gains the day, the deputy is named by dint of promises, and the ministry supported by dint of concessions; and, consequently, the embezzlement of the public fortune is all the more certain result of this constitutional game, that the ministers thus elected have rarely the capacity necessary to prevent it. M. Metaxa, when Minister of Finance in 1845, changed the mode of raising the revenue, which, as Greece has no register of lands, had always been done in a most primitive manner by farming out the taxes at a public auction. This manner, by which a third person was interposed between the contributory and the state, was extremely vexatious to the people, and highly unpopular. The ministry, yielding to the exclamations of the deputies, substituted for it the system of collecting the taxes directly by government agents. But as the choice of these collectors was generally imposed upon the minister by the influence of the deputies, and the finance officers in the provinces were more or less their creatures, collectors and officers play into each other's hands; and the treasury has undergone such enormous losses, that for 1848 the Government has been obliged to go back to the old plan of farming the revenue. Yes, it cannot be denied. It is that constitution which the English ministry rejected when their friends Armandsperg or Mavrocordato were in power, and which they imposed on Greece when Christides was at the head of affairs, that is the principal cause of the diminution in the revenue, and the daily increasing difficulty which that country finds in acquitting her debt to the foreign powers, and particularly to England, her severest creditor. King Otho and his Government have often been accused of being fraudulent debtors, of wishing by subterfuges to avoid paying their debt, and of wasting in useless expenses the sums destined thereunto. Such a reproach is a disgrace to the honour of a private individual, and still more so to that of a nation or a government; and those who make it should be very sure that it is not on the faith of unfounded calumnies that they give up to public reprobation a nation which rather claims interest for its involuntary misfortunes,—a Government, which has a right to approbation for the desperate perseverance with which it struggles against insurmountable difficulties. Though it seems to us beneath the dignity of England thus to place her heel twice a year on the neck of Greece, to force that:

noble creation of the sympathy of Europe to pay the miserable sum of 20,000*l.*, still we cannot contest her right, or even that it is her duty, before taking upon herself a foreign debt, to examine why she does so. To appreciate justly the obligations which the loan imposes upon Greece, one must recollect the circumstances under which it was contracted, and the manner in which it was disposed of.

It was in 1833 that England, France, and Russia, in constituting the kingdom of Greece, determined at the same time to sustain it by a loan of sixty-six millions of drachmas (2,000,000*l.*). This subsidy was without doubt generous and indispensable: royalty required this support to acquire authority; the young state, after the ravages of the war, and the oppressions of past ages, could not have attempted without this help a regular organisation. But this loan was less destined to defray the regular expenses of the country than to re-open the obstructed sources of national wealth, to create new resources, to make the land bear fruit, to enliven commerce and develop industry; and if it did not produce more than the annual sum of its own interest, it was not only useless, but certain to bring the country to bankruptcy; as it was impossible to expect that the interest, amounting to 3,800,000 drachmas a year, could ever come out of the limited revenue of the country.

The Greek nation was not consulted when this debt was contracted; and, indeed, it was not necessary, as it was not possible that such a benefit could be rejected. But what is infinitely more important is, that the nation was not consulted either on the use to be made of it. Though the war of emancipation had been extended by the Greeks at different periods of the revolution, even to the summit of Mount Athos, still the great powers, in their solicitude for the pacification of the East, decided that damages for the national property of the provinces, not occupied by Greek troops on the arrival of Capodistria, should be paid by Greece to Turkey to the amount of twelve millions and a half; and this they gave beforehand out of the loan. But the land thus purchased by the State was far from being worth this enormous sum, and did not yield more than a very small part of the interest of it, as all the most fertile lands in these provinces belonged to individual Turks, who sold them, on their own account, to Greeks or foreigners. Besides this, the charges on the realization and administration of the loan were enormous, and produced a loss to the Greeks, for negotiations, commissions, coinage, &c., of about 5,750,000 drachmas<sup>1</sup>. Out of the same

<sup>1</sup> A drachma is worth eightpence halfpenny. There are twenty-eight drachmas in a pound sterling.

loan were also retained all advances made formerly either by governments or private individuals, amounting to nearly 2,500,000 drachmas; and, lastly, the interest and sinking fund of the first year was subtracted from the capital; and when, after 1836, Greece was no longer able to pay the interest and sinking fund, they were deducted from the third instalment of the loan which had not yet been sent to Greece. In this manner, of the sixty-six millions of debt which weigh upon Greece, she only received in reality 19,612,000 drachmas; and even of that sum, from the year 1833 to 1836, were paid back, in interest and sinking fund, 7,163,408 drachmas. From which it follows that Greece, of whom is required the yearly payment of the interest of a debt of sixty-six millions of drachmas, did not, in fact, receive or apply to her wants more than twelve millions and a half. But did Greece profit even by the poor remains of this unlucky bounty? Our readers shall judge. According to the decision of the protecting powers, who did not ask the opinion of the Greeks, the regency arrived in Greece with a Bavarian army, and disbanded the native troops. It was thought that the safety of the new throne required this measure; but this was a great mistake. The halo which surrounded royalty, the general enthusiasm of the people, their weariness of internal divisions, and the recollection of the recent evils of anarchy, would have defended the throne much more efficaciously than all the German bayonets, and would have left the Government time to give the country a good military organization. The disbanded soldiers became brigands, and ravaged the country; and the presence of the foreigners caused two revolts, which the Bavarians could not quell, not being acquainted either with the country or with the tactics of the Greeks, who beat them completely. This foreign army cost eight millions in 1833, nine millions in 1834, and six millions and a half in 1835; whereas, from 1836, when the king dismissed them, the war department did not cost more than four millions. This, therefore, is what became of the loan of sixty-six millions of drachmas. We recapitulate, to make the statement more distinct:—

	Drachmas.
To the Turks for the purchase of the public property in Phthiotis .. .. .	12,500,000
<i>Non valeurs</i> and charges on the realization of the loan	5,750,000
Retained for former advances made to Greece .. ..	2,500,000
Interest and sinking fund paid by Greece .. ..	7,150,000
Interest and sinking fund retained on the capital ..	26,000,000
To the Bavarian army (addition to the budget from 1833 to 1835) .. .. .	11,500,000
Total .. ..	65,400,000

This, therefore, was the present made by Europe to Greece as constituting her as an independent state—a passive debt without an active balance, the interest of which amounts to a quarter of her annual revenue in the most prosperous years! And with this immense, this impossible burden, she is told to advance; she is accused of not advancing more rapidly; and the government of King Otho is blamed for her slow progress, whereas it ought rather to excite astonishment that so feeble a bark has not long since been submerged; and, at the least, interest should be awarded to the pilots who make such efforts to keep her afloat. But whatever may be said to the contrary, it is not the less certain that Greece, in spite of the weight thus hung round her neck, is advancing. That she should not yet have attained the degree of prosperity enjoyed by the most civilized nations of Europe, cannot surprise those who reflect that a country coming out of a slavery of several ages by a war of extermination, cannot arrive in the space of fifteen years at the point to which other nations have attained by the continued efforts of many centuries. And it is but just also to keep in mind the unfavourable circumstances which have even in the short space of time impeded the development of the Greek people. The discord between the members of the regency, the unskilful and interceded administration of Count Arnautovich, the financial crisis always impending from the demands for the interest of the loan, and, lastly, the revolution of 1843, the work of a party and the result of the encouragement it had received. Yet, notwithstanding all these obstacles, it is impossible not to acknowledge that the progress is great.

The successive augmentation of the revenue during the first eight years is proof sufficient.

In 1833 the revenue amounted to about					7,700,000 drachmas.
1834	..	..	..	..	11,100,000 "
1835	..	..	..	..	13,600,000 "
1836	..	..	..	..	13,600,000 "
1837	..	..	..	..	13,900,000 "
1838	..	..	..	..	14,300,000 "
1839	..	..	..	..	15,500,000 "
1840	..	..	..	..	17,500,000 "

A gradual augmentation from seven and a half millions to seventeen and a half would be inexplicable, did one not admit at the same time an equally growing prosperity, a proportional development in all the branches of national activity, and the salutary influence of the Government. And facts prove what we advance. During the oppression of the Turks, Greek commerce was not very extensive; but the sailors of that country, whose skill and

intrepidity is well known, profited by the wars which accompanied and followed the French revolution, made immense profits, and created for themselves a very considerable mercantile navy. When the Greek revolution broke out they offered their riches to their country, and changed their merchant vessels into fireships, which reduced their navigation and commerce to an extremely low state. After the arrival of King Otho, and the return of order and liberty, the efficacy of the measures taken by the government gave them a new life. By the reform in the system of coins, weights, and measures, the opportunities of fraud disappeared, and confidence was re-established in small traffic; it was also re-established in trade by the suppression of piracy, by the punishments inflicted on barratry, by the establishment of insurance companies; and on the exterior, the interests of commerce were protected by treaties made with almost all the powers of Europe, which put Greeks on a footing with the most favoured nations. Three elective chambers of commerce were instituted to give their advice on all questions concerning the interests of that branch of national activity. The French code was adopted as the law regulating the commercial transactions in Greece, and commercial lawsuits were sent to special tribunals, the judges being chosen from a list presented by the merchants. Finally, the import duty from one Greek port to another was suppressed as an illiberal impediment; and the tariff of the export and import duties, which oppressed the commerce, was modified. These measures of course produced their fruit; and the value of the imports, exports, transit, and coasting trade of the kingdom of Greece, which in 1833 was 26,800,000 drachmas, rose in 1840 to 78,800,000.

In the docks of Syra, the Piræus, Egina, and the islands, a most extraordinary activity reigns; and for several years past the mercantile navy has augmented at the rate of 600 ships, great and small, every year. The total number of ships is about 3000 of about 100 tons' weight, and more than 12,000 smaller for the coasting trade; and the freight of ships for long voyages during this year amounts to 12,000,000 drachmas.

Let us turn to the agriculture of Greece. Under the Turks the Greeks cultivated with a bad grace the crops they were never to reap; during the war of independence the greater part of the land remained uncultivated, but since their freedom the Greeks have busied themselves actively about their agriculture, and their government has given them every encouragement. It has instituted a model farm and nursery garden, which furnishes fruit-trees to the whole of Greece; it has granted to every peasant a *stremma* (1000 French square metres) of land for his garden free of tax; it has permitted whoever chooses to cultivate the national



lands without previous authorization, provided they pay a slight additional tax; the plantations have been protected by severe laws against the destruction of trees; and regulations have been published to facilitate colonization. Before the revolution of 1848 the government had undertaken to drain several marshes, that of a part of the lake Copaïs with the greatest success, and also that of Elis; at the same period several roads were constructed, from Athens to Livadia, to Megara, and several begun in the Peloponnesus. But there still remained without doubt wants which it was not in the power of the government to satisfy; for instance, there are about 100,000 families of labourers in Greece, and there are not more than 25,000 yoke of oxen. It would be necessary then to procure 75,000 more, so that each family might have a pair to cultivate the portion of land which falls to its share; but this would cost a sum of 30,000,000 of drachmas, which would have been much better paid out of the loan, than giving it all to the Turks, to European bankers, and to useless soldiers. However, agriculture continues to flourish. We shall only quote a few examples of this two of the most important productions of the country.

Greece in 1832 produced 4,000,000 lbs. of currants.				
"	1840	"	10,000,000	"
"	1845	"	15,500,000	"
"	1846	"	24,500,000	"
"	1847	"	32,000,000	"

This quantity is the produce of nearly 64,000 stremmas of vineyard in full bearing; there is besides this a great number of young plantations which have not yet borne fruit. The exportation of silk amounted in 1835 to 400,000 drachmas, or 8000 okes (about three pounds to an oke), at the rate of fifty drachmas an oke—

In 1838 to 716,000 drachmas, or 14,320 okes.				
1839	910,000	"	18,200	"
1847	2,250,000	"	45,000	"

These quantities are those of the exportation, but the real produce of last year amounts to 100,000 okes, a great part being consumed in the country, and some is smuggled out.

Several millions of trees have been imported into Greece from Italy since 1835, besides all those furnished by the royal nursery ground.

The government might be accused of greater negligence with regard to the manufactures, and the opposition has not failed to do so; but even this is not altogether just. The reason of the

slow progress of this branch of national activity will be better understood if one considers, that of the whole male population of Greece, amounting to about 200,000 grown men, 100,000 are husbandmen, and more than 50,000 are sailors and merchants; which proves that the principal attention of the nation is turned in the two directions which the nature of their country indicates to them. Their natural good sense tells them that they should do ill to leave the ready and abundant resources which they have within their reach, to seek others which are problematical. Manufacture is a means, not an end; it is the means which nations employ to enrich themselves, but if they have others easier and more productive, they are not wrong in preferring them. But with all this the national industry has not been entirely neglected. The government has instituted a board of manufactures, and a school of arts and trades, and sent young men to different parts of Europe to be educated in the manufactures. That which has made the greatest progress is the silk spinning, which is established on a great scale in Messenia, at the Piræus, and at Athens, with excellent machines and a much improved method, which has doubled the value of this produce.

A national bank established in 1840 has also much contributed to the development of the country by lending at a much lower rate than the legal interest of money.

The intellectual state of Greece is most flourishing. She possesses a complete legislation, civil, penal, and commercial codes based upon the French legislature, and modified to suit the country; excellent tribunals have been instituted, and all the legal functionaries before the constitution were perfectly well chosen, but unfortunately not for life. The church of Greece has been detached from that of Constantinople in all matters of Church government; and an independent administrative synod, composed of a president and four bishops elected annually, has been instituted, to the great discomfit of the Russians and their party. Public instruction is highly developed; 30,000 children frequent 312 primary schools supported by government, besides 5000 instructed in private schools, and 10,000 students pursue their studies in sixty-six grammar schools, four excellent gymnasiums or high schools, and a university of thirty professorships, besides the military, and several other special schools. An idea may be formed of the progress of science in Greece from the fact, that in Athens there exist five scientific societies patronised by the king, one of which is a sort of academy like that of France. And to complete this sketch of the steps made by Greece in the path of progress, we may add, that at the end of the revolution almost all her towns were destroyed, and have now all risen from their ruins,

even the villages have been entirely rebuilt. Athens counts at the present day more than 5000 houses, not one of which subsisted before the arrival of the king.

But it may be asked if Greece then, in spite of all her difficulties, has not retrograded under the royal government, why does she not apply a part of her revenue to pay the interest of her debt? Is it from dishonesty? or is it from necessity? We have seen that the year the revenue rose to seventeen millions, the surplus was employed not on useful and productive works, but to pay the interest of the debt. But when the revenue scarcely covers the expenses indispensable to the service of the state, it cannot be expected to commit suicide by depriving itself of these expenses, provided they be really no more than indispensable. And to prove this we have only to examine the budget, which contains nothing but the most urgent expenses. The principal items are as follows:—

- 1,426,000 drs. for the civil list and the salaries of the members of Parliament.
- 4,430,000 „ for the war department. Greece has twelve principal fortresses besides several smaller, in all of which, as well as in the principal towns, she requires garrisons; also an extensive open frontier, which must be guarded by a continued cordon. The Greek army all in all is not 8000 men, the minimum which can suffice to her wants.
- 1,157,000 „ for the navy, which ought to be the principal strength of the young kingdom, and which contains only fourteen vessels large and small, and a service of 600 men. To this are only added the indispensable reparations, and the building of a single brig of twenty cannons.
- 1,791,000 „ for the home department, who, besides the expense of the administration, public safety, the prisons, the post offices, keeping up of existing roads, and some relief to the indigent, there is only added a small part of a sum for the building of an establishment for the public offices, in order to save the annual rents now paid.
- 450,000 „ for the foreign office, containing only the consulships and four legations.

The rest of the budget contains only the expenses of the tribunals, schools, the clergy, and the finance officers. It is therefore evident that it would be impossible to cut off any of the annual expenses of the state, without paralysing the service, and exposing the country to serious danger. If Greece cannot fulfil

the engagements she has been made to contract, it is not from want of will, but from want of power. But if she were left to herself to enjoy the fruits of a few years of peace, if time were but given her to develop her resources, there is every reason to hope that she would be able at last to acquit herself of the heavy debt which she has incurred without profiting by it. For besides the advantages of position and fertility, Greece possesses great unexplored riches in her national lands, consisting of arable land, olive and mulberry trees, and vineyards, representing a value of several millions of drachmas, and which, if they were made over to the people at a low price paid annually, might in time realize a capital sufficient of itself to cover the interest of the foreign debt. If, therefore, it is neither the good of Greece nor the pecuniary interest of England that requires the line of policy followed by the latter, what is the cause of this violent conduct, this determined animosity which threatens to alienate from her all affection, to destroy her influence for ever, and to make the English name, formerly so loved and so respected in Greece, be vowed to almost equal execration with that of the Turks? What is the aim of these stormy despatches which excite to disobedience and excuse revolt, of the open support given to an opposition which raises its hand against the king, and evokes civil war? What is meant when the agents of England become the auxiliaries of the rebels, as at Patras and Vomitza, and the Ionian islands are their refuge and starting point? Do all these underhand dealings tend to overthrow Greece? We do not choose to admit even the possibility of such a supposition; but were it even possible to suppose that the plan is to give up Greece to the horrors of anarchy, in order to lay hold on the whole or a part of her territory, this political robbery would meet with enormous difficulties. To the north of Greece lie all those provinces inhabited also by Greeks, who await with impatience the propitious moment for their deliverance; and these provinces touch upon the Slavonian provinces, which by their position and their population touch upon Russia: at the first shock, Greeks and Slavonians would rise like one man; and if they saw hostile projects on the part of Great Britain, they would ask the help of Russia; and then the paternal impulse would not be easily quelled, even were the nation thus struggling not supported by the sympathy and the interest of other great powers. But supposing the plan is only to dethrone King Otho. Would they make Greece a republic? Greece republicanised would immediately turn towards France, in the same manner as the foreign policy of England has just thrown Spain and Italy into the arms of that power. But do they intend to give Greece another king? If he

is again chosen among the neutral courts, who can answer for his continuing the line of policy he might begin by adopting? If a change of dynasty takes place in Greece, it may be taken for granted that a Russian prince will reign next. It would therefore be a thousand times better for England to maintain the existing order of things, to support a king who, if he is not English, is at least not Russian, to alter her policy, and imitate the wisdom of France and Russia, try to influence King Otho by gentleness rather than by violence, at the risk of seeing Greece and her king fall into the hands of Russia, or Greece without her king into the hands of France.

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ART. VI.—*Rest in the Church.* By the Author of "*From Oxford to Rome.*" London: Longmans.

THIS book is rather remarkable, as suggestive of the nature of those spiritual temptations which some amongst us have had or still have to endure in their endeavours to realize the Catholic Faith of our Church, than notable for the originality of its ideas or any peculiar brilliancy of illustration. Regarded in a literary, and possibly even in a Catholic point of view, "*From Oxford to Rome*" was a more valuable contribution to the literature of the day. It had more of life and freshness; it appealed more sensibly to the reader's heart; and breathed, we almost feel inclined to add, a more loving and ardent appreciation of the highest mysteries of the faith. The authoress is one of those who has deserted our Anglican mother for the communion of Rome; but, unlike many who have been nurtured and bred within her fold and yet have turned against her, she is, or rather was, a daughter of Protestant dissent. We would hope and pray that this fact may lighten the load of her criminality; though we feel it impossible to conceal our conviction, that a melancholy absence of true self-discipline, a wilfulness that will on all occasions choose its own way, an ultra-protestantism (if we may so express ourselves) of mind and disposition, has led this lady so far astray, and is even yet the ruling principle of her faith and conduct.

Old is the saying, but not less old than true, that extremes meet. Careful observers must have noted that the same irreverent phraseology, the same careless handling of divine things, which is unhappily so characteristic of Protestant dissent, is also the wonted mark of practical Romanism. He, who doubts the fact, needs but to glance at any current number of the "*Tablet*" or "*Dolman's Magazine*," or to run his eyes over the first few chapters of the Roman Catholic "*Father Clement*," "*Father Oswald*," as it is called, "*a Catholic Story*,"—to arrive at an absolute and most painful conclusion on this subject. The truth is, that freedom, properly guarded and restrained, guided by the voice of Scripture and of universal tradition, duly subject therefore to Catholic authority, and, above all, hallowed and purified by the abiding presence of love and faith and holy reverence, is the wondrous gift of Providence, the talent for the use or abuse of which each man will have to answer to his Maker. This freedom, rightly understood, is the only condition of indi-

viduality, of mental or spiritual being worthy of the name, of life transcending the sphere of animal existence. Even to the very angels was this individual "Ego," involving the power to stand or fall, accorded. Freedom appears to be the very basis of creation. Without it, though evil indeed had not been possible, the worlds and their inhabitants could all have been mere brilliant shadows of their Creator's glory: a myriad lyres responding to the central harmony, but that, by the very law of their being, and therefore in a degree mechanically and passively; not with the full intellectual and spiritual assent of free but humble love. We see then that freedom may in one sense be regarded as the origin of ill, inasmuch as it must needs involve its possibility, and has induced its realization: but even thence must we conclude, how glorious and holy a thing this mighty principle must be, which, despite the myriad woes occasioned by it, was constituted the law of spiritual and mental life by the Everlasting Lord of glory. Freedom, then, has been granted to man: he was created in love, the image of his Maker. From that lofty height he has indeed fallen: he has abused his freedom for ill: he has raised his independent "Ego" in opposition to his God, instead of lovingly submitting it to His All-Wise decrees. And the result was sin and shame, and banishment from God's presence; nay, more, an utter incompetency to regain lost Paradise, an abiding self-idolatry, which must for ever separate from God and heaven, which is the very element of endless woe. And the Almighty would not, from His infinite self-consistency *could* not, recall his own creation, revoke the law of freedom, which was to be the eternal curse or blessing of humanity. He would not annihilate that human will which erected self for its god; which elected the evil, and abhorred the good, and which was therefore doomed to endless ages of hate-fraught freedom, of free despair. But the Almighty, to whom eternity is one boundless Now, the mystic Trinity in Unity, our Lord and God, had provided for us "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," our adorable Saviour and Master, "the man Christ Jesus;" and through Him humanity has once more been exalted to freedom and communion with its Maker. This freedom is once more ours to employ: holy Baptism yields the grace which purifies and hallows it, and devotes it to God's service; and that grace is ever-present with the wills of those who love their Lord and Saviour; not irresistibly and absolutely controlling, but guiding, elevating, inspiring,—enabling man to offer the free-will worship of prayer and praise. This freedom the Roman Church refuses to recognise: she proclaims the necessity for absolute obedience to human authority; she assures us that in all religious questions,

whether of faith or discipline, the conscience and the intellect have virtually no voice. But what is the consequence of this? Free-will, the condition of our being, the law of our existence, cannot be altogether extirpated from man's nature. If it is not guided into the right channel, if it is denied its true development, it will seek some unlawful means of manifestation. Thus, whilst professing an absolute external submission to the will and authority of a brother sinner, we often find the Romanist the victim of a diseased self-will. He strains at what is opposed to the nature of humanity, he falls into that very error of irreverence which he has confounded with the lawful use of freedom. He obeys perhaps externally, but the spirit of obedience, of docile love, is wanting to him. He obeys, because he sees or imagines to see the absolute rule, "Do this, and thou shalt live!" He does not obey, because obedience is in itself a holy joy; for a relative obedience of this high nature cannot be opposed to true reason or conscience,—it must be the child of freedom.

We do not charge the authoress of "From Oxford to Rome" with this irreverence of heart, which yields an externally absolute and legal submission, and on that very account can yield no more; but we do recognise in her writings a painful development of self-conscious licence,—of religious recklessness, if such a term may be pardoned to us. Her first inquiry never seems to be, What is God's will, what my duty? But rather, (severe as the assertion may appear,) What is my *pleasure*? Will the communion of Rome yield me higher joys, more spiritual blessings, than that of the Church of England?—This, and this alone, seems to have been the ruling motive for her apostasy from that Church, which had baptized and blessed her with the presence of God the Holy Spirit,—which in the Catholic Eucharist had communicated to her fainting soul the glorious Lord of life. She knew and felt all this; deeply, fervently: so she plainly tells us. In her first work, "From Oxford to Rome," she has obviously portrayed herself in a female character, Ernestine, whose devotional transports on being brought within the visible Church of Christ, and rendered a recipient of her wondrous blessings, she has most beautifully and feelingly described. But an unfortunate tendency, also the child of self-will, to yield her conscience and intellect to the absolute direction and control of some one self-constituted individual guide, this, co-operating with her apparently laudable but truly most dangerous thirst for higher spiritual joys, for yet more mystic blessings, wherever they were to be obtained and at whatever price,—these things blinded her eyes to the plain directions of conscience; these virtually extinguished reason—that light of the mind, without which man is as a wandering bark



tossed by every tempest; these drove her across the boundary of right and duty and lawful obedience, and subjected her to the despotic supremacy of a Church, which, by her own confession, even then had neither fairly won her heart, nor secured the homage of her mind or soul. She went, because others went: because her earthly guide and teacher set her the example; because Rome dazzled her with the prospect of higher spiritual joys: above all, because she did not pause humbly to inquire, What is the will of my Lord and Saviour? what is my appointed duty?—not because her God called, but because she willed to go. No doubt, there was much of self-deception, of enthusiastic zeal; there almost always is in such cases: but we are not too severe in denouncing self-will as the origin of this and of many another fall. What are the motives generally assigned for change?—Ward's "Ideal" will supply the most practical reply; Newman's doctrine of Development is an apology for the learned, from the former "master in Israel," who knows that from Scripture and Catholic tradition he has again and again disproved these tenets which he has now thought proper to adopt: it has little influence on the general body, who are rather guided by the heart than head, who are attracted by the Roman ideal; and who, assuming that the Church should be already triumphant, weigh their spiritual mother in this ideal balance, and find her wanting, and then persuade themselves that communion with Rome will secure them from the spiritual temptations to which they have been exposed, will yield them external unity, and breathe peace to their souls. They call and long for peace, where no peace is: they will not fight the fight of faith: their reasons waver in the strife of infidelity and Christianity around them; and instead of going to the true fountain of assurance, their Lord and their God, seeking Him in humble prayer and the devout use of the appointed means of grace, they take refuge under the imaginary infallibility of Rome, presuming and really believing that they have thereby increased their own chances of salvation. But it is not in this spirit that the truly Catholic Christian will act: his first object will not be to secure his own personal salvation only, but to set forth the glory of God; not to seek the "closer walk" by devotional excitement, however intense, but in the performance of his bounden duty; not to make religious expediency, however fair-seeming, but loving and free obedience, the constant rule of life.

The authoress of "From Oxford to Rome" has sinned, in common with many a brother and sister, who now perhaps bitterly repent the past; she has deserted her appointed post, and, conscious of her sin, she has upraised her voice in these two works (for the second indirectly inculcates the same lesson) to

warn others against following her example. We have said, that her first book appealed more touchingly to the feelings : it was, in truth, in many respects very beautiful ; occasionally too ornate and ambitious in style, and theologically unsatisfactory and self-contradictory to a most extraordinary extent, yet nevertheless imbued with a deep devotional spirit, and relating a most melancholy tale, which appealed to the sympathies of all. We saw therein portrayed the gradual declension of more than one child of God from Catholic faith to Romish error, and afterwards beheld their spiritual sorrows, in the gradually dawning sense of the great sin into which a craving for the luxuries of religion, and an absence of attention to the plain commands of duty and the will of God, had one by one seduced them. At the conclusion of the work we were left with the general impression, that, though unsound on many points, its authoress was, in point of faith, rather an Anglo-Catholic than a Romanist, save that the obedience of love was still wanting to her soul. She proclaimed, however, distinctly, that whilst she bitterly regretted the step she had taken in leaving the Anglican communion, she felt that a vow now bound her to the service of Rome, and that she could not break that vow without incurring the penalties of mortal sin. A strange position this, to which we shall recur anon.

It has been stated, that the work which now lies before us, "*Rest in the Church*," was written by way of penance for the expression of heterodoxy in "*From Oxford to Rome*;" for which, be it remarked, she had formally declared her penitent grief in the chief British organ of Romanism, the "*Dublin Review*." But we know not how to credit this statement, seeing that the same tone of mind manifests itself from the first page to the last of this volume ; the same peculiar independence of any church,—the same resolute "*nonconformity*," as she herself expresses it,—the same uncatholic self-will. This is severe language ; but we have already endeavoured to show, why, vindicating the lawful rights of the human conscience and intellect, we nevertheless feel it our duty to deal harshly with the spirit of disobedience and irreverence, wherever and howsoever displayed. This lady must know that the Church of Rome makes unconditional submission a pledge of her membership ; yet she chooses to claim and hold this membership, accepting and rejecting just as much as she may think proper. How marvellous, and yet—may we not add ?—how common is this inconsistency ! Anglicans submit to Rome without submitting ; preferring her communion, her discipline, her faith even ; but without in the least realizing, or endeavouring to realize, their new duties. If they cannot absolutely accept the faith, and submit to the authority of Rome, what right have

they to join her! Either the cardinal doctrine of Rome, her infallibility, is a holy truth or a blasphemous mockery. If true, how vain, how sinful must be all opposition to it on the part of its vowed servants and slaves! if false, how wicked must be the self-willed external submission to it on the part of those who know that they are cutting themselves off from communion with their own spiritual mother, and virtually, as far as in them lies, excommunicating the Church of their Baptism, because she will not bow down before that infallible supremacy which they themselves reject, and which must be either the visible curse or blessing of the Church. Everywhere we perceive in the authoress of these works, as in so many others, a shrinking from first principles,—an unwillingness to follow out their own intellectual, spiritual, and moral conclusions: and this cowardice cloaks itself in the vesture of humility; this real infidelity conceals itself beneath the mantle of an external absolute assurance; the living faith of God transmutes itself into a legal submission to the Pope,—into what this authoress terms, “the demand for an *ultimate authority*!” And now let us pass as quickly as we will may through the records of this suggestive book,—records of holy aims and desires and intellectual errors, of devotional feeling and will-worship, of catholic love and sectarian practice. In the very preface we find a recognition, on the part of the authoress, of her own want, the spirit of true obedience, and the false remedy suggested, which she afterwards never appears to realise, of unconditional submission to external authority. What authority, she says not,—apparently, inquires not; believing, perhaps, all inquiry to be uncatholic. “Obedience,” she says, “is the first commandment of the Church, the single law of peace.” Obedience to God! Yes: this must be absolute. Obedience to God’s Church! No: for unless that Church be infallible, obedience to her must be relative, limited by conscience, guarded by the love of God and by duty. But had the authoress believed the Church to be infallible, she could not have written this book. She urges us then practically to yield unlimited obedience to a power which may err. Here is the first manifest inconsistency. And here let us guard against misconception. We know, indeed, that the promise has been given; we are sure that it is fulfilled, and ever will be:—The gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church. The central verities of the Catholic faith, the holy mystery of the Trinity in unity, and the incarnation of our blessed Lord, have been borne witness to at all times and in all places by the visible Christian Church. That Church is built upon “this Rock,” the Godhead of Christ our Lord, and she shall never be overthrown. But the Divine promise involved no

gift of infallibility, guaranteed no preservative against any possible error or heresy which should not impugn the very foundations of the faith. Finally, this is an age of probation, not of perfect bliss ; of faith, not of absolute knowledge ; of Catholic authority, approving itself alike to the conscience and the intellect, but not of infallibility.

The Introduction is long, and contains much that is remarkable. First, the revival of Anglicanism, in its higher sense, within the last twenty years, is dwelt on with love ; but soon the presence of error reveals itself, and the cuckoo-cry for an ultimate earthly authority is again upraised, and styled "the great tenet of Catholicism," but apparently without any honest attempt to realize the meaning of the cry. Immediately afterwards, we are however informed, that the enemy of Catholicism is now—Intellect ! the light divine, which separates man from the brute, who can also love and fear, nay, is not wholly devoid of moral instincts, while conscience and reason in their higher sense pertain to man alone below. We here see the attempt of human nature to justify the extinction of that light which it dares not to employ, because in so doing it would at once condemn itself. Philosophy, knowledge, and human intellect are declared not to be subsidiary, but naturally and unavoidably hostile, to faith, reliance, and the Catholic Church ;—a fatal, but, in a Romanist, no unnatural error. True is it, that the wisdom of the pagan world was foolishness with God ; that the humblest of Christian penitents was wiser than the heathen sage. True is it even now, that the intellect may be partially illumined, whilst the conscience is dead in "sins and trespasses ;" true is it, that the conscience may be led to saving truth, whilst the intellect errs widely from the mark. Nevertheless, the moral and the intellectual powers in man, far from being necessarily opposed to one another, are naturally allied by the closest ties. Conscience may arrive at conclusions which altogether transcend the intellect and its perceptions, but not at such as are irreconcilable with them. Nay, in the ordinary course of life, intellect and conscience are inseparable ; the mind is, no doubt, the vassal of the soul, but it is not its foe ! Christianity approves itself not only to the conscience, but to the intellect as well.

Then, in evidence of this irresistible tendency on the part of intellect to oppose the truth, the authoress proceeds to class rationalism, eclectic philosophy, and Protestantism together, declaring most strangely of each of these, that it does not "refuse the heart" to Christianity, but would serve it with the free service of the mind. Confusion, almost inextricable confusion, is embodied in this assertion. By Protestantism, we

believe, we are to understand Protestant dissent; and if so, we say, rationalism, eclectic philosophy, and Protestant dissent, all reject and do despite to the spirit of reverential love, of course with very different degrees of criminality; and the intellect, severed from the influence of reverential love, deceives them. We do not, we say again and again, that freedom may be used to sin, and reason to unbelief; but the evil lies in the abuse, not in those powers which God has granted, and sanctified to his faithful children by the abiding presence of His grace. True it is, that earthly wisdom is most apt to stray from the path of God's commandments; that, when not illumined by His grace, it degenerates into intellectual pride, and arrives at false conclusions; but the very same mental powers, hallowed by the love of God, are called to the service of the faith, and may achieve intellectual trophies to the glory of His Church.

We point attention to a beautiful passage (p. 20) which the authoress would do well to take to heart herself as a warning against false asceticism, and pass rapidly to a "so-called war for Puseyism," where another great error is developed. But first let us caution the authoress, and all others in her condition, against the perusal of such works as Strauss's "*Leben Jesu*," and the writings of Cousin and Jouffroy, or even of Channing. Strauss's theory is not the dangerous foe to Christianity which it is here represented to be: it is simply absurd, and therefore scarcely worthy of deliberate refutation. Theorising Germans may listen with patience to the suggestion that the Gospels were a myth, believed in by those who invented them, without previous consultation, and drawing on their own fancies for the facts. The Anglo-Catholic feels that the only controversial reply to this should be conveyed in Archbishop Whately's famous Napoleon-pamphlet, which, had it proceeded from a German Kant or Hegel, might probably have found *believers* amongst our Teutonic brethren. We are sorry to seem scoffers, but we really know not how to treat this theory with seriousness or reverence. French philosophers, or pseudo-philosophers, are, no doubt, more dangerous foes; but, after all, of what moment are these aberrations of the human intellect to the loving Christian, whose intellect and conscience alike assure him that Christianity must be either a divine truth or a gigantic falsehood, and whose mind as well as soul, whose reason and feeling alike, reject the latter alternative as unworthy of a single moment's consideration? And yet we are to be told, that if we do not altogether abandon reason in religion, we must be infidels, and threatened with the awful wisdom of Strauss, and Cousin, and Jouffroy, and Emerson. For this, and this alone, is the real meaning of these

strange denunciations of intellect, as opposed to God's Church. Alas for the faith of the educated, which is based upon a mere sentiment, however glorious: and faith, altogether separate from, nay, hostile to, intellect, can be no more. We must not forget a word of censure for the presumptuous allusion to the works of our Church's intellectual heroes (p. 42), where even the great Butler is obviously marked out for the most uncharitable reprobation; and another for the unjustifiable severity on the writer's part towards the so-called Evangelical School in the English Church; and so we pass to this "word for Puseyism," where, amidst much that is really beautiful and true, we find the assertion that the Christian should "commit himself to the control of one *personal* authority, and gather his attention and affection round one centre, choose one esteemed judgment to be his appeal, rest himself in the direction of *one man*, and *trust* that he be not taken away from him, and it be said that he, like the king Jehoshaphat, 'did right' but 'all the days of Jehoiada the priest.'" None will suspect us of wishing to weaken the tie betwixt the humble Christian and the appointed pastor of the flock: but here it is implied that by an act of lawless self-will we should annihilate our own just and lawful freedom, and *choose* one absolute individual lord, one infallible guide, and cling to him for weal or woe, for good or evil, through light and darkness. Here, if ever, may we well apply those solemn words, "call no man father!" Neither thy father in the flesh, nor thy spiritual counsellor, can be to thee more than a human, finite, fallible being. In the spirit of reverential love, but not of blind assurance, should the Christian *follow* his temporal or spiritual superiors; and, above all, should he guard against the erection of some one spiritual hero, as the infallible representative of his God. There is but One Man—reverentially do we say it—who can never fail us or deceive us,—the man Christ Jesus, Incarnate Deity. He is ever with his own to support, to cheer, to strengthen them: in all our afflictions is He afflicted, and "the angel of his presence" will preserve us.—But surely the uncatholic error, here denounced, has been condemned with sufficient distinctness by Holy Writ. Will men still say, "I am of Paul," and "I of Apollos," and "I of Cephas," and yield their reasons and consciences, those gifts for which they are responsible to their God, captive to the will of others—their fellow-creatures, who may perchance prove even more blind than they? Shall the children of God's Church emulate the creature-worship of the Pantheist? Shall we thus blindly obey a fellow-sinner, nay, follow him from the very Church of our baptism to schism and heresy and spiritual death? Shall we forget the apostolic command, which must imply our right and

duty to distinguish truth from falsehood, good from evil, "If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed!"—ay, if he were "an angel from heaven." And the unhappy Oakeley was it who gave this advice, that all should trust themselves to "some living teacher or model of sanctity, who may *seem* especially commended to *our confidence*!" "If the blind lead the blind, shall not both fall into the ditch?" But what a melancholy absence of living faith, what spiritual isolation, what ignorance of the Lord of life, what exile from God the Holy Spirit, does this terrible teaching imply, of the absolute necessity for some one lord and ruler of our faith! Ah, how much secret infidelity must be inextricably interwoven with the seeming devotional fervour of this unhappy school! And yet, let us not be misunderstood: we deny not that intellectual and spiritual leaders must be expected and even desired within the Church of Christ, as elsewhere: we only denounce blind confidence, absolute reliance; we only maintain that the humblest Christian has his own soul to save, and his own conscience to obey, and can answer for himself only to his God.

We pass to the body of the work before us, which is a tale, mainly concerning the fortunes of an English young lady of rank, who adopts what are popularly called "Tractarian" views, and then finds that she cannot reconcile these with the use of this world, and so eventually takes refuge in Romanism: possibly, a by no means uncommon case amongst the recent converts from our Catholic communion. The tale opens with the relation of an incident which may well serve as a warning to many of our wealthier clergy, and laymen also, and proceeds in one of its most interesting passages to describe the nature and portray the lives of the parents of Emil Norman, a clergyman, and one of the principal characters in the book. We are not, however, enabled to pause, as we might wish, over this and many similar manifestations of Christian love. Lady Helen and her mistaken asceticism present a more important subject for comment, and to this we hasten to direct our readers' attention. The sentiments which are supposed to animate her are forcibly expressed by Mr. Faber, in one of his early Anglican compositions, quoted by our authoress, where we read, "Why are we clinging to these perishable things! Surely we do not love them. Our home is not here: it is very far away." And again: "You cannot love the world, nor the world you. The Cross has been planted in your hearts. *You and the world, you and your affections, you and your idols, must part for ever, part in the blood that flowed where the stern Cross went deepest in. You and your dreams must part, O ye of the Christian circumcision!*" We well know how attractive



such language must appear to the devotionally ardent: we know also that there is a sense in which these words are literally true; in which we must hate "father and mother, and wife and children," for His sake. We are aware of the difficulties which beset this great question, and feel that it is not here that we could enter deliberately upon the consideration of them, and endeavour to dispose of so solemn and momentous an inquiry. In the attempt every paragraph might extend into a chapter, and our essay to a volume.

To return, however, to the rule of spiritual mortification; we feel bound to express our conviction, that whilst "out of Christ" we must indeed hate the world and the world's gifts, "in Christ" this very world is hallowed to the true believer. We know that nothing earthly, however great, however beautiful, coronet or crown, honour or glory, friendship or love, is vain, if it be hallowed by the presence of our Lord and Saviour. We believe, that "in Christ all things are pure" to the pure of heart. We believe that "true religion and undefiled" is to be sought and found in the use of this world, and not in the neglect and abhorrence of it. We are sure "that we and our affections" must *not* part, because we love Christ: no, they will be hallowed, deepened, glorified, in His love. Even the beautiful in art and in nature is not to be despised. If our first duty is to love God, our second is to love our neighbour; and the twain are inseparable. We have seen the world almost orphaned of practical Christianity, in the fourth and fifth centuries, previous to the triumph of barbarism and temporary darkness, when the just and holy fled to the caves and the mountains, and abandoned active communion with their living men. We have seen false asceticism corrupt the faith, lower the standard of practical morality, trample on the arts, uproot civilization, heathenize society, and draw the curtain of the dense night of ignorance and superstition over the broad world of Christianity. And therefore do we fear, and fear with reason, that this destructive power may again lead "the lambs of the flock" astray; may again deprive society of the hallowing influence of their presence; may again force Christianity into direct hostility with all the good and gracious gifts of our Merciful Creator and Redeemer. The authoress of "Rest in the Church" has, to some extent, and in some passages, supplied satisfactory replies herself to this pernicious theory. Nevertheless she thinks that "deep hearts will respond" to Lady Helen's complaints, when she tells her clergyman that she would wish to shun communion with the world, *because* she finds constant trials to her faith and temper in that communion; as if this were not



the very reason for which she should continue to fight the good fight, and war against the evil world, the flesh, and the devil, without abandoning her primary duties. Self-denial should be indeed unceasing, and at the Church's appointed seasons should be manifested externally in fasting and prayer: but here, as ever, the wish to convert relative into unlimited duties, to pass the boundaries and exceed the conditions of humanity, to be taken out of the world instead of abiding in the Spirit, *to attain the absolute*, must lead astray, must conduce to error, and ultimately, if persisted in, to sin. Surely "the Son of man came eating and drinking:" shall we err, if we follow in His footsteps! He converted water into wine; He blessed a marriage-festival with His presence,—at which, we may be well assured, He did not separate the bridegroom from the bride; He even yielded his indirect approval to "music and dancing," by making them the symbols of holy joy in the parable of "the Prodigal Son." Shall we be told that He, being absolutely and infinitely holy, could use that world, which we sinners must fly from! We answer, "His grace is sufficient for us." If we abide in Him, the evil world shall not prevail against us. But let us not think of ourselves alone and our own immediate dangers. Shall we forget His Cause! shall we desert our brethren! Let us take heed to ourselves, remembering St. Paul's dread prediction concerning the latter times, "when some should forbid to marry," and otherwise command to abstain from the lawful use of this world. And let us remember, too, that Rome, though she permits this use, declares it to be inconsistent with the highest degree of earthly holiness, whilst Scripture, on the contrary, proclaims to all, and not to a class, "Be ye holy, as your Father which is in heaven is holy;" and yet declares "every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused if it be received with thanksgiving." Here, as ever, the *spirit* of Christianity is to be sought: self-denial, obedience, confidence, must all be relative duties, all subject to faith and charity, to the abiding love of God and man.

And now we feel that we have but faintly and hastily shadowed forth what appears to us the Catholic rule on this most solemn subject of inquiry. We may return to the subject ere long. Meantime we entreat the authoress of this work, and all those who think with her that the very use of this world is of sin, is denied to the baptized Christian who aspires to a high degree of holiness, to consult the light of that conscience and that intellect which God has placed within them; to pray that grace may be given them to think more of others and less of themselves; to endeavour to carry religion into the world, and not to regard

the twain as *necessarily* hostile; to believe, that in a sense, and to a certain degree, within Christendom, and more particularly in this our land, "the kingdoms of this world are" already "the kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ." No doubt, this is a period of trial and imperfection: the full manifestation of glory is not yet ours; the millennial reign is to come. Nevertheless, for each one of us individually may this earthly life be already hallowed through Christ.

We cannot pause for more than a passing allusion to the strange selection of Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation* as the *only* book for a Christian's study, the sacred Scriptures being apparently altogether disregarded; or to the too absolute commendations of religious reserve, partly extracted from Mr. Faber's writings, in Emil Norinan's letter; or to the presumptuous condemnation of the old High-Church (p. 154); or to the apparently almost malignant comments on evangelical tendencies towards true Catholicism (pp. 156, 157); or to other errors, all suggestive of overweening self-confidence and diseased self-will. Later, we find it laid down, that the most innocent enjoyments of society are "*in themselves, and apart from circumstances*, unquestionably wrong and sinful," and only to be borne as a means of spiritual martyrdom. In themselves, on the contrary, these things are good, and in Christ they may be holy: that is, rank, authority, ay, even wealth and splendour, are ordinances of God's visible creation, which *may* be used to His glory. Our hearts may carry evil into all these things, and therefore do we need constant prayer and abiding faith and love in the use of them; but we are not justified in passing our condemnation on them, in rejecting them as accursed. As our authoress makes one of her chief personages say, though she obviously has not taken these words to heart, and seems to have forgotten them in the next page: "True perfection does not consist precisely in this or that mortification, but in the exact performance of prescribed duties. Whatever is contrary to this, though it may be very good and laudable in itself, would not be a virtue to us." This truth is clouded by subsequent assumptions of the possibility of human *merit*, and of the duty of *absolute* obedience to superiors; nevertheless, if our duty to God be indeed the primary object of our concern, we shall not be easily able to persuade ourselves that He has no work for us in "the world."

We have much more on the terrible inconsistency manifested in the enjoyment of *any* mere earthly joy by one who is seeking close communion with her God. We will not however say more upon this subject. Further on, we are told that many Christians in the Church of England sigh vainly for absolution, which they

cannot obtain. What? Do they never enter God's house? Or is their faith so weak that they cannot appropriate the authoritative words of God's minister to themselves, unless they are privately applied to them? Is it then the private approval of the individual priest which is the most essential element in the Church's absolution? Here, again, in this call for personal and private absolution, as indispensable to the soul, we cannot but recognize the absence of true and living faith.—Surely the authoress of "*Rest in the Church*" must know that the Church's public absolution conveys cleansing grace to every repentant sinner.—We recur once more, despite our previous resolution, to the subject of ascetic retirement, because we find a passage (p. 228) which expresses most beautifully the truth we have endeavoured to set forth, that our higher duty is to serve the world, and not to leave it. "If we had no higher motive to holiness and good works than our own salvation, we might follow the anchorite to his cell, and wear away these sinful bodies in perpetual penitence and suffering; but we *have* a higher, infinitely higher, truer, nobler motive—in the love of God! and that love bids us abide with our brother, and sympathize and labour with him, and help him when we are the stronger, and pray for him when he falls, as we desire also that he will do for us; ~~we~~ we are to add to godliness brotherly kindness." This is most correct and beautiful: but an eulogium of the ancient hermits follows, and the result remains, that the heroine ends her days in a convent. The truth is, that our authoress's reason is at variance, on this, as so many other subjects, with that ultimate authority to which she wishes to tender absolute obedience; and so she is also at variance with herself. We pray that light may yet be granted her to choose "the better way," devoting herself, with Mary, if she so will, rather to the life of contemplation than of action, but not absolutely abiding in either exclusively; remembering that even Mary lived in the world, and retained those earthly affections which false asceticism would bid us shun as contrary to the cross, and which nevertheless drew tears from the eyes of our adorable Lord and Master.

And now we must pass rapidly over many pages; the somewhat confused political theories, the relation of Ursula Norman's early life and love, and the portrayal of Ximene, the Roman Catholic, and her pious father-confessor, to whom she yields such seeming worship. We note the striking defence of the Roman Catholic service (p. 278), which must fail however in convincing the Anglo-Catholic, who has ever realized his Church's joys, that the vicarious intercession of the priest, and comparative independence of the individual worshipper in the Roman mass, yield any compensation for the loss of our full and visible communion of praise and prayer.

We feel that, though perhaps broadly and harshly stated, there is but too much truth in the lines :—

“ And Rome,—though lights may burn and chants may soar,—  
Can Catholic communion ne'er afford :  
Each prays his prayers, each counts his rosary o'er,  
A lawless commonwealth without a lord.”

Whilst every true Anglican can bear the practical testimony of experience to the truth of this description :—

“ With us, the holy priest, his people's guide,  
Leads the deep wail of penitence for sin ;  
Whilst voices blend in outward praise allied,  
Celestial communings are felt within.

“ Nor in that temple only where we kneel,  
Respond a thousand echoes to our lay ;  
The self-same tones bespeak a nation's zeal,  
And myriads in communion praise and pray.

“ O holy boon ! O glorious bond of love !  
Thou, Church of England, thus in concord sweet,  
Thy prayers, like flowers, in one green wreath hast wove,  
And lay'st them smiling at thy Master's feet.”

And well may the humble Christian finally exclaim :—

“ How was I worthy found thy child to be ?  
To aid such prayers, to swell such chants divine ?—  
O teach me all my helplessness to see,  
And be thy Catholic communion mine !”

And all this can be deserted for Rome ?—O fearful wonder !—But we hurry on. At page 327, Ximene is introduced, as singing a hymn to the Virgin ; and the question is appended, “ Who shall chide it ; for it is beautiful and pious, and does no dishonour to Him who though Mary's son is Mary's Lord, and will be as assuredly her judge as ours ?” This hymn styles the Virgin-Mother, “ queen of heaven,” “ guide of the wanderer here below,” and adjures her to “ remind her Son ” that He has died for us. Does not all this imply an absence of living faith in His *immediate* presence with His own ?—But surely the authoress of this work must know, that the greater or less force of the epithets applied to the ever-blessed Virgin is but of little moment, in comparison with the momentous question whether every prayer to the creature, though it of course implies and recognizes the supremacy of God the Holy Trinity, is not, in its very essence, idolatrous, and therefore “ of evil.” Even prayer to the guardian angel who may be near us, and whom we might not unnaturally conjure to waft our

petitions to the skies, is strictly forbidden, since worship with *dulia* or *hyperdulia* is due to God alone. How much more indefensible must be direct addresses to those who unite in prayer with us from Paradise, but who, being neither omnipresent nor omniscient, are equally unable to read our hearts or hear our petitions! Scripture assures us, that prayer to the creature is idolatrous; though those who err in love shall be forgiven. And here we may be permitted to refer to some unhappy expressions in Keble's otherwise beautiful and holy "*Lyra Innocentium*;" the strains of which yield only after repeated hearings the full measures of their harmony, like modest flowers which must be closely pressed, ere they exhale the sweetness that resides within them. We allude to expressions which appear to imply the immediate presence of the Virgin with living Christians. In a little poem entitled "*Orphanhood*," a childish mourner's thoughts are directed, as it appears to us with no little daring, to the recognition of One beyond and above her own interceding parent,

"A holier Mother, rapt in more prevailing prayer."

We question greatly, whether distinctions of this nature are advisable or truly Catholic. We know indeed that the blessed Virgin, with all the departed company of the righteous, prays for the Church on earth, and therefore for its members; but in directing our attention *individually* to her and her prayers, we surely seek to be wise above what is revealed; nor is such direction to be excused on the mere score of devotional instinct, for this may often lead astray. Surely in the case of this orphan, her heart should have rested on the memory, should have aspired only to the presence, of "the Man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," the Lord Christ Jesus, Who said, "Suffer little children to come unto Me!" Who in the infinity of His Godhead has yet a tender brother's love for every mourner. But more especially must we object to the assertion that the Virgin is even now with the faithful when they pray, whether in their own homes or in the house of God<sup>1</sup>. Mr. Keble may mean, nay, *can* mean only that she is there in memory; that her chaste influence is ever with the faithful. But the employ of such dubious expressions on such a subject and in such a time should surely be lamented.—Again we read, in a passage descriptive of the Church's services:—

"CHRIST, with His Mother dear,  
And all His Saints, is here!"

Surely, in such different senses present, as not to be capable of

<sup>1</sup> See page 63.

juxta-position so immediate. Our blessed Lord is with His Church in very deed, is actually present, not only as omnipresent God, but also as the risen Lord of life. But even if His saints can *ever* be capable of such communion as to be wherever He is, (which is perhaps Mr. Keble's idea, but which we hold impossible, inasmuch as the creature can never be more than an almost viewless speck in the Creator's glory,) of *this* we are well assured, that until the judgment-day all those departed in the love and faith of God must wait beneath the mystic altar, and are not perfected, not brought into the closest and highest possible communion with the Holy Trinity. And, knowing this, we surely should not use such language as would appear to imply the direct contrary, and partially to excuse what our Church recognizes as idolatry.

To return to the work before us ; we cannot but reprobate the spirit in which the supposed model-clergyman in this tale is made to act, when his faith, his confidence, and his patience are put to the test. "Charity," we are told, "suffereth long and is kind ; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." What shall we say, then, to Emil Norman, who not only refuses to yield some minor points of practice at the command of his bishop, but, throwing up his duties in disgust, retires to private life, because "*he is led to believe*"—led, that is, by his individual perceptions—that these practices, of which his bishop disapproves, are according to the will of his Church? No bishop, we know, would object to daily services, or weekly or still more frequent communions, or even to the practice of private confession, when not invariably accompanied by private absolution. But for the sake of some few externals, on the propriety or advisability of which his bishop may differ from him, a priest, it appears, is justified in abandoning his primary duties, in breaking his vow of lawful obedience, in retiring from the service of his Lord and Master ! Surely there is much of *evil temper* here, much of unmortified self-will, which must be far more displeasing to Him who set us the example of never-tiring patience and love, than the harmless enjoyment of this world's goods. The natural result of this uncatholic and self-willed disobedience on the part of Emil Norman, is secession in a short time to the Roman Church. Not content with choosing to regard these externals as essentials, against the will of his bishop, Norman further chooses to take that individual bishop for a representative of the whole Anglican Church. Rome rises before him with her ideal infallibility, and he thinks, with many another half-sectarian, that he has but once to prostrate intellect and conscience in the dust, and then the struggle will be over, and all well ; and so he falls.

He had before displayed, we may remark, the same impatience of control, the same fiery indignation and uncatholic heat of temper, when removed from one curacy to another by his rector, in order to promote tranquillity in the parish. Let those who find themselves in Emil Norman's position, remember that these checks *must* form the trials of their faith and love; that their Church does not *profess* to yield a practical *ideal*, which must not now be sought for on earth; that this is an age of probation, and not of perfect peace. We must not omit to stamp with our censure the presumptuous conduct of the same Emil Norman, in bidding Lady Helen know, that when a certain token from him reached her, she should be authorized to practise what he still considered idolatry, or creaturo-worship, and consequently conform to the Church of Rome. We here see the practical effects of that reliance on some one individual teaching, which was before recommended as essential to the Anglican Christian's peace of mind. At the conclusion of this work, the authoress informs us that she still professes "a humble but unretracted nonconformity;" first, as to the dogma that the Roman is exclusively the Catholic Church; and, secondly, as to the justifiability of making those Roman doctrines articles of faith which are not clearly to be traced in Holy Writ,—a position illustrated by references to inferior intercession, or prayers to the Virgin and saints, and to indulgences. Finally, the authoress adds, that whilst she exhorts none to submit to Rome, nay, would rather dissuade them from so terrible a step, she feels, that once taken, it can never be recalled, without bringing the crime of apostasy on the soul. This feeling she had strongly expressed in her previous work, grounding it there apparently on the solemn and binding nature of the vow which she had taken on herself advisedly, to remain Rome's child and vassal for ever. Now, with regard to any engagement of this nature, we surely need not undertake to prove that the baptismal vow of life-long allegiance to our spiritual mother can never be cancelled, but is binding to the last hour of life on the conscience of each and all; and that no act of schism, or heresy, proceeding whether from an intellectual or spiritual source of error, can in the slightest degree invalidate our obligation to resume our rightful position with the utmost possible celerity, and renew our humble tenure of service\*. But we

\* It is just possible, though highly improbable, that this lady, the authoress of "*Rest in the Church*," having been born and educated as a Dissenter, may not have received the gift of baptism after her conversion to the Catholic faith of the Church of England. If so, some reason for her otherwise inexplicable conduct might be discovered. Though even in that case no formal vow could bind her conscience to sin; and schism, and heresy, and allegiance to an usurped authority, may surely come within the catalogue of sins.



may go further than this. All *legal* vows are now "dead letters." Our promises in baptism, marriage, and ordination, are solemn engagements to perform our bounden duty: if no vow had been tendered, had the priest of God merely laid his hands upon us, and pronounced the operative words in either of these cases—"I baptize thee," "Whom God hath joined together," "Receive the Holy Ghost," our obligations would be virtually the same. Vows, which go beyond this, appear hard to reconcile with our Lord's distinct prohibition: "Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths: but I say unto you, Swear not at all." Surely it would be monstrous to affirm, that a vow to commit sin is binding on the Christian. The only question for the Anglican then, who has deserted his communion for that of Rome, must be, Is allegiance to Rome sinful in me, or no? If it be so, if duty command, if conscience urge return to the old paths, wondrous indeed must be the self-delusion, which can imagine the soul for ever fettered by one rash act of folly. But we cannot believe that this dread of breaking a vow, which could not repeal a preceding vow far more holy and more binding, and irreconcilably opposed to the subsequent engagement, is the real motive for this lady's continued refusal to return to her true allegiance. We rather imagine that she still believes herself the recipient of certain gifts and graces in the Roman communion, which she would not obtain in the Anglican, and unfortunately prefers what she may consider religious expediency to the plain course of religious duty, and humble obedience to her God.

We scruple not to avow that Rome may boast some attractions which the Church of England does not offer; and first and foremost of these stands, undoubtedly, the daily celebration of the Eucharist. Surely this must be restored to us ere long. Many of the clergy, who live in populous districts, whether in London or elsewhere, have even now to partake of the Holy Sacrament daily; sometimes twice or thrice a day: no objection, therefore, could arise on the score of unpreparedness on their part for such constant communion. In our cathedrals, where a large body of clergy officiate, not the slightest real difficulty could present itself; and surely we need not demonstrate what a sanctity, what a glory, the daily celebration of the blessed Eucharist would yield to all the other rites and services of the Church.

We know, too, that unity is not sufficiently realized among us, nor can we profess to deny that the world, in its evil sense, exercises too much influence over our spiritual mother. But what of all this? The sun is not less the sun, because there are spots



upon his disk. The Church is not less the Church, because she is not yet perfect. The tares and wheat must grow together unto the harvest. How much better is it to stand in the old ways, and to wait the time of the Lord, than to cry out with impatient infidelity for a yet impossible ideal, and roam in search of it from the communion of our baptism. Nay, rather let us say; and pray to God to confirm our good resolve:—

“Tarry, my soul, the Lord’s own hour!  
Be firm, and He shall give thee power.  
The Lord shall cause thy woes to cease;  
Tarry His hour, my soul, in peace!”

Catholic in spirit as in doctrine, the Church of England offers a sure refuge to every humble-minded Christian, who would perform his duty in that station to which Almighty God has called him. Lawful authority, not absolute despotism; filial obedience, not slavery; constant self-denial, not self-torture,—are the landmarks of her way. We have seen in the course of this article, that a secret infidelity, involving a consequent distrust of the light of conscience and intellect which God has placed within us, by which to shape our course, is the main source of the demand for an ultimate earthly authority—an individual and infallible judge. The confusion of the relative with the absolute, or the habit of grasping each truth or duty in turn exclusively, so as to blind for the moment to all other truths or duties, is another great source of error: men seem to think that the rule of the earthly father, the monarch, or the priest of Christ, must be absolute and unlimited, or can be no rule at all. Further, men look for the realization of the millennial promises to the Church in this probationary era, and so are naturally led to fix their eyes and hearts on that Roman Church, which professes to be already in possession of these blessings, and by that very profession only seals her own condemnation. Finally, men call for “peace,” for “rest in the Church,” and imagine that they shall find this in a professedly infallible communion. Alas! this is not the season of peace. The powers of good and ill are conflicting. Hell is marshalling its forces for a final desperate onset on the Church of God. The battle which is fought in the external world must be renewed more or less fiercely in every individual heart. Flight will not avail us. Should we seek the caves of the desert, doubt and dismay will overtake us there. We cannot escape from our responsibilities; from the awful duty of Choice.

ART. VII.—*History of the Fall of the Jesuits in the Eighteenth Century. By Count ALEXIS DE SAINT-PRIEST, Peer of France. Translated from the French. London: Murray. 1845.*

IF there is one subject more than another which requires to be approached, both by writers and by readers, in a calm, humble, forgiving, discriminating spirit, it is the system of Jesuitism. A few years since, and it might have been discussed as a geologist would examine the anatomy of some exhumed relic of the deluge. It seemed a by-gone fact in history—a phenomenon which we could now coolly and impartially scrutinize, relieved from the panic, and oppression, and distorted imagination, which had been roused by its presence. To speak of it as arising from its grave, and walking bodily among us, was to prophesy the resuscitation of the mammoth. And they who thought that they detected faint traces and suspicions of its workings in the heart of the British empire were called maniacs.

At the present day this cannot be. We have learnt from the mere spectacle of France and Switzerland, that Jesuitism is alive. Of its workings within ourselves we are indeed less conscious. But that it is among us, full of activity, full of hope, and extending its arms on every side, there is no longer any doubt. The fact is acknowledged by Rome herself<sup>1</sup>; and the temper with which it is too generally regarded is full of matter for anxious forebodings, and requires to be treated with the greatest caution.

On one side is the ardent, enthusiastic, and often indiscriminating animosity to every thing connected with Popery, which is tempted to attack truth from confounding it with error; which strengthens the adversary's position by assaults that cannot be maintained; which alienates the friends of truth by an apparent want of candour and equity, and creates sympathy for the accused by the injustice or violence of the accusation. On the other, is that newly-aroused spirit, which has been driven, chiefly in this way, to look with kindness and favour upon the whole system of Romanism; which, rather than see the Church distracted by dissent, would sacrifice even its liberty to the so-called unity of the Romish supremacy—which would take refuge from doubt and infidelity in Rome's pretension to infallibility—which sighs for

<sup>1</sup> See Bishop of Winchester's Charge, 1845, Appendix.

emancipation from the control of a civil power afraid to maintain either a creed or a church—which finds relief in the sensuism of Rome from the dryness and poverty and coldness of a system that endeavoured to spiritualize the soul of man into complete independence on his body. Any one who has observed the tone and language in which minds imbued with this spirit have expressed themselves, will have perceived that, instead of shrinking from the extreme developments of Romish peculiarities, as the wisest and best Romanists have done before, they have adopted them without the least hesitation. At one leap they have plunged into the bottom of the gulph. They have surpassed, as new converts often surpass, even the extravagances of their teachers. They have become *Romanis Romaniores*. And one of the chief points attracting their admiration has been the working of Jesuitism. System, we had written, but the system is the precise thing of which little seems to have been studied. And yet this is the one thing to be examined.

In the midst of all the misery and bitterness which our most righteous struggles with Rome have engendered, there has been one thought to which the mind could return from every conflict, and repose on it with peace, and soothe down by it every feeling at enmity with Christian love. Systems are not individuals, and individuals are not their systems. However the members of a vast machine must be affected by its organization, and the organization may be affected by its members, in our moral judgment they must be kept distinct. With whatever repugnance and dread we may regard the system of Jesuitism, Jesuits may live in holiness and die like martyrs. It is the perfection of a false system to entangle in it, and subdue to its service, good and elevated minds. Without them it can neither subsist, nor work. Once involved in it they can rarely be extricated. And the exaggeration of some great virtue, faith, or zeal, or obedience, or humility, may make them the unconscious ministers to enormous evil. The viciousness of the system cannot always prove their own vice; and their own virtue cannot always prove the virtue of the system. How far either is compromised by the other, it is not necessary to define; but a Christian mind looking at the faults of man will never forget the circumstances which may extenuate them in the sight of God; nor overlook the seeds of good, though unguarded and unbalanced they have sprung up into a harvest of crime.

Two great—two of the greatest—virtues of the Christian, lie at the root of Jesuitism, and impregnate all its workings—zeal on the part of the rulers, and obedience on the part of the ruled. That each should be directed to a wrong object, that they should thus become the parents of mischief and guilt, is not to be charged

even upon the authors of the system, without bearing in mind the age in which they lived, and the habits in which they had been trained. Jesuitism was not a new, self-invented scheme. It was the natural development of Romanism; and only an improvement and enlargement upon errors and institutions, which under the sanction of Romanism had become established as articles of faith, and as essential organs of the Church. Like Romanism itself, it laid its foundation professedly on true principles and right affections. Hence its energy, its extent of range, its empire over the heart, its duration, and its fascination. Unity in the Church, certainty in the faith, submission to the will of Heaven, self-sacrifice, zeal for the glory of God, corporate and social efforts for the good of mankind, above all, obedience to our appointed rulers—these, the watchwords of Jesuitism as of Romanism, most of all in an age of distraction, doubt, self-indulgence, and disorganization, must strike upon the better strings in the human heart; must rouse hopes and energies far higher than any system from which they are professedly excluded; must generate heroic exertions; must produce gigantic results; must tend to raise up amidst the ruins of society, almost pulverized as it is to atoms, vast and enduring monuments to fascinate the imagination and overawe the reason. His must be a cold and almost malignant heart who can view without sympathy and admiration the energy and endurance of Ignatius, the missionary labours of Xavier and his followers, the deep policy and wonderful knowledge of the human heart displayed in the formation and government of the society through all its phases, its unwearied, undespairing struggles against its foes, or the prodigious works of learning which it drew from the devotion of its followers.

If we cannot recognize, and even sympathize with this good in Jesuitism, we cannot be fit judges of its evil. But if the good blinds us to the evil, if we think it impossible that professed and zealous ministers of a cause, which they declare to be the cause of the Gospel,—men bearing the name of their Divine Master as their peculiar badge,—may still be delivering Him to His enemies, and betraying Him with a kiss,—if we thus despise all the prophecies given to us, that when Satan would tempt us most, He will appear as an angel of light, and that the deadliest enemies of the Church will be those of the same house, and who walked in it as friends—above all, if we will not examine before we judge, nor listen as patiently to the warnings of accusers as to the apologies of the accused, we cannot be innocent. And what hope have we of escaping from the punishment naturally denounced on such wilfulness, the being delivered over to a “strong delusion that we should believe a lie!”

And in the case of Jesuitism there is not even the excuse that witnesses are equally balanced, that facts are difficult to substantiate, and that common charity therefore demands that we should give the benefit of the doubt to the accused.

The chief fact to be substantiated, and on which the whole argument should primarily rest, need not be any collection of historical charges open to cavil, and on which certainty may be difficult, but the avowed, published, undisputed constitution of the society itself. And this is to be tried not by any calculations of human expediency, but by those acknowledged laws and standards which have been established by God Himself. Neither need it be judged by its actual results, but by its essential and necessary tendencies,—just as we pronounce upon the merits of any other association for political or for religious purposes,—as the State refuses to tolerate the Orange societies of Ireland,—as it examines the statutes of a college before it concedes a charter,—as the Church would repudiate the Evangelical Alliance or the Home Mission, prior to any experience of their operation for evil, and even after experience of their partial operation for good. The system of Jesuitism is an engine constructed for a particular purpose, and with most profound and marvellous skill. Is the purpose itself identical or compatible with the function and object of the Church or of the State; or is it one essentially erroneous, and which must tempt the human mind to extravagances and to crimes? Can its organization (an organization invented by man) be prevented from clashing with and destroying other organizations created by God? These are the questions to be asked by one who in sobriety and equity would determine on the question of its toleration.

Subsequently, indeed, may be brought in as illustrative of its probable working, and as confirmatory of reasonings from anticipation, that vast and extraordinary mass of historical depositions against it, every one of which singly may be disputed, or denied, or invalidated to an uninformed reader, by charges of falsified documents, or by the adducement of counter-statements; just as an ingenious logic has disputed the existence of Napoleon, or as all the accumulated evidences of Christianity may be plucked away hair by hair, till the whole have vanished from our grasp,—but which as a totality, if it be not founded on truth, presents a phenomenon inexplicable and without parallel, of perjury, of delusion, of blindness, of malignity and jealousy, of cruelty and blasphemy, wrapping in one thick cloud whole communities, successive generations, minds of the purest holiness and acutest discernment, sovereigns of all countries, churchmen and statesmen alike, Romanists as well as Protestants, those most akin and

congenial, as well as those most naturally alienated, and bearing them all on in one blind attempt to destroy innocence, and piety, and Christian zeal in the service of God by calumny and oppression. Testimonies have indeed been offered to the virtues of individuals within the system of Jesuitism,—to good which has been done by it,—to the spirit of zeal and self-abandonment which pervades its institutions, and to the excellency of objects proposed by it. Never let these be suppressed, or refused their just authority. But none of these touch the point disputed. No system, however evil, can be founded except on professions of truth, or be carried on for any time except by the ministration of good men; and the more powerful its instrumentality for evil, the greater must be its admixture of good. But that which is to be overbalanced and cleared away is the testimony to its evil. Rejected at first by Rome itself even in the extremity of its difficulties—protested against by its holiest ecclesiastics—kept at bay by the great body of the clergy of France—admitted at last only on sufferance, and on a renunciation of its essential laws,—censured again and again by Rome herself, to whose service it was exclusively pledged,—the subject of perpetual complaints and remonstrances from foreign missions,—contended against even to death by Pascal and the Port Royal,—solemnly examined and condemned by repeated parliaments of France,—embroiled with almost every university in which it obtained a footing,—expelled successively from country after country which had opened its arms to receive it,—charged again and again with treason, and rebellion, and regicide, not at one period, or by one monarch, or in one country, or by Protestants only, or vaguely and calumniously, but again and again, by Portugal as by England, by Henry IV. as by Elizabeth, after solemn judicial trials in the face of the whole world—next (what to a member of the English Church must have its weight) singled out by the whole body of its most catholic teachers, by the men most discriminating in their condemnation of popery, as its most dangerous supporters, and the most pernicious enemies of the Gospel, as even the strongest embodiment of Antichrist itself—and finally crushed and suppressed by a pope himself: with all these grave suspicions (to use the mildest language) resting upon its character, Jesuitism claims to be welcomed among us. Which minds, where the safety of souls is at stake, will exercise most Christian charity, united with most Christian prudence—those who look on it with alarm and repugnance, or those who without proof or inquiry pronounce upon its injured innocence, and in their dread of liberalism and Erastianism throw themselves into the arms of Jesuitism?

But on these latter evidences of its nature we do not intend to

rest. Grant it true (though of the facts there is no proof) that the opposition of the parliament of Paris was dictated by hatred of Rome, when it was siding with the Romish clergy of France,—that the *Comptes Rendus* were drawn up by enemies to religion, when they exhibit the greatest reverence for other religious orders,—that the condemnation of the Jesuits' morals was pronounced upon falsified extracts, though they were publicly produced and verified,—that the Port Royal was instigated by heretical tendencies, and the universities by jealousy,—that all the charges of treason and rebellion were maintained by subornation of perjury,—and that neither in France, nor in England, nor in Portugal, nor in Spain, could the truth be discovered or prevail,—that Paraguay was a realized Utopia, not a commercial empire created and defended in defiance of the rights of its lawful sovereign,—that the society was not responsible for the erroneous teaching of its members, though no body ever more solemnly pledged itself to uniformity of doctrine, or took such singular precautions that nothing should escape from a member without the sanction and supervision of the head. Grant that the punishments of Jesuits in England were inflicted on them not as traitors, which was the fact, but as Catholics,—suppose that Elizabeth and James abandoned in this case their acknowledged and consistent policy of conciliating their Romanist subjects,—suppress all the history of the League,—let the bankruptcy of Lavalette be the dishonesty of an individual, not any way implicating the society,—allow that Borromeo, and Palafox, and Melchior Cano, with popes, and universities, and prelates, were all deceived in their prophecies and their facts,—charge Ganganelli with subjection to the monarchs of Europe,—give to the community the benefit of every doubt that can be raised upon the innumerable indictments against it, and let us suppose that it stood before us untried, as when it first presented itself to Paul III., only in the full development of its organization, and acknowledged principles as declared by itself and its panegyrists. It was in this form that the wisest, the most learned, and the most holy men in the English Church; men the farthest removed from any imputation of uncharitableness or laxity; discerned in it the spirit of Antichrist. And let us consider why.

When the Christian Church was first founded on the Apostles, its office and duty was committed to it in this remarkable form:—"Ye are witnesses of these things<sup>2</sup>." "Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth<sup>3</sup>." "One must be ordained

<sup>2</sup> Luke xxiv. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Acts i. 8.

to be a witness<sup>4</sup>." "Whereof we are all witnesses<sup>5</sup>." "Thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard<sup>6</sup>." "To make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee<sup>7</sup>." "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you<sup>8</sup>." The Church was placed upon the earth to be a witness to the truth, which it had received; and all its power, organization, and policy, even in the salvation of souls, was to be subordinated to this great end. The guidance and correction of man was in the main reserved to the internal working of a higher power than man. As a witness the Church was to go forth to the ends of the world,—as a witness to maintain inviolable the doctrine committed to its care,—as a witness to suffer persecution,—as a witness to die at the stake,—or, if a lot of less pain was appointed it, as a witness it was to stand armed with authority and power, and holding up its hands in prayer in the face of kings and people. We need not pause to show how all the other duties and blessings attached to the Church were not superseded, but insured by the steady fulfilment of this primary duty; nor how conformable this function of a witness is to the analogy of the Divine government generally, which neither excludes nor compels choice, but sets before us life and death, blessing and cursing, testifying to the end which awaits our conduct, but leaving our conduct free, even though disobedience and disorder, and the apparent frustration of the Divine will, is the consequence of the liberty permitted to us.

But this humble and limited function is little consistent with the pride and ambition of man; and the history of the Church consists of a gradual attempt to emancipate itself from its restraints, and to assume an office seemingly far more glorious, and far more immediately conducive to the good of man and to the glory of God—the office of government and direction. It was thus that in the intellectual East, intellect struggled to relieve itself from the fetters of a strict, defined, hereditary, unalterable creed—full of mysteries irreconcilable by reason, but all of them attested as revealed, and spread itself out into every form of heresy, as a teacher and moulder of human reason in subjects of religion, rather than as a simple attester to what it had heard and seen. And when the vitality and energy which animated the East in the first centuries, swept on like a wave towards the West, leaving all behind it a desolate waste, Rome caught the same impulse, though, as if the spirit and policy of government were inherent in the very soil of the Seven Hills, the struggle to escape from the ministration of a witness was transferred from the intellectual to

<sup>4</sup> Acts i. 22.<sup>5</sup> Acts ii. 32; iii. 15; x. 41.<sup>6</sup> Acts xxii. 15.<sup>7</sup> Acts xvi. 16.<sup>8</sup> John i. 3.



the moral nature, and the efforts of Rome were bent to rule the affections and the actions instead of the reason of man. From this point may be traced consecutively all the subsequent development and corruptions of the system of Romanism. Once assumed that the commission of the Church was to govern mankind, the success of its government became the only test of its fidelity. But to this success there were opposed a multitude of obstacles and restraints, all of them requiring to be removed. Power became necessary to rule, and unity of operation to power, and the suppression of Episcopal independence, and even of civil authority, to unity of spiritual operation; and to raise forces for this great work, not only were minds generally to be subdued and attached, but an ecclesiastical force was to be constituted, and doctrines modified, and practices introduced, which, however inconsistent with primitive example, all tended to the one great end—the direction and control of the world. As the end is greater than the means, it justifies the means, wherever no prior and positive prohibitions exist against them. These prohibitions it became necessary to remove, in order to facilitate the great work. Hence the gradual enlargement of the papal authority, till it became supreme over and capable of superseding all other authority upon earth, even though derived from heaven; and when all other authority was thus swallowed up in one, all duties became subordinated to one, and all traces of minor relations were blotted out. The single voice of the Romish Church was sufficient to dispense from every other obligation; and the relaxation of morals became co-extensive with the infringement upon the apostolical organization, and the corruption of the Catholic faith of the primitive Church. In one word, the whole life of Rome has been a struggle to sap and melt away those restraints upon the ambition of man which God has created in the moral world by subjecting us to a variety of obligations, and by distributing his power among many agents, just as he seems to have limited even his own omnipotence in nature, by fixing bounds which he does not pass, and by creating laws which can only be subdued to the service of man by combining obedience to them all, "*imperare parendo.*"

The end of such a struggle it was easy to foresee. As the dykes and dams which hemmed in the authority of Rome successively fell in, its rapacity rose higher. Every past victory swelled future claims, and encouraged a more reckless licence, till the patience of the world was exhausted, and the Reformation exploded. And at this moment what was the condition of its forces, and what progress had it made towards its vision of universal dominion? It had claimed to absorb in itself the whole

power of the episcopacy; but there were bishops like those of England prepared to reassume their apostolical privileges. It had disputed the supremacy of the Church with General Councils; but General Councils were still revered by a large portion of Christendom, as participating, if not overruling, the authority of the Romish see. It had set forth its own infallibility, and exerted it even by tampering with the Creed—the mysterious deposit of the faith, and the palladium of Christianity. To captivate and hold in subjection the minds of the people, it had created a machinery of confession and absolution, of penances and indulgences, and a lax system of casuistry to regulate it, so that even the worst excesses of Jesuit morality were able to defend themselves by the previous teaching of Romish doctors. It had dressed up a devotion with all outward appeals to the imagination, and had indulged the morbid feelings of superstition with the creation of its own gods by a Mariolatry and saint worship. And it had created the Inquisition. Having familiarized the world to the spectacle of a spiritual monarchy gradually establishing its own despotism, it was easy to undermine and even wage open war against the civil monarchies of the earth. Even without formally claiming a direct temporal power, the spiritual power involved this, whenever the temporal became connected with the spiritual; and when does this not take place? When may not the acts of the body be supposed to affect the state of the soul? Thus every exercise of temporal authority was practised by Rome even before the Jesuit system was thoroughly developed. Taxes were raised in foreign kingdoms—laws issued within them—appeals heard from them—statutes dispensed with—subjects released from their allegiance—kingdoms disposed of by gift—war levied against independent monarchs as against rebels;—but all this had been done as a struggle. It had encountered resistance. The resistance was now stronger than ever, and its own means of aggression, or of maintaining its position, were infinitely weaker. It could no longer count on the voluntary surrender of their privileges by the bishops; nor on the suspension of General Councils; nor on terrifying kings; nor on ruling the people, exasperated by oppression, and revelling in their newly-recovered liberty of thought. But one strong arm it still possessed—its monastic bodies.

The same characteristic law which turned the battles of the Church to points of doctrine in the East, and to points of practice and government in the West, had produced a similar difference in the eastern and the western monasticism. In the East, monasteries, as their name denoted, were sanctuaries of solitude and retirement for contemplation, prayer, and penitence. In the

West, they soon became the great organs of the secular operations of the Church—parts of the world, and exercising on it, exactly in proportion as they retained a Catholic instead of Roman character, a most salutary influence. They assumed the form of communities, charged with the spiritual care of districts, since converted into parishes—of great schools for learning and art, as well as for theology—of wealthy corporate bodies, balancing the struggles between the sovereign and the nobles—of institutions for charity and hospitality—of consecrated homes, where the loose and scattered atoms of society might be gathered and converted into solid masses, under the shelter and in defence of truth and holiness. But with all this inestimable good there was blended an inestimable evil. Detached, individually, from the ordinary position of citizens, by their vows and their celibacy—withdrawn by exemptions of various kinds from the control of their natural spiritual superintendents, the bishops—erected almost into an independent empire in the midst of the temporal empire—bound together by the strongest ties of spiritual union—and taught to look to Rome in all things as their creator, and patron, and protector, and reformer—they became, in the hands of Rome, an engine of enormous power, to be wielded against the civil authority. They were encamped and garrisoned in every country as its subject legions, more or less pledged to obedience, and interested in maintaining the Roman sway; and thus not by the mere rapacity of spoliation, but by the necessity of warfare, the first point attacked by the monarchs of Europe, who reasserted their independence of Rome, were the monastic institutions. They were the concentration and last exhibition of that temporal power which Rome had always sought for, and had before acquired by the submission of sovereigns to its will, and without which, however unnecessary to the functions of a witness and a martyr, the functions of a ruler and governor could never be discharged. Break them down, and Rome would be powerless.

Of the mode in which this attack was conducted, the nature of the spoliation, or the purposes to which it was applied, we need not speak. To sever them from Rome, and yet preserve them to Christianity—this, the true and glorious task of a great statesman—was perhaps beyond the power, as it was assuredly beyond the thought, of the exasperated hands which stormed and pillaged them.

But with their fall the right arm of Rome was fractured; and to all human calculation, it was about to have sunk into insignificance, and to realize the dream so often cherished at this day, by minds insensible to its night, of an effete and powerless old man.

sitting desolate amidst the ruins of his empire, and fulminating his futile edicts over a world that mocked and hated him.

But at this juncture succour was sent it. The same mysterious doom which raised up Luther to attack, permitted Ignatius to arise to defend the shattered empire of the Papacy. Bold, ardent, chivalrous, and enthusiastic, full of an indomitable patience, of a passionate zeal, of a picturesque and romantic imagination, armed with all the precedents and habits of military discipline and dominion, wrapt up in a more sanguine devotion to the cause, as he conceived, of Heaven, from the memory of a past life devoted to voluptuousness and sin, and gifted with that powerful fascination over other minds, which is exerted by an entire abandonment of self, and earnest absorption in one grand pursuit, Ignatius, aided and directed by the cooler and more subtle policy of Laines, constructed and offered to the Roman pontiff the wonderful machine of Jesuitism. It was the full development, the final perfection of the monastic and mendicant orders, considered as the instruments of Rome in extending her dominion. To speak in their own repeated metaphor, it was the spiritual Roman legion, brought, after a series of experiments and conflicts, to its acme and completion, as combining the highest degree possible of solidity and massiveness with flexibility and elasticity.

And before we examine more minutely into its structure, let us consider its destination.

I. It was placed at the disposal, not of the whole Catholic church, nor even of the Romish church, controlled by the supremacy of a General Council, but of the Roman pontiff individually. It was like an army of Janizaries, or Mamelukes, or any body of foreign mercenary troops, who, in a kingdom distracted by the claims of an usurping sovereign—claims hitherto disputed by legislatures and parliaments—should devote themselves to the service of the usurper, without any reference whatever to the constitutional limitations on his despotism. “*Soli Domino atque Romano Pontifici ejus in terris Vicario servire*,” is the object and motto of the society. It is the prætorian army of the pope, and as such its institution was regarded at first by the Roman pontiff himself, and to the present day by moderate Romanists all over the world, with as much jealousy and alarm as by any Protestant communions. Its power to serve the pope was the measure of its power to overawe him. And the Gallican Church, with its modified reverence for the Papacy, and its reserved submission to a General Council, was even more embarrassed by its

† Bull of Paul III., A.D. 1540.

fears of a further subversion of the polity of the Church Catholic than Germany or England.

II. This new association was destined to undertake the functions of the whole hierarchical body. It was not designed to supply certain minor and subordinate wants in the polity of the church, to strengthen the hands of bishops, to fulfil works of charity under them, to undertake missions at their bidding, or to form what the English Church so much needs, corporate Levitical institutions, under the control of the rightful ecclesiastical authorities. It was to trespass on and absorb in itself all the functions for which the Almighty established the orders of bishop, priest, and deacon; the cure of souls (*profectum animarum*), the public preaching of the Gospel (*fidei propagationem per publicas prædicationes*), the ministry of the Word (*verbi Dei ministerium*), spiritual discipline (*spiritualia exercitia*), works of charity (*opera charitatis*), the instruction of the young and ignorant (*puerorum ac rudium in Christianismo institutionem*), and, above all, the giving spiritual comfort, by hearing confessions (*in confessionibus audiendis spiritualem consolationem præcipue intendat*<sup>1</sup>). It was, in fact, to supersede by a new association the Divine organization of Christian pastors. Let us place aside all the historical facts which show that this avowed design has been practically carried out, all the remonstrances and complaints which have been made against its actual aggressions and usurpations by Romanists themselves. Let us suppose that the evil of the institution was neutralized by the moderation of its conductors, and that the innumerable accusations against them were all the results of jealousy or ignorance—and even then, in what light must a Christian mind regard the institution itself, prior to and apart from all experience of its actual working—a human hierarchy created as a substitute for a divine one?

III. The Society presents itself as an absolute monarchy: "*Universam gubernandi rationem . . . Ignatius fundator . . . monarchicam tamen et in definitionibus unius superioris arbitrio contentam esse decrevit*." Now these remarks are not so much addressed to minds to whom these words will at once suggest ideas of danger and evil, of human reason oppressed, and Christian liberty threatened; they are intended rather for those who, sighing over the distractions of the Church, over the licentiousness of the people, and the disruption of the bonds of faith which once held society together, gladly catch at any project which promises to realize their dream of unity, and concord, and obedience. With this yearning they look to Rome. She alone has professed

<sup>1</sup> Bull of Paul III.

<sup>2</sup> Bull of Pope Gregory XIV.

the great work of gathering all the scattered and conflicting members of the Christian body, and uniting them under one head. Unity is her badge and boast. Her history is but a series of successive attempts to realize it; and the Jesuit monarchy framed upon her principles, and dovetailed into her system, is but another, if it be not the final, stage of the development of this ruling idea. But what is this ruling idea? Is it in fact, as in name, the same with the idea of unity stamped upon the Church by its Divine Author, confirmed by Scripture, exhibited in the first ages of the Gospel, and illustrated by experience and reason? Or is it something wholly different from this, incompatible with it, and destructive of it?

Let us imagine a case.

We boast, or rather it should be said, we once did boast of the English constitution. It was the admiration of the profoundest political philosophers, and its most prominent claim to admiration was its monarchical form—its unity; this gave to it its stability and permanence, its energy and its peace. But with this there were coupled other recognized and essential elements, which often seemed to embarrass and disturb it. Stubborn parliaments, immutable laws, hereditary indefeasible privileges, belonging even to the lowest orders of society, an independent spiritual authority, established within the very heart of the empire; bulwarks and barriers against arbitrary power set on every side round the throne of the monarch, who was yet, by the principles of the constitution, the fountain of all honour, the lord of the wealth, and the disposer of the force of the nation; all this, both in theory and practice, came into strong contrast, and often into violent collision, with the idea of perfect unity. Let us remove them. Place the monarch on his throne, relieved from the incumbrance of any counsellors, capable of enacting and of dispensing with laws by his own voice, unawed by any independent equal or rival at his side, unfettered by any restrictions against aggressions on the rights of others, and armed with the means of dispersing or coercing any opposition to his will; and then indulge the contemplation of this perfected and completed unity in the body politic, compared with its previous embarrassments and counteractions. An unity, indeed, there will be, but an unity of a very different nature from that which is commanded by the great Author of society, and is necessary for the well-being of man. It will be unity of person and of place, a material nominal unity, under one human being. But to this will be sacrificed another and a far higher unity: unity of truth, unity of mind, unity of affection, unity of duration. Absolute, arbitrary, unbalanced power must generate arbitrary acts; and arbitrary

acts must rouse discord and rebellion: and rebellion must break to fragments the one mass of the empire, and dislocate its chain of succession, till even the shadow of unity is lost, and nothing remains but dissension and conflict.

This latter process has been the history of Romanism in the Church, and of Jesuitism within the bosom of Romanism. The Gospel unity of the Church is one thing, the unity with which they have endeavoured to perfect, or rather to supersede it, is another. What the former was to be we know: "One body, and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." But this unity of the body was not incompatible—rather it was strictly combined with a plurality of members, and a diversity of operation. It was essentially balanced by a body of twelve Apostles (not one Apostle), distinct from and authorized to confront each other—by multitudes of distinct churches radiating from them severally into every part of the world—by the independence of the episcopacy—by a variability in outward rites and ceremonies, according to climates, temperaments, and circumstances—by the Divine supremacy of kings and princes—by differences of opinion on subjects not defined by Revelation—even by the existence of sects and heresies, which the Divine government tolerated, as it tolerates moral evil in the world, rather than exclude them by excluding the exercise of our free agency, reason, and faith. The Divine organization of the Church, like the political organization of the English constitution, or of any constitution adapted to the infirmities of human nature, with all its earnest insistence upon unity, did not exclude variety, multiplicity, oppositions, even discords. Heaven tolerated them, as Heaven works within the bounds which it has set to its own omnipotence, educing good out of evil, peace out of war, harmony out of reconciled dissensions, and perfection out of conflicting imperfections; slowly indeed and gradually, and often to human eyes imperceptibly, but yet fully and surely in those grand cycles, through which its operations are to be traced, and none of which we may dare to call complete till they close in another world—in eternity, and Heaven. Heaven tolerated them, but man could not. And thus Catholicism sunk gradually into Romanism.

But the Theory of Papal Unity, at the period of the Reformation, was scarcely more than theory: the vision had been formed, the claims involved in it asserted, and the effects of it both upon the mind of the ruler and the temper of the ruled already exhi-

bited. But the result was the same as must follow upon any attempt to establish a despotism with inadequate forces. It was rebellion, and a rebellion which threatened the very existence of religion. And the only means which Rome possessed for suppressing it, were deficient in the very principle most essential to her whole system—in unity, and therefore in power. They consisted mainly, if not exclusively, of the Religious Orders. But these were still scattered through different countries, subject to local influences of patriotism and loyalty, in themselves endowed with a considerable degree of internal independence of their several generals, confined in their operations by their original destination and constitution, and in many cases animated with a jealous animosity against each other. Already some attempt had been made to frame an ecclesiastical legion more available for the service of Rome than the old monastic orders, as the old monastic orders had been more available than the divinely appointed ecclesiastical hierarchy. And the creation of the Mendicant orders, with their increased dependence upon the Papacy, their commission to interfere with the duties of the secular clergy, and their relaxation from inconvenient restrictions, was an intermediate step in the pursuit of this object. But even this machinery was destitute of sufficient pliability and accommodation to the exigencies of the case; and still more was it deficient in solidity and unity. It was as if the mercenary troops employed in the establishment of a despotism were composed of two or more national bodies, jealous and rivals of each other, and distributed under jealous and rival commanders. A consolidated army was required, and the Society of Jesuitism supplied it.

This necessity of giving unity to the spiritual forces of the Papacy is alleged by Jesuitism itself as the reason of their monarchical form. “*Regna plurima, atque clarissima, immensis naturæ divortiiis sejuncta, in unum nisi ab uno redigi non potuisse*.” And it may suggest the following reflections:—If the Papal theory of unity, which is the life and spring of all its corruptions, be thus essentially vicious and destructive of true Christian unity, how is it likely to be affected by the possession of an instrument framed to subserve and support it upon the same vicious principles? Is it not true, that one of the last and strongest hopes for the correction of arbitrary power, and of its inevitable abuses, lies in some discordance between itself and the instruments which it employs? “He who uses instruments,” says Burke, “finds also impediments.” Tyrants are destroyed by their own satellites. Despotic aggressions are checked perpetually by the reluctance

<sup>4</sup> *Imago Prim. Sæcul.*, lib. i. cap. 6.



or intractability of those who are to execute them. The check and the safety lie in the chance of this resistance: and this resistance depends on the number and variety of the hands to be employed, or on some difference of temper and spirit opposing them to the will of their employer. But remove these chances; make the instrument a single individual, that is, place under the absolute control of an individual an enormous mass of forces, and imbue that individual with precisely the same vicious principles as his employer, and what must be the end?

There is, indeed, one chance remaining, that the very identity of vicious principle; the coincidence, for instance, in the two minds, the master's and the servant's—of a lust for rule, or of a mere intellectual theory of an absolute dominion in the Church, may bring about a collision. Where two minds seek one object which cannot be enjoyed by both, there must be war, and to this war we may look as our hope for either the suppression of Jesuitism, or the depression of the Papacy. The absolute dominion of the general of the Jesuits, and the absolute dominion of the Pope, may seem so incompatible, that one must annihilate the other, or at least reduce it to some subordinate position.

But this is not always the case. There are instances, and the present is one, in which the existence and power of two parties are so dependent upon each other, that notwithstanding perpetual jealousies, grievances, and mutual aggressions, neither can destroy the other without destroying itself, nor aggrandise itself except by aggrandizing the other. This was the situation of the great civil and hierarchical powers in those vast oriental monarchies, before which the duration and the magnitude of most modern empires fade into insignificance. The all but omnipotence of each party was maintained by the external support and testimony of the other. Together they formed the two sides of the arch, capable by their mutual resistance and mutual pressure of supporting any weight. And the fall of those empires may be traced in almost every instance to an abandonment of this talismanic principle—when sovereigns suppressed the hierarchy, or the hierarchy usurped the sovereignty. A spiritual authority is powerless for dominion; it can only witness, and suffer, and die as a martyr to purchase life by that very death—unless it be supported by an independent secular arm: and a secular arm must be powerless, it will never command the reverence, or sympathy, or obedience of the higher order of human minds, nor even of the superstitious mass, unless it be accredited and consecrated by an independent Spiritual Hand. How shall a man preach except he be sent? How can he demand obedience solely upon his own testimony?

Nor is the obligation limited to one side ; Rome also requires external testimony to accredit her own extraordinary claims. Now that the forgeries of antiquity are exploded, and the pretensions of Rome are found and acknowledged to be novelties, having no foundation but her own word, the Papacy must look elsewhere for some external witness. It is a law of the Gospel, a law of human nature, a law of reason ; but by her own theory she is excluded from finding such a witness within the range of the existing Catholic Church : all its branches, by her own declaration, ramify from herself, draw their vitality from her fountain head, are subject to her dominion. They cannot, therefore, be independent of her. They cannot give an independent witness. But if another power can be created by herself, which nevertheless may claim a distinct Divine authority for its commission, if it can assume the form and functions, and almost the name of the Church itself, and stand upon a footing at all distinct from its creator, it assumes the character of an external witness, and may deliver an independent and therefore a valid and credible testimony. Let us not think that this advantage is slight, or the reasoning far-fetched. Let us rather bring to bear upon it those singular features in the Jesuit system which enable it directly to answer this purpose.

Some preparation for this assumption of the character of the whole Church by some particular portion within it (this premature sifting and severance of the Invisible from the Visible Church, so prominent in Puritanism), was made by the pretension of the See of Rome to exclude from salvation all who were excluded from its own communion. A still farther development took place within the Church of Rome itself, by the tendency to identify the saints and elect of God with the members of the monastic bodies, as distinct from the secular clergy. A still farther extravagance of the same rationalistic and Puritan principle was seen in the blasphemous parallels drawn between our Blessed Lord and the founders of the Mendicant order, especially St. Francis. But it reached, perhaps, its final stage in the vaunts and self-panegyrics of the Jesuits.

The assumption of such a title in itself involved the whole pretension, and was thought sufficient by the clergy of France again and again to justify the most vigorous opposition to their entrance into that kingdom<sup>1</sup>.

“ Though there was no other charge against you,” says Pasquier in his pleadings for the University of Paris, “ this mere name of Jesuit which you have so arrogantly appropriated to

<sup>1</sup> *Plaidoyer de M. Pasquier pour l'Université de Paris, Annales, vol. i. p. 43.*

yourselves, and have so often promised to abjure in France without keeping your word, would be sufficient to condemn you to the severest punishment." "To call themselves the followers of Jesus (said a pope himself, Sixtus V.) is to deny the claims of all others to be his followers;" just as Rome's restriction to herself of the titles of Catholic and Apostolic has had the effect, in the estimation of her sons, of unchurching all the rest of the world. But Jesuits went still farther. They assumed the title and character of Apostles. "*Perspicuum est societatem Jesu ab Apostolorum Instituto ac Religione non differre nisi tempore*." The express author of the society was our Lord himself<sup>2</sup>. It was the work also of the Virgin Mary ("*Beneficium Mariæ*," "*Ignatius opus Virginis . . . illum enim vitæ meliori misericors Mater peperit*"); and then follows a blasphemous parallel between the relation of Ignatius to the Virgin and that of our Lord<sup>3</sup>. It is a peculiar society attached to Christ himself ("*Qui huic militiæ dant nomen, non in costum Ignatii, sed in Filii Dei peculiarem quandam societatem ac militiam intelligunt se vocari*"); and the pledge which every Christian makes in his baptism is here applied to his entrance into the body of the Jesuits. It was the subject of Prophecy<sup>4</sup>, not only by modern saints, but by Isaiah, St. John, St. Thomas, and others<sup>5</sup>. The spiritual exercises of Ignatius were dictated by the Virgin. "*Scriptit ille quidem Ignatius, sed dictante Mariâ*"<sup>6</sup>. She appeared to him often to assist him in his work, and to declare her satisfaction with it<sup>7</sup>. The constitutions of the society are alike the work of herself and of our Lord. For Ignatius declares, it is said, that the Mediators ("*quorum nomina Jesum designat et Mariam*") appeared to him in the course of his work; "*Ne nesciat societas parere se legibus ab Jesu et Mariâ magis quam ab Ignatio latis*." It is the house of wisdom ("*domus sapientiæ*"). All the scriptural types of the heavenly hierarchy and of the Church are realized in it<sup>8</sup>. Salvation is ensured by membership with it. And when a Jesuit dies, our Lord advances to meet him, and receive him into heaven. Or to sum up all, it is the final development of Revelation. And these words may be fitly used: "God in these last days hath spoken unto us by his son Ignatius, whom he hath appointed heir of all things"<sup>9</sup>.

With this last declaration we must close. There is now lying

<sup>2</sup> *Imago Prim. Sæc.*, lib. i. c. 3.

<sup>3</sup> "*Jesus primus ac precipuus auctor societatis*."—*Imago Pr. Sæc.*, lib. i. c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Imago Pr. Sæc.*, lib. i. c. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, lib. i. c. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, lib. i. c. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Elogia, Gomez, Preface.*

<sup>10</sup> See "*Censure de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris; Annales des solitaires Jésuites*," vol. ii. p. 375.

before us not only the "Imago Primi Sæculi"—a Jesuit work—but another, entitled "Elogia," by Christopher Gomez, also a Jesuit, published at Antwerp in 1677, and solemnly dedicated to the Church of Rome. After a variety of panegyrics, in many cases just, upon the zeal and learning of the society, it closes with a collection of declarations in its favour by our Lord, the Virgin Mary, apostles, saints, angels, and demons. We have no wish to shock Christian feeling by the repetition of these blasphemies; nor is this the place to do more than indicate a general line of inquiry to be pursued by those who would candidly and conscientiously pronounce on the nature of the institution. But Jesuitism is in fact exhibited and maintained as a concentration and quintessence of the Church, as the army of the Church, as its hierarchy, as the crew in the boat of St. Peter, the only hope of navigating it through the storm<sup>6</sup>. "Expertes et validos remiges

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the best illustration of its theory on this point is to be found in the subjoined account of the notorious painting in the chapel of the Jesuit College at Bellon, which was laid before the Parliament of Paris in 1763. It was entitled, "Typus Religionis," or the Emblematic Representation of the Religious Order of Jesuits. We have extracted it from the *Compte-rendu* :—

"Nous avons donc observé que dans le dit tableau la Religion est représentée sous l'emblème d'un très grand Vaisseau, qui cingle à pleines voiles de la Mer du Siècle au Port du Salut. Au milieu de ce vaisseau, et sur le tillac, S. Ignace, tenant à la main le nom de Jésus, paraît à la tête de huit autres Fondateurs d'Ordres; l'on ne voit dans ce vaisseau d'autres personnages que des Religieux de ces neuf ordres différens : ce qui donne lieu de présumer qu'on a cherché à confondre la religion avec l'état religieux. Cette conjecture paraît-d'autant mieux fondée que l'on n'y apperçoit ni Pape, ni Evêque (qui ne soit chef d'ordre), ni Prêtre, ni aucun Séculier; il est monté par ces seuls Religieux; ce sont eux-seuls qui le conduisent, et y font toute la manœuvre; partout les Jésuites tiennent le premier rang; les autres Religieux ne paraissent y agir que sous leurs ordres, et en Subalternes; bien plus, quoique le S. Esprit enfile les voiles de son souffle, et pousse le vaisseau, c'est un Jésuite qui, chargé du gouvernail, le compas à la main, en dirige la route : au-dessous de ce Pilote on lit : 'Imitatio Vitæ Christi.' Ne paraît-il pas évident que ce tableau n'a été fait que pour persuader que les Jésuites seuls sont propres à conduire dans les voies du salut? Nous avons observé encore qu'à la suite de ce vaisseau viennent deux petites Barques, sur lesquelles on lit : 'Naves secularium quibus arma spiritualia à viris religionis suppeditantur.' Dans ces barques sont pêle-mêle le Pape, un Cardinal, un Roi de France, des Evêques, plusieurs têtes couronnées, des personnes de tous états, et de tout sexe. Des Religieux d'Ordres différens distribuent du haut du grand Vaisseau aux Séculiers, qui sont dans les nacelles, des faisceaux d'armes composés de sabres, de boucliers, de carquois, et de flèches; un autre Religieux leur présente des Livres et des Scapulaires, et un Jésuite en surplis paraît prêcher et présider à la distribution de ces prétendues armes spirituelles; à côté de celui-là un autre Jésuite tient l'extrémité d'une corde, qu'il a jetée dans les petites Barques pour les attirer au grand Vaisseau. Nous n'avons pu voir qu'avec scandale le Pape, les Evêques, etc., hors du Vaisseau de la Religion n'en approcher qu'à l'aide et par le secours de ce Jésuite; nous n'avons pas été moins surpris de voir que ces armes qu'on qualifie de *spirituelles*, ne sont autres que celles dont on se sert pour la destruction des corps. Du même côté, sur la Mer du Siècle au haut du tableau, s'élèvent plusieurs points de rochers, dont la plus élevée est surmontée d'une Tiare, une autre d'un Chapeau de Cardinal, quelques autres de Mitres, de Couronnes, et de la Bannière de Malthe; au-dessus

ad frangendos pelagi naufragium nobis et exitium quovis momento minitantes fluctus ?”

Now, without impugning the motives, or giving credence even to the best attested histories of the practical working of this body, granting that it consists only of saintly and self-devoted men, and is animated with but one spirit—zeal for the greater glory of God (*ad majorem Dei gloriam*), and thirst for the spiritual welfare of their neighbours—let us suppose a similar institution to be formed under similar circumstances within our own Church. We believe that the organization and polity of the Church was no less a matter of divine institution than its doctrines—that, indirectly, they are of scarcely less importance—that they are the glass and the lamp, in which the light of truth is preserved, and that amidst the rude gusts and storms of the world, whether the glass be shattered, or the oil exhausted, matters little. In either case the light must be extinguished. Schism is the inevitable attendant upon disorganization, heresy upon schism, unbelief upon heresy. We believe, also, that the principles upon which the English Church is organized, the independence of its episcopacy, the privileges of its pastors, the mutual counteractions of its hierarchy, are agreeable to the institutions of the Apostles and of our Lord. Let us suppose that these principles had been corrupted or nearly lost—that as the Roman See succeeded, step by step, in swallowing up the power of the Church, so some one see in England, Canterbury, for instance, in the face of protests and remonstrances, had still drawn under its power the whole ecclesiastical authority of England. Let the fearful consequences of this usurpation have been manifested in the distractions of the Church, the alienation of the State, the demoralization and increasing ignorance of the people, and the gross corruption of the inward spirit, as of the outward doctrines and polity of Christianity. Let an effort and a struggle then be made to restore the primitive system, and to coerce the usurping see. At this moment let a body of zealous, fervent, learned, enthusiastic men bind themselves together by the most stringent ties, and in a form unheard of in the Church, to enter the battle in behalf of the usurper. Let them devote themselves wholly to him, and stand forward as the assertors of his most extravagant claims. Let them claim to themselves

du tout est écrit : ‘*Superbia Vitæ.*’ Autour de ces rochers sont représentés les Sept Péchés Capitaux sous l’emblème de sept petits Brigandins portant chacun le nom d’un Péché ; au-dessous du tout est une sentence commençant par ces mots : ‘*Initium omnis peccati est superbia.*’ ”

A more detailed account of this picture, by no means the only one of its kind which has been exhibited by the society, may be seen in the “*Annales de la Société des soi-disant Jésuites*,” vol. i. p. 625.

<sup>1</sup> Bull of Pope Pius VII., restoring the order.

almost all the offices of the Church, and describe themselves as the elect portion of the Church, beyond whose pale nothing but inferiority can be found. Let them claim a divine origin, and the sanction of express revelation for their institutes. And, lastly, with one heart and soul, under the command of one leader of the profoundest policy and most unwearied energy, and separated from the rest of the Church, let them be sent forth into the country, to preach from our pulpits, to invade our universities, to wander at will through our dioceses, to draw into their hands the whole education of the country, and to establish themselves in every part of society, by every fireside, from the court to the college, and from the college to the cottage, as rulers of the conscience and masters of the secrets of the whole nation.

These are but a few traits in the picture to be drawn; but are they sufficient, or not, to alarm the mind of any one who truly and sincerely believed the system of the Church to be primitive, and to be momentous? Would they justify him, or not, in at once rejecting and expelling such a society from the bosom of his country, as the parent of inevitable discord, and the corrupter of discipline and doctrine?

But it will be said this zeal and energy is supplementary and subsidiary—it does not, and need not clash with the operations of the regular clergy, and must be controllable within proper bounds by their authority and privileges, especially by the superintendence of the episcopacy. What is the fact? They come armed by their own declaration with more than forty bulls of popes, exempting them from the jurisdiction of every ordinary, and releasing them from all the restrictions by which even the monastic and mendicant orders were confined in their operations. The exemptions by which these had been withdrawn from the control of the rightful authorities in the Church, and placed at the disposal of the Pope, had already sufficiently disturbed the polity, and infected the doctrine and practice of Christianity; but even these had not given sufficient independence, freedom, and pliability to the papal legion. Accordingly, Paul III. gives to every one licensed by the general of the society for the time being, the right of preaching both to clergy and to people in any churches, public square, or any place whatever, “*alias ubique locorum*.” He gives in the same bull to all priests of the society, the privilege of confessing every one who should come to them from whatever parish, “*undecunque accedentium* ;” of absolving from all offences, however enormous (“*quantumcunque gravibus et enormibus*”), not merely those which are reserved by the Romish system to the bishop, but even those reserved to the Pope, “*etiam Sedi Apostolicæ reservatis* ;” of releasing them from all sentences,

censures, and punishment ecclesiastical, with one exception, of those contained in the bull "Cœna Domini;" of committing, with some exceptions, all vows ("vota quæcunque") into other works of charity; of celebrating mass at any time of the day, and of demanding the assistance and support of all ordinaries in maintaining those privileges, even by ecclesiastical censures, against all opponents ("contradictores quoscunque et rebelles"). In another bull he prohibits any member of the society from accepting any office or dignity in the Church, though at the command of his prince, without the consent of the general\*. All appeals from the society are prohibited. The society is not compelled to depute any of its members to undertake duties, such as preaching, or missions, or other ecclesiastical functions, at the request either of patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, or other ecclesiastical authorities. And if deputed, the parties still remain under the control of the society, and may be removed by the general at his pleasure. The power of absolving from all crimes, and from all censures, suspensions, interdicts, excommunications, "aliisque ecclesiasticis et secularibus sententiis," inflicted by any person whatever ("a jure vel ab homine quomodolibet latis et promulgatis"), except in certain cases reserved to the apostolic see, is then conferred upon the general, and may be extended by him to all persons within the society, or temporarily placed under its spiritual direction; which absolution shall be void, unless the party receiving it enter promptly into the society, and take the vows. The whole society, all its members, and all their property whatever, are next exempted from every control of every ordinary, and placed under the protection of the Pope. ("Ipseque Societatem, et universas illius socios et personas, illorumque bona quæcunque ab omni superioritate, jurisdictione, correctione quorumcunque ordinariorum eximimus et liberamus, et sub nostra et præfate Sedis protectione suscipimus"). Any member who quits the society contrary to the statutes, in whatever habit or religious order the apostate may be found, ("in quocunque habitu apostatas prædictos contingerit inveniri,") may be excommunicated, seized, incarcerated, and in other ways placed under discipline, ("et alias summi disciplinæ submittere,") and for this purpose the aid of the secular arm may be required. In the time of an interdict, though inflicted even by the Pope himself, they may within closed doors celebrate mass, and receive and administer the sacraments of the Church to others, provided these be persons not specially named in the interdict, nor the cause of the offence. But all those who show favour to the society, ("qui in ipsorum Præpositorum et

\* Litt. Apost., p. 19.

**Sociorum morantur obsequiis,")** may receive freely from the Jesuits, even during an interdict, the sacraments of the Church, and be buried in their cemeteries. The same privilege is given to all the children, servants, officers, and workmen employed by the society. No ecclesiastical sentence or excommunication is to be inflicted by any bishop or prelate against any member of the society, contrary to its privileges, the interpretation of which is reserved to the Pope, ("quorum [privilegiolorum] interpretationem nobis et Apostolicæ sedi reservamus;") and if inflicted, any such sentence is, *ipso facto*, void, ("et si tulerint, eo ipso irrita, nulliusque roboris vel momenti sit, et esse censeatur.") Those who frequent the churches of the society to hear their sermons and receive the sacraments from them, are not bound to attend their own parish churches. All the priests of the society licensed by the general, wherever they are staying, *pro tempore*, may have oratories, and there celebrate mass on a portable altar. The general may present any member in any place to any bishop, and require the bishop to admit him to holy orders unreservedly ("absque omni promissione vel obligatione ipsorum ordinandorum fratrum"). With a licence from the general they may live familiarly with heretics, excommunicated persons, schismatics, and infidels. They are exempted from any claim which may be made upon them to undertake any office of visitation, of administering justice, or protecting nuns. Their property of all kinds is exempted from all tithes, ecclesiastical charges, subsidies, and provisions whatever. Any house, church, college, cell, or oratory given, or built for the society, is by that very act to be considered as already sanctioned by the Pope. If the bishop of the diocese should delay beyond four months, any other bishop may be called in to consecrate the church or cemetery; and all and several archbishops, bishops, prelates, and ordinaries, are enjoined to throw no obstructions in the way of erecting any buildings the society may think proper. Rigid as the Roman Church professes to be in excluding from holy orders those who are subject to any irregularity of birth, ("ex adulterio, sacrilegio, incestu, et quovis alio nefario et illicito coitu provenientes,") all this is dispensed with in the case of those who take the vow of Jesuitism. And notwithstanding any obstacle, whether of birth, or other nature, except homicide, bigamy, and mutilation of the limbs, they may be admitted to the priesthood, and the irregularity be dispensed with by the general. The consent of the rector of the parish is not to be required for hearing confessions, or administering the sacrament, except at the feast at Easter. Plenary indulgence is given to all those who visit any church of the society named by the general on one day in the year. On other days indulgences



of many years are granted in the other churches. The general may in any place appoint readers in theology without asking the consent of any third party ("alterius licentiâ ad id minime requisitâ"). The companions of the society serving as missionaries in heathen countries may absolve from all crimes, even those specified in the bull "Cœna Domini;" may dispense with irregularities in marriage; may erect and remodel churches, hospitals, and other religious places; may consecrate ecclesiastical vestments, altars, and cemeteries, if a bishop be not there; and make and change, add to, or detract from any ordinance or statute thereunto pertaining. They may celebrate mass twice a day. And all these privileges, licences, and indulgences may be distributed, not only by the general, but by any vicegerents appointed by him. The body thus armed, is then solemnly recommended to the favour and protection of all potentates, both temporal and spiritual, who are enjoined not to permit them to be molested or interfered with by any ordinaries whatever, ("per locorum Ordinarios, aut quoscunque alios, quomodo libet indebitè molestari,") but are required to act when called upon by the Jesuits as their conservator judges, and to undertake their defence, and fulminate even the excommunications of the Church against the aggressors on the order, whoever they may be, of patriarchal, archiepiscopal, episcopal, or any worldly dignity whatsoever.

It is probably unnecessary to go further. Let us realize the operation of these privileges and exemptions extracted from a single bull, and then ask if a body thus constituted could be admitted into the Christian Church without entirely breaking up its organization, and disturbing its peace! But these are not all. There follows upon this bull of Paul III., a bull of Julius III<sup>1</sup>. If there is one duty natural and almost necessary to a community of priests living together, it is that of social prayer. The Jesuits are expressly exempted from it. They are thus guarded against being confounded with religious orders whose first object was devotion. Their profession lies in the world, amidst studies or secular pursuits, which must not be interrupted by the claims of public worship. And this semi-secularization is still further secured by permission to conform in dress, living, and other exterior circumstances, to the ordinary practice of clergymen. Whatever self-denial they may choose to exert is to be offered to Heaven (ex devotione, non ex obligatione), as a free-will act of devotion, not as imposed by the rules of the society. In all this there is much which is plausible. But the point of view in

<sup>1</sup> *Litteræ Apostolicæ*, p. 28.

which it is to be considered here, is its effect of emancipating the members of the society from a number of restraints imposed upon the monastic bodies, and which materially obstructed the freedom of their action. They thus possess all the social advantages of the regular, and all the ordinary advantages of the secular clergy. The flexibility of the legion becomes complete. Another bull of Julius III.<sup>1</sup> enables the general to give dispensations to members of the society from fasting, and to absolve from heresy. It confirms the privileges already granted, and secures them against any future revocation or infringement in any point even by papal decrees. It allows the general and officers appointed by him, to alter the order of Divine Service, and to commute the recitation of the office in case of sickness, for some slighter prayers. It then permits the Jesuit colleges in any university to confer degrees upon their own scholars, whether within or without the university, provided the universities refuse to grant those degrees gratuitously: and such degrees are to convey the same title, privileges, and advantages, as the degrees of the universities themselves<sup>2</sup>. Pius IV. allows them to build their colleges in any place, notwithstanding the privileges of other religious orders, which provided that such erections should not take place within a certain distance of their own foundations<sup>3</sup>. In another bull he declares it inexpedient that the scholars of the Jesuit colleges should take degrees in the regular universities, on account not only of the expense, but of the oaths and obligations there required. And he renews the exemption from tithes and other ecclesiastical charges<sup>4</sup>. Pius V. renews the right of seizing, excommunicating, incarcerating, or in other ways punishing, even by the aid of the secular arm, those who quit the society without its permission<sup>5</sup>. In another bull<sup>6</sup>, he prohibits the capitular bodies in each college from effecting contracts, reserving them all to the general: by which means the several colleges are in a great degree emancipated from many financial embarrassments. Their several estates are not made liable to answer their several obligations. The whole mass of property belonging to the body is thrown into one, and may be transferred from college to college, and from kingdom to kingdom, at the will of one individual<sup>7</sup>. By a subsequent bull of Pius V., the prelectors of the Jesuit colleges in any university are allowed to deliver public lectures; so that during two hours in the morning, and one in the afternoon, they do not interfere with the university lectures. And the authorities of the several

<sup>1</sup> *Litteræ Apostolicæ*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> For a development of the consequences of this provision, see "*Compte-rendu par Monclar*," p. 443, &c.

universities are warned, under the pain of excommunication, against presuming under any pretence to molest these colleges. By another bull, all the privileges of the Mendicant orders are extended to the Jesuits as a Mendicant order, notwithstanding they possess colleges, and property attached to them—a singular problem to be solved: themselves to be at once poor and rich—a beggar and a prince; and yet one necessary to be solved by a body which was to concentrate in itself the power and influence, and advantages of all the members of the Church, however incompatible with each other; and was to possess with the poor the credit of poverty, and with the wealthy the dignity of wealth. As a singular accident, the very next bull is rendered necessary by the “divers kinds of temporal property possessed by the Jesuit colleges, and the many lawsuits in which the society was involved in order to preserve and recover them,” (*propter bona temporalia conservanda et recuperanda lites aliaque forensia frequenter subire necessario cogeretur.*) It develops fully the appointment of conservator judges, a singularly ingenious contrivance, by which the society, when involved in any contest for its privileges or possessions, was authorized to select some influential person, archbishop, bishop, canon, vicar, or official general, to act summarily in their defence, either by ecclesiastical censures or the secular arm, and in opposition to any other religious communities: by this means throwing the whole onus of its defence upon a party external to itself; and at the same time dividing and ranging against each other the forces of its opponents. To this is appended a clause enabling one conservator judge to prosecute and conclude a process commenced by another; so that if the society should be dissatisfied with the energy or judgment of their first choice, they might be allowed to make another<sup>4</sup>. By another bull of Gregory XIII., A.D. 1575, all the accumulated rights, privileges, immunities, exemptions, indulgences, remissions, and graces, ever given or to be given hereafter to any ecclesiastical persons, bodies, or places, whether secular or regular, (*tam sæcularibus quam regularibus,*) are all conceded to the Jesuits, to be distributed among them by the general, as the fountain of honour and of mercy independent of the pope. This virtual transference of the highest ecclesiastical prerogatives from the pope to the general is not to be overlooked. It is profoundly significant. One exception is made: that the members of the society may not exercise the right of choosing their own confessor, but must confess only to persons appointed by the general.

The same bull contains clauses authorizing even itinerant

<sup>4</sup> *Litteræ Apostolicæ*, p. 66.

Jesuits to preach and hear confession wherever they may be, if the parochial clergy do not object, and under the condition of obtaining leave from the ordinary, in towns where an ordinary is residing. In this there is little to complain of, if the objections of the parochial clergy be really held valid. Whether it was likely to prove of much weight, must be judged by the past history of the society. The privilege to exercise the art of medicine under certain restrictions is given in another bull of Gregory XIII.<sup>9</sup>; and few things could more add to their influence with the poor. They are next exempted from taking part in any public processions or supplications, thus separating them still farther from the common life and offices of the Church. In the next bull they are permitted to build their houses any where, in direct defiance of privileges conceded to other religious communities<sup>1</sup>. The general is next permitted<sup>2</sup> to alienate any property, as he deems it expedient. Then follows a confirmation by Gregory XIII. of the exemptions from tithes,—of the plenary indulgences granted once in a year,—of the privilege of celebrating mass before daybreak,—of granting degrees by the heads of their colleges, and of publicly lecturing in the universities. Then all the indulgences granted upon visits to other churches may be obtained by Jesuits by praying before their own altar<sup>3</sup>. Then<sup>4</sup> they may be admitted into orders at any period of the year. Then, in full repetition and confirmation of the antecedent prerogatives by Gregory XIII., it is prohibited to any one of any rank or degree, under pain of excommunication, to impugn or contradict any thing in the constitutions or privileges of the society, or upon any pretence whatever, without the permission of the general, to make any remarks upon them (“*notationes, declarationes, glossas vel scholia ulla super præmissis facere*”), or to put on them any but a literal interpretation; or to read, teach, deliver to others, sell, or keep in their own hands any such glosses or interpretations. Then follows a renewal of the exemption from all official duties, that neither secular nor ecclesiastical authorities may require the aid of a Jesuit to fulfil any office, though there are no other persons on the spot by whom they can be assisted. And this extends to the highest authorities in the state. (“*Imperator, reges, et alii sæculares principes.*”) So that, consistently with this exemption, the English sovereign could not require a Jesuit to undertake the office of sheriff without obtaining the consent of the general at Rome<sup>5</sup>. Still something was wanting to fix the clerical character upon the society as a whole, and thus to depreciate still farther

<sup>9</sup> *Litteræ Apostolicæ*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

the ecclesiastical orders. This defect is supplied by a bull of Gregory XIII., which allows members of the society, even without being admitted into holy orders, to preach the Word of God publicly in any place; and it is accompanied by an express injunction to all ordinaries not to permit them to be molested'. The next important bull is that of Gregory XIII., authorizing the establishment of one of the principal engines and instruments of Jesuitism, their congregations or sodalities. To understand the importance of this privilege, let us suppose that Winchester College, or Eton, or University College in London, or any college in either university, had the power not only of assembling in their chapels the inhabitants of the different parishes around them to hear sermons, and receive the sacraments, independently of the parochial ministers, and without the control of the diocesan, but of forming in those parishes communities and societies of various grades, some of the upper classes, some of artisans, some of students, some of the poor, who should meet in the chapel of the college at stated times to perform an exclusive worship to the Virgin Mary. Let them be encouraged to this by the tutors and authorities of the college (*"Lectorum et magistrorum suorum spiritualium cohortationibus ad id accensi"*), and by a profusion of indulgences. Let the original sodality be fixed at Rome, and all the other sodalities throughout the world be attached to this (*"ab ipsa primaria congregatione tanquam membra a capite dependant"*). Let the whole distribution of indulgences, the right of visitation, the creation of statutes, the alteration of them from time to time, according to circumstances, and even the establishment of wholly new laws (*"aut alia ex integro condere"*) be freely and unreservedly (*"libere ac licite"*) vested in the general at Rome; and let there be coupled necessarily with this the spiritual guidance of the individuals comprising these bodies, and the influence exerted over sanguine temperaments by associations for extraordinary devotions. Could our parochial system subsist or be carried on in the midst of such interferences? And should we be surprised at, or regard as apocryphal, and mere ebullitions of party spirit, a series of complaints and remonstrances from the clergy of the country against this intrusion upon their duties? This practice of establishing confraternities is recognized as so important,—it gives such opportunities of extending the influence of Jesuitism over the whole range of society, and attaching all classes to its guidance, without compromising it by admitting them into its secrets,—it enables the skirts of the body to spread over such a vast range, almost unknown and unobserved

\* *Litteræ Apostolicæ*, p. 127.

under the disguise of different names, that it is thought worthy of being made the subject of repeated bulls by Gregory XIII. and Sextus V.

As if to cut off all hope of reforming and correcting these radical vices in the constitution of the body, Gregory XIV.<sup>7</sup> solemnly enumerates the various suggestions made to this effect,—suggestions which must occur to every Christian mind,—and after stigmatizing them as calumnies and libels, and as threatening the very being of the society, (“quibus si aditus pateret, universa societatis structura labefactaretur et convelleretur,”) he approves and confirms all the most obnoxious portions of the system, ratifies all the indulgences and privileges of his predecessors, and forbids any one, under any pretence, directly or indirectly, to impugn or seek to change a single article, or to propose any addition, diminution, or alteration in the constitution of the body, except by immediate application to the pope through his legate, or to the general himself, whose absolute arbitrary power is the fundamental vice of all. Paul V. follows his example. He also reprobates the attempt to dissolve the society by establishing capitular bodies, and provincial visitors independent of the general, (“nationum collectionem, quæ ingens gloria dictæ societatis est, dissolvere, nec unam, sed multas societates statuere cupientes,”) and confirms and establishes its privileges in all their enormity. Alexander VII. grants a plenary indulgence to all who perform the spiritual exercises of Ignatius<sup>8</sup> under the direction of the Jesuits, thus committing to them the spiritual superintendence and direction of souls under a most exciting ordeal. The list may be closed with a bull of Gregory XV.<sup>9</sup> conceding indulgences to the society, on the ground of their peculiar office and duty of catechising and instructing both the young and adults, not only in the rudiments but in the perfection of Christian doctrine, (“inter pia, quæ exercent, opera, peculiare illud institutum,”) the duty peculiarly consigned to the three orders of the Christian priesthood by our Lord and the Apostles, but now to be taken from them and committed to a self-elected body, forcing themselves into the labours of others, and withdrawing Christians from their sworn allegiance to the Church, into submission to the general of the Jesuits.

And all these enormous privileges and licences are granted in perpetuity, secured against all possibility of revocation, and by repeated bulls placed beyond the reach even of the papal arm to repeal or modify them. Should such an attempt be made, the general is authorized of himself to re-establish whatever is with-

<sup>7</sup> *Litteræ Apostolicæ*, p. 147.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

drawn or altered; and no pope can presume to infringe the rights or correct the extravagances of the society without being met by the denunciations of his predecessors, and paralysed by their counter authority.

Now in all this we have endeavoured carefully to abstain from any thing which might be disputed or cavilled at. The bulls of the popes here adduced are open to inspection. They form the boast rather than the shame of the Jesuits, and are published by them. And, although there is every reason to believe that some privileges have been suppressed, that, for instance, which excluded any other missionaries but Jesuits from Japan<sup>1</sup>, and that reference to the circumstances of the times regulates the publication of others, they form, on the whole, a mass of evidence sufficient in itself to support the conclusion, which nation after nation, and church after church, has proclaimed, that the admission of Jesuitism into a country, even one which acknowledges the pope, is incompatible with its peace, and fatal to its clergy. With those privileges it is not surprising (rather it would be a miracle and a calumny on Jesuits themselves were it otherwise) that wherever they obtained a footing they should embroil themselves with every regular authority in the Church, whether bishops, or parochial clergy, or universities, or colleges. And the reader may be prepared to examine with more candour (for candour is due to an accuser as well as to the accused) the mass of historical documents collected in the well-known work, entitled "*Annales de la Société des soi-disans Jésuites*,"—documents not made up of vague apprehensions or general criminations, but formal, attested public demonstrations of facts, and coming not from Protestants or heretics, but from countries acknowledging the supremacy of the pope. It is Eustachius du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, who assigns to the parliament of Paris eleven reasons why he concludes that the institution contains many things which seem strange and unreasonable, and which ought not to be tolerated or admitted in the Christian religion, "*et qui ne doivent être tolérées ni reçues en la Religion Chrétienne*."<sup>2</sup> It is the Sorbonne, the great theological faculty of France, not any Protestant, which closes its review of the mischiefs threatened by Jesuitism to the Church by these words:—"Itaque his omnibus atque aliis diligenter examinatis et perpensis, hæc societas videtur in negotio fidei periculosa, pacis ecclesiæ perturbativa, monasteriorum religionis eversiva, et magis in destructionem quam in ædificationem." It was the assembled clergy of France who, when at last they consented to receive the society, coupled their consent with the peremptory

<sup>1</sup> *Annales*, vol. ii. p. 748.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 4.

conditions that all its essential privileges, its name, and its independence of the bishops, even its character as a religious order, should be abandoned<sup>1</sup>. It was Melchior Cano, Bishop of the Canaries, who saw in the Jesuits only the forerunners of Antichrist, and as such by every means in his power warned his flock against them<sup>2</sup>. It was the parochial clergy of Paris who made common cause with the Bishop of Paris, the Bishop of Beauvais, the Chancellors of the University, and the religious orders of the Mendicants and the Hospitalists, arguing "idque multis nominibus," that "the Jesuits neither ought nor could be admitted into France, neither as a religious order nor as a college and society<sup>3</sup>."

It is a Romish bishop, De Pontac, Bishop of Bazas, who writes from Rome, dissuading the city of Bourdeaux from placing their college in the hands of the Jesuits; warning them by the too late repentance of Avignon, and many cities in Italy, and prophesying the mischiefs they would introduce<sup>4</sup>. It was St. Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, who, having first loaded the new society with favour, and chosen his confessor from its body, was compelled on a larger experience to take away from them the direction of his seminaries, and the administration of colleges in his dioceses; and, according to some historians, to prohibit any candidate for the priesthood from studying in a Jesuit college; declaring, that were it in his power, he would take away from them all their institutions of the kind in the world<sup>5</sup>. The list may be followed up by the complaint of the Archbishop of Urbino to Borromeo himself, describing his own treatment from the Jesuits<sup>6</sup>; by the opposition of the Archbishop and Chapter of Toulouse to the establishing of a professed house in that city<sup>7</sup>; by the ordonnances of the Bishop of Poitiers against the attacks of the Jesuits on his episcopal jurisdiction; by the excommunication fulminated against them by the Bishop of Angoulême in 1626<sup>8</sup>, and by the decree of the Bishop of Cornouaille in 1625<sup>9</sup>; by the complaint of the parish priest of Boussac<sup>10</sup>, their aggressions on the property of the religious orders in Germany<sup>11</sup>, the complaint of the clergy of Rome in 1564, that the Jesuits would acquire possession of all the benefices and parishes in the city<sup>12</sup>; by their attacks upon the universities of Paris, Douay, Prague, Dillinghen, Louvain, Cracow, Liège, Trèves, Mayence, Pont à Mousson, and others, and these all confirmed by the solemn

<sup>1</sup> Avis de Messieurs du Clergé de France assemblés à Poissy, le 15 Sept. 1561. Annales, vol. i. p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Imago Pr. Sæc., lib. iv. c. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Annales, vol. i. p. 76. Requête d'Intervention des Curés de Paris.

<sup>6</sup> Annales, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., vol. i. p. 132.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., vol. i.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., vol. ii. p. 463.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., vol. ii. p. 709.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., vol. iii. p. 29.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., vol. iii. p. 70.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., vol. iii. p. 387.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., vol. iii. p. 386.



appeal of the universities of Salamanca and Seville to the other universities of Spain, to unite in one cause against the introduction of the Jesuits as their common enemy (*contre l'ennemi commun*), the general scourge of every university (*le fléau général de toutes les universités*), and the proved corruptors of education by their lax and licentious morality. "If these fathers," they say, "accomplish their design of forcing an entrance among us, we can point out at once its consequence—the abandonment of the universities". Their conduct towards their own episcopacy in England at the end of the sixteenth century is to be found in De Thou. Their repeated defences of their conduct were solemnly condemned by the Archbishop of Paris and thirty-four archbishops and bishops of the faculty of theology, as "tending not only to ruin the episcopal authority, and the sacrament of confirmation, but entirely to overthrow the hierarchy," "*mais à renverser entièrement la hiérarchie*," and as "full of blasphemies, and propositions seditious and blasphemous." This was followed by the celebrated work of Petrus Aurelius, the Abbé de St. Cyran, in defence of the episcopal authority against the Jesuits, for which he received the thanks of the whole Romish clergy in England in 1633; encountered the persecutions of the Jesuits against not only himself, but the *Porte Royale*, and was crowned with the reiterated thanks and eulogiums of the assembled clergy of France; and in which work he does not hesitate to speak of the Jesuits in these words: "*Episcopi non possunt, aliquid magis episcopis esse velle videntur—in apostolos Christi transfigurari solent—non in ministros, sed in sponsam Christi, in ecclesiam nobilissimam sanctissimamque transfigurantur—disjunctio ac secretio into arrogans, perniciose, ominosa, schismatum factionumque turbulentis præbit viam—subvertunt ecclesie ordinem—inobedientiæ, schismaticæ fomitem jam in Catholicorum mentibus præstruitis*". Who is it uses the following words respecting the Jesuits on the same occasion: "Your eminence must not be surprised that I speak at such length and so often of the Jesuits. For I see clearly that they are the only persons who would never tolerate a bishop, and that they will always stimulate their penitents to aggressions against them!" It is the envoy of the pope writing to Cardinal Barberini\*. Who is it that speaks of them as "men who, having been sent into England to aid the pastors of Christ's flock, raised themselves above them, insulted and held up to scorn their authority, and never ceased to vaunt and aggrandize their own power by the aid of novel doctrines, forged by them to combat the ecclesiastical

\* *Annales*, vol. iii. p. 367.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 488, &c.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 473.

hierarchy and the discipline established by the canons of the Church?" It is the pope's envoy, the Bishop of Chalcedon, writing to the faculty of Theology at Paris to thank them for the condemnation they had passed on the works of the Jesuits, his persecutors<sup>9</sup>. Who, in writing to the same body on the same occasion, thus describes the troubles excited in another part of the Church by the same authors: "*Ingentia scandala et dissidia orta sunt in clero cum omnium ecclesiasticorum summa confusione, lætantibus hæreticis, Catholicis vero dolentibus, tam misere discerpi ecclesiam.*" It is the united voice of the religious orders of Rome in Ireland, solemnly attested by their provincials and the superiors of their communities<sup>1</sup>. We pass over the works of Cellot, the Jesuit, on the ecclesiastical hierarchy, only one of the many works issuing from the order, breathing the same spirit, and developing the theory of their system in relation to the episcopate and the clergy. It was solemnly condemned and prohibited, by whom? By the congregation of the Index at Rome under Urban VIII.<sup>2</sup> We say nothing of acts illustrating this theory, attested by the Archbishop of Sens in 1639<sup>3</sup>, the Archbishop of Rouen in 1640<sup>4</sup>, the Archbishop of Amiens in 1644<sup>5</sup>, the Bishop of Grasse in 1646<sup>6</sup>, by the Bishop of Almansa in 1633<sup>7</sup>, by De Castro, Bishop in the East Indies, under Urban VIII.<sup>8</sup>, by the Archbishop of Orleans, the Bishop of Poitiers, the Bishop of Flanders, the Archbishop of Ghent, the Archbishop of Manilla, the Bishop of Honduras, the clergy of Nevers<sup>9</sup>, the Archbishop of Mechlin<sup>1</sup>, the Bishop of Limoges<sup>2</sup>, the Bishop of Castres<sup>3</sup>, the Bishop of Chalons<sup>4</sup>, the general assembly of the clergy of France in 1650<sup>5</sup>, the Archbishop of Toledo in 1548<sup>6</sup>, Melchior Cano, Bishop of the Canaries, the Bishops of Guadiana, Guadalaxara, and Cusco, the Archbishops of Los Charcas, of the Philippines; of Embrun, Rheims, Tours, and Aix; the Bishops of Saint Pons, Arras, Bayeux, Montpellier, Sèné, Bologne, Rhodéz, and Auxerre; closing the list, without exhausting the number, with the names of the Bishop of Paraguay, whom they persecuted nearly to the death, and of the venerable Palafox, Bishop of Angelopolis, whose words to Pope Innocent X. may sum up this head:—"Their power is, at this day [1649], so formidable in the Catholic Church, if it be not reformed—their resources,

<sup>9</sup> Annales, vol. iii. p. 610.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. iii. p. 715.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., vol. iii. p. 674.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., vol. iii. p. 1004.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., vol. iv. p. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. iv. p. 651.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. iv. p. 552.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., vol. iv. p. 548.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. iii. p. 611.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. iii. p. 848.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., vol. iii. p. 988.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., vol. vi. p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., vol. iv. p. 961.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. iv. p. 548.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., vol. iv. p. 554.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., vol. i. Dissert. p. 79.

honours, and wealth so abundant, that they are more powerful than any authorities whatever, laws, councils, and apostolical constitutions. So that it is necessary for the bishops (at least in these quarters) either to die in the struggle, and to sink and perish in defence of their cause, or to second and aid their efforts: or at least, with the utmost danger, hazard, expense, and inconvenience, and entangled by them in false accusations, to wait for a doubtful issue in a most holy and righteous cause<sup>1</sup>.

All these are references to facts. The charges are not vague calumnies, or malignant rumours; but formal statements, founded on official documents, and substantiated by unimpeachable evidence before competent and impartial tribunals. And they are adduced here, not as the groundwork of an accusation against the system of Jesuitism (this must rest upon its internal *à priori* constitution), but as illustrations of its practical working—as a warning not to admit even in the hands of holy men, even with beginnings of harmlessness, a principle and an organization essentially and intrinsically at variance with the polity of the Church. Neither Ignatius in his theory, nor Xavier in his practice, are to be accused of deliberate rebellion against the ministers of the Church. Xavier himself, in his first missionary operations, conducted himself with exemplary deference to them. But the system itself was charged with the elements of faction. And the inevitable result was the laceration and almost destruction of the Church.

But it may be said there still stands over the Jesuit body an authority capable of regulating it,—the authority of the pope. To ourselves, or to the Gallican Church in their old and purer state, before Ultramontanism had succeeded, as at present, in obtaining the control over them through the instrumentality of the Jesuits, this prospect would hold out little consolation. The close and intimate alliance between the Ultramontane power of the pope and the vast secular and spiritual domination of his "paid legion" (the expression is that of a pope himself), is one of the most formidable features in the papal aggressions. But laying aside any views or feelings which may be peculiar to those who deny the papal supremacy, what aid is to be anticipated even by rational and holy-minded Romanists themselves from this supposed check upon the licence and ambition of the Jesuits? If the Jesuit body is thus essential to the very existence of the papacy, as is acknowledged in the bull which restores them, can the pope be really their master? Though under peculiar conjunctures, and when supported by the sovereigns of Europe, one pope bolder than the rest, with the prophecy upon his lips that

<sup>1</sup> *Annales*, vol. iv. p. 83.

the act would be his death, (*"ma questa suppressione mi dara la morte,"*) yet suppressed them and perished—was that suppression effected? No—they still maintained themselves openly in Russia. Even in the other parts of the world, from which they seemed to withdraw, was the retirement real? The body might disappear, the communities vanish from sight. But, armed with bull upon bull, securing them against any the least revocation of their privileges, authorizing them to restore the body in the fulness and completeness of its organization whenever circumstances should seem favourable, licensed to practices of disguise, practised in all the arts of intrigue, organized as a secret confederacy even in those outlines of the system laid open to the world, familiarized with vast commercial transactions, and accustomed even in their ordinary proceedings to the transfer, commutation, and free employment of enormous funds under the strictest concealment, they bear a charmed life. There is little reason to suppose that even from Ganganelli to Pius VII. in 1814, they were really dead, even where they seemed to be so. The suddenness with which they started to life; the re-assumption of their whole organization, functions, and prerogatives at a moment's notice; the absence of any attempt at that time to modify or correct a system, whose abuses had been so gross and flagrant; and their operations since and before under various disguises and titles, as Brethren of the Faith, Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Christian Brothers, Fraternities of the Sacred Heart, and the like, all would justify a doubt that this disappearance into Russia at the voice of Ganganelli was not a dissolution or death.

It is, in fact, impossible that a power so enormous, so real, so material, so efficient, so intellectual, so energetic, should ever submit itself to be wielded by the weak, effete, inert, and unsubstantial arm of the Roman pontiff. It is not in the nature of man. There is no precedent for it in the history of society. When the power of an ambitious minister has reached a certain height, either the sovereign will be dethroned, or if he be still permitted to bear a title and wear a crown, it will be on one condition—that he becomes a puppet and an idol, and consents to be preserved for the purpose of strengthening the position of his apparent slave and his real tyrant. And so it has been with Jesuitism. Bring history not as the basis of this reasoning (for the reasoning lies far deeper, in the immutable laws and facts of human nature, rather than in disputable statements of circumstances), but to illustrate and confirm it, and what is the result?

They did indeed promise to Paul III. to dedicate themselves to his service, so that whatever he or his successors should enjoin on them, appertaining to the cure of souls or the propagation of

the faith, ("quicquid jussierint ad profectum animarum et fidei propagationem pertinens,") or into whatever provinces they should be sent, they would, without any hesitation or excuse, ("sine ulla tergiversatione aut excusatione,") instantly feel bound to discharge it as far as lay in their power ("illico exequi teneamur"). No submission could seem more unreserved—no promise more ample. But turn to the Declarations on the Constitutions, and how is this interpreted? First, that the promise of obedience applies only to those who take the fourth vow—to the smallest portion of the society. Secondly, that it applies only to missions ("Tota interesse quarti voti obediendi summo Pontifici, fuit et est circa missiones"). Thirdly, that though the pope may send out, the general may recall. Fourthly, that universal obedience is due to the general, as to Christ himself present among them ("ut in illo Christum velut presentem agnoscant"). And when obedience to Christ himself clashes with duty to his viceroy, which is to give way? They need no papal authority to alter or sanction any alteration in their system, for whatever change may be made is declared by popes themselves to be already sanctioned and approved by them ("Quæ postquam mutata, alterata, seu de novo conditæ fuerint, eo ipso apostolica auctoritate confirmata censeantur"). Whatever new houses or colleges may be established, they are already confirmed and authorized. So often as any revocation or limitation of their privileges may issue even from a pope, so often may they all be restored, and replaced by the general in their original plenary force, without requiring any ulterior restitution from the apostolic see: "Quoties emanabunt, toties in pristinum statum reposita et plenarie reintegrata per societatem, illiusque generalem absque eo quod desuper a dictâ sede illorum ulteriori restitutio impetranda est." Whatever indulgences are derived from the pope, they are vested irrevocably in the general, and dispensed by him to the society. And thus armed with independence, what but a humility of temper almost preternatural could preserve the society in submission to the pontiff, whenever such a submission would clash with their own interests or aggrandizement? Thus it was in vain that Paul IV. desired to establish the regular performance of Divine service in their system, and to make the generalship triennial. In vain Pius V. endeavoured to effect the same object, and to abolish certain of their vows. In vain Clement VIII. exhibited the strongest anxiety for the reformation of the society, till, worn out by its intrigues and disturbances, he declared his fear that he

\* P. A. c. 3.

\* Supplic. to Paul III.

† See the bulls of 1543, 1549, 1582, 1584.

‡ Bull of Gregory XIV., of 1601.

should lose his mind. In vain Paul V. meditated the condemnation of their doctrines, and was met with this memorial from the general :—" If your holiness put this affront upon the society, I will not answer that ten thousand Jesuits will not take up their pens to attack your bull by writings injurious to the holy see <sup>3</sup>." They met the bull of Gregory XV., imposing silence on the controversy respecting the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, by exhibiting in Spain the figure of St. Thomas seated on an ass, and whipping the saint through the streets. They followed the injunctions of Urban VIII. to abstain from commerce, with so little effect that his injunctions were obliged to be renewed by Clement IX., Clement X., and Clement XI., without their restricting in the slightest degree any of their commercial operations. The Inquisition at Rome condemned the works of the Jesuit Bauni, and the Jesuits immediately reprinted the works in Paris, and both in France and in Spain issued apologies for the doctrines. Innocent X. condemned the idolatrous Chinese rites in 1645, and by a bull of 1646 directed, on pain of excommunication, that a general congregation should be held every nine years: neither was ever attended to: and a few years afterwards the society issued a work proving that the latter bull was a nullity. Alexander VII. again and again condemned books and doctrines published and taught under the auspices of the society; and the only return he met were defences and apologies for them, till he himself complained of the contempt with which his censures were treated. Clement IX. sent bishops, vicars apostolic, and other missionaries into India. The Jesuits attacked them, libelled the bull which declared them delegates of the holy see, cast it torn on the ground, and trampled it under foot; proclaimed that the bishops were heretics, and the sacraments administered by them sacrilegious and null, and the bull surreptitious and invalid. And they excommunicated the Christians who submitted to the vicars apostolic, and even the Bishop of Beryta himself, one of their number. Clement X. attempted to repress this revolt by six or seven decrees: and the Propaganda Society had intelligence of counter-letters sent out to the missionaries by the general, Oliva, directing them to refuse obedience. Innocent XI. ordered the general to withdraw from India eight different Jesuits who were rebelling there against his commands. The Jesuits were not recalled, and their rebellion continued. The same pope prohibited them from receiving any more novices. They caused bills to be affixed to the streets and churches of Paris, in which they invited the people to pray for the conversion of the pope, who had become a Jansenist.

<sup>3</sup> Vide "*History of the Jesuits*," vol. ii. p. 314.

Alexander VIII. condemned the doctrine of philosophical sin, invented by the society. In Spain, Italy, France, at Douay, Besançon, Poitiers, Pamiers, Sens, and Louvain, they continued as earnest in maintaining the doctrine after the bull as before it. Innocent XII. prohibited, by virtue of the obedience due to the pope, giving the name of Jansenist to any one not convicted by a competent judge: and their open disobedience drew upon them the condemnation of the Inquisition, both in Rome and Spain. When the same pope sent out Maigrot, Bishop of Conon, as his vicar apostolic to China, the Jesuits opposed all his attempts to condemn the idolatrous worship which they had authorized, and endeavoured to deprive him of his charge. They resisted all the decrees of Clement XI. on the same subject. And his legate, Cardinal de Tournon, they outraged by every kind of insult, till he died in the prison of Macao. He published his bull, *Ex illis die*, in 1715, prohibiting these rites, and obliged the general to send express orders to the superiors in China; but on what authority is it stated that on this, as on another similar occasion, the general sent out at the same time a counter-letter, encouraging them to disobey? It is the secretary of the Propaganda at Rome. Innocent XIII., roused to the enormity of their conduct, was bent upon annihilating the society as well as its missions. He was met by a denial of his power to do so, and died a few weeks after. Benedict XIII. issued a brief confirming the condemnation by his predecessors of the idolatrous worship of Mahabar. He was powerless. Clement XII. sent out an apostolic visitor to India. The last words of his envoy were, "I die the victim of the Jesuits." The same pope sent out the Bishop of Halicarnassus to Cochin China, in the same capacity of apostolic visitor; and the treatment he met with from the Jesuits, the insults and injuries heaped upon him, till he was assassinated, and left to die without aid, may be seen in the archives of the Propaganda. The life of Benedict XIV. is one series of conflicts with them, of practices condemned and retained—books censured and republished—bulls issued and despised—reforms attempted and resisted<sup>4</sup>.

But beyond all this, there are suspicions of a still more frightful character, and which must force themselves on the attention of readers of history. There must have been some experience, some induction of facts, some internal probability from both the general conduct and the acknowledged casuistry of the Jesuit Society, and from positive evidence also, before the popular voice could stamp them with the crime implied in the following pro-

<sup>4</sup> See, for a fuller Statement, "History of the Jesuits. London: 1816," vol. ii. ch. 38.

verb: "Les Jésuites disent leurs Litanies; nous aurons le siège vacant." "The Jesuits are offering their prayers to be delivered from their enemies (as was their practice when threatened); we shall have the popedom vacant," or, as Ganganelli expressed it, "I have resolved on their suppression, but this suppression will be my death," was not the calumny of an infidel or a Protestant, but the deliberate opinion of the people and of popes of Rome. In how many instances their anticipation was verified, may be seen in a note in the *Annales*<sup>1</sup>. Of Ganganelli's fate there is an interesting account in the at least impartial work placed at the head of this article, "The Fall of the Jesuits." And it contains in itself the answer to the question proposed, what is the real dependence of the body on the pope? and how far can the pope exercise a salutary control over them? and what is the real obedience to his will which they have professed and exhibited?

This was Ganganelli's state while still deliberating on the suppression, and while the monarchs of Europe were urging him with menaces to resolve on it.

"The Jesuits, on their side, had recourse to similar means; persuasion had failed, and they now resorted to intimidation. It did not require all the perspicacity they possessed to understand the character of Ganganelli: a single day was sufficient to reveal it to them. The day of his accession was destined to be that of their ruin; they expected this, and were resigned to meet the peril. Ganganelli hesitated; and from that instant the society despised an enemy, who, possessing the power and will to annihilate their order, failed to accomplish his purpose. The Jesuits spared no pains to insinuate, by degrees, a feeling of fear into the mind of Clement. At first they represented to him the danger of irritating the sacred college and the nobles: they then alleged the necessity of conciliating the courts of Austria and Sardinia, who honoured the society with their protection; but, as the menaces of Spain, seconded by France, outweighed these minor considerations, it was necessary to resort to arguments of a personal nature, and to intimidate Ganganelli, not on the ground of his political power, but for his life. Surrounded as he was by treachery, he could not resist these impressions: his gaiety of disposition soon disappeared, his health became affected, the signs of extreme uneasiness were stamped upon his features, he courted solitude with fresh ardour, and was more than ever anxious that all the dishes of his table should be prepared by old Francesco, the companion of his early days."—p. 70.

His situation became at length deplorable.

"All pretexts for delay were exhausted; the threats of the Jesuits resounded in his ears with increased boldness; and, in order to act

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 353.



more forcibly on his imagination, they assumed a fantastic shape. The approach of his death was announced by a set of impostors, whose predictions were readily believed by the people. Bernardini Beruzzi, a peasant of the village of Valentano, declared herself to be a prophetess, and predicted the vacancy of the Holy See by the mysterious initials P. S. S. V., *Presto sarà sede vacante* (the Holy See will soon be vacant). Although the pope was too enlightened and religious to admit the possibility of divination, he yet felt that it was easy for men to predict events which they themselves could control, and he feared lest poison or the dagger might be employed to aid the accomplishment of these predictions. In the various circles of society, almost in public and aloud, the partisans of the Jesuits accused Clement, heaping reproaches on his name, and even daring to insinuate the probability of his deposition. Insulting images and hideous pictures were put forth, announcing an approaching catastrophe under the form of the vengeance of Providence. Father Ricci, far from feeling any repugnance at the support of such shameless deception, did not even shrink from an interview with the sorceress of Valentano<sup>6</sup>.”—p. 82.

At length, the brief of suppression was issued; and all eyes were turned with anxiety to the miserable head of the Romish Church—to the Lord and Master of the society, to whose service it had so solemnly pledged itself, to see (it is a fearful thought) if a body of men priding themselves on an especial pretension to the name and authority and example of the Saviour of mankind, would submit to fall without assassinating their suppressor. What was the issue?

“Excepting a cutaneous eruption, which relieved more than it harmed him, Clement XIV. had never experienced any infirmity; and we may believe the Abbé Georgel, who tells us that Ganganelli’s strong constitution seemed to promise him a long career. Nevertheless, in spite of appearances, secret rumours were afloat. At the very time that the pope was seen in the public ceremonies, streets, and churches, in short every where, in the enjoyment of health and strength, the rumour of his death was widely circulated: the pythoness of Valentano announced it with a characteristic obstinacy. These reports were premature; there was too much haste used in preparing the public mind for the event. All on a sudden, at the approach of the holy week in the year 1774, these rumours seemed to be realized. The pope was

<sup>6</sup> “He met her at the house of the advocate Achilli. One has need of proofs for such startling facts; but the impartial reader will have no further doubt when he knows that these accusations are most positively put forth in a very long letter, and one full of details, addressed to Pope Pius VI., by Florida Blanca, and that they are neither denied nor refuted in the answer sent by the pope (February, 1775). Besides, the sorceress of Valentano is fully defended by many pamphlets published at this time.”

For similar conduct in the middle of the sixteenth century, see the statement and remonstrance of the Bishop of Chalons, *Annal.*, vol. iii. p. 354.

suddenly confined to his palace, and refused to grant any audience; even the diplomatic body could not obtain access to him. At length, on the 17th of August, the ministers of the great powers were admitted to his presence. The appearance of the pope struck them with surprise; a mere skeleton was before them. Clement marked their astonishment, and, guessing the cause, he declared that his health had never been better. The spectators welcomed this happy presage only from respect; they saw enough to convince them of the truth. From that day, the members of the diplomatic body intimated to their respective courts the prospect of an approaching conclave. How, it is natural to ask, had Clement passed in so short a time from strength to decrepitude—from life to death? After eight months of perfect health, the pope, on rising one day from table, felt an internal shock, followed by great cold. He became alarmed, but by degrees he recovered from his fright, and attributed the sudden sensation he had felt to indigestion. All at once his confidential attendants were struck by alarming symptoms: the voice of the pope, which had before been full and sonorous, was quite lost in a singular hoarseness; an inflammation in his throat compelled him to keep his mouth constantly open; vomitings and feebleness in his limbs rendered it impossible for him to continue his usual long walks, which he always took without fatigue; and his sleep, which was until then habitually deep, was incessantly interrupted by sharp pains. At length, he could no longer get any repose: an entire prostration of strength, the apparent forerunner of dissolution, succeeded suddenly to a degree of even youthful agility and vigour; and the melancholy conviction of an attempt on his life, which he had always feared, soon seized upon Clement, and rendered him strange even to his own eyes. His character changed as by magic; the equability of his temper gave place to caprice, his gentleness to passion, and his naturally easy confidence to continual distrust and suspicion. Poniards and poison were incessantly before his eyes. Sometimes, under the conviction that he had been poisoned, he increased his malady by inefficacious antidotes; at other moments, with the hope of escaping an evil which he imagined not accomplished, he would feed himself with heating dishes, ill prepared by his own hands. His blood became corrupted; the close atmosphere of his apartments, which he would not quit, aggravated the effects of an unwholesome diet. In this disorder of his physical system his moral strength gave way in its turn; there remained no longer any trace of Ganganelli, and his reason even became disordered. He was haunted by phantoms in his sleep; in the silence of the night he started up continually, as dreams of horror excited his imagination, and prostrated himself before a little image of the Madonna, which he had unfastened from his breviary, and before which for forty years two wax tapers had been kept burning night and day. Prostrated thus, in the horrible conviction of his eternal damnation, he exclaimed, while his voice was choked with sobbing, ‘Mercy! mercy! I have been compelled. *Compulsus feci! compulsus feci!*’ He did not, however, make any retractation in

writing, as has been erroneously affirmed by a writer attached to the society.

“ At length, after upwards of six months of torture, Clement saw that his end was approaching. At this moment his reason resumed its sway—his mind rose superior to his infirmities. In the clear possession of his intellect, and tasting the full cup of bitterness and suffering, he approached his end. He desired to speak; a monk whispered a few words in his ear; immediately the words died away upon his lips, and life departed from his body. This took place on September 22, 1774.

“ The news of the pope’s decease caused little sensation; and the Roman people heard it with indifference. His enemies gave an indecent and unblushing expression to their joy, conveyed in the most infamous satires, which they themselves carried from palace to palace. This conduct was calculated to give rise to strange conjectures, and suspicions were indeed soon excited. The sight of Ganganelli’s dead body was quite sufficient to produce this effect; it did not even retain those lineaments which nature leaves to our remains at the moment when death seizes upon them. Several days previous to his death, his bones exfoliated and withered, to use the forcible expression of Caraccioli, like a tree, which, struck at its root, dies away and sheds its bark. The scientific men who were called in to embalm the body, found the features livid, the lips black, the abdomen inflated, the limbs emaciated and covered with violet spots. The size of the heart was much diminished, and all the muscles detached and decomposed in the spine. They filled the body with perfumes and aromatic substances, but nothing could dispel the mephitic exhalations. The entrails burst the vessel in which they were deposited; and when his pontifical robes were taken from his body, a great portion of the skin adhered to them. The hair of his head remained entire upon the velvet pillow upon which it rested, and with the slightest friction all his nails fell off. But enough of this hideous and sickening subject.

“ The truth was too evident to admit of being overlooked from private considerations: no one doubted at the time that Ganganelli had met with a violent death. The physicians said little, but the funeral obsequies disclosed sufficient proof of the fact, and all Rome declared that Clement XIV. had perished by the *acqua tofana* of Peruggia. Denial came too late. The mystery connected with this event has never been entirely removed; some assert that it was not poison, but the fear of poison, that caused the death of Clement; according to others, Ganganelli died from the effects of remorse. Undoubtedly, he suffered from fear, but it had not attacked the springs of life; with respect to his remorse, he abandoned himself to it only during fits of dejection, and for more than a year after the edict of suppression he appeared to be wholly free from such a feeling. Why such tardy regrets? What crime had he committed in the interval? Does remorse admit of postponement? But whatever may be alleged, it is difficult to combat respectable and reputable witnesses. Bernis was

always convinced of the poisoning of Clement; and a testimony from such a quarter is so important, that we shall quote his own words. The following is an extract from the official correspondence of Bernis with the French minister. The cardinal begins with doubt; but his very hesitation, which proves his candour, leads him only the more surely to the discovery of the truth, which he attains step by step. *'August 28.*—Those who judge imprudently, or with malice, see nothing natural in the condition of the pope: reasonings and suspicions are hazarded with the greater facility, as certain atrocities are less rare in this country than in many others. *September 28.*—The nature of the pope's malady, and, above all, the circumstances attending his death, give rise to a common belief that it has not been from natural causes . . . . The physicians who assisted at the opening of the body are cautious in their remarks, and the surgeons speak with less circumspection. It is better to credit the accounts of the former, than to pry into a truth of too afflicting a nature, and which it would, perhaps, be distressing to discover. *October 26.*—When others shall come to know as much as I do, from the certain documents which the late pope communicated to me, the suppression will be deemed very just and very necessary. The circumstances which have preceded, accompanied, and followed the death of the late pope, excite equal horror and compassion . . . . I am now collecting together the true circumstances attending the malady and death of Clement XIV., who, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, prayed, like the Redeemer, for his most implacable enemies; and who carried his conscientiousness so far as scarcely to let escape him the cruel suspicions which preyed upon his mind since the close of the holy week, the period when his malady seized him. The truth cannot be concealed from the king, sad as it may be, which will be recorded in history.'

"We may judge of the force of the cardinal's conviction, which drew from him such severe expressions against men whose unhappy lot he had previously compassionated; but there is another and a more imposing testimony to the fact—that of Pope Pius VI., the successor of Clement XIV.; it is transmitted to us also by Bernis, who speaks in the following cool and dispassionate terms more than three years after the death of Ganganelli. He wrote on the 28th of October, 1777, as follows:—'I know better than any one how far the affection of Pius VI. for the ex-Jesuits extends, but he keeps on terms with them rather than loves them, because fear has greater influence on his mind and heart than friendship . . . . The pope has certain moments of frankness, in which his true sentiments show themselves. I shall never forget three or four effusions of his heart which he betrayed when with me, by which I can judge that he was well aware of the unhappy end of his predecessor, and that he was anxious not to run the same risks.'"—pp. 90—94.

But the Jesuits submitted to their extinction! Not in the least. They never pardoned the ill-fated pontiff for having made

a sacrifice which cost him his life. In all the exasperation of defeat they declared war against Rome, without reflecting for an instant upon the injury which this revolt would occasion to the faith. Instead of submitting, they called in question the validity of the brief. They resisted, and attacked the Holy See, surpassing, it is added, even the school of Voltaire in audacity, and in mocking and insulting a virtuous pope. They retired partly into Prussia and Russia, under the protection of an infidel monarch and most profligate empress, a schismatic, as they professed, from the Church. They procured that the pope's brief should not be received in Russia.

“From this period they maintained a sort of primate or patriarch of the Catholics, the prelate Siestrenciewicz, who was originally a Calvinist, and married; and who became a priest, but of very equivocal orthodoxy. They favoured his nomination to the metropolitan see of Mohilow; and to prove that he was the man of their choice, or at least that they approved of his election, they appointed a Jesuit of the name of Benislawski his coadjutor. Upheld by the authority of the empress, and armed with earnest letters from this princess to the pope, the Jesuit Benislawski set out for Rome, went straight to the Vatican, and, accosting the holy father with a commanding tone, required him to grant the pallium to the Archbishop of Mohilow. Not being able immediately to obtain this favour, he declared that, if he had to spend his life in the ante-chamber of the pope, he would never quit it until he was satisfied on every point. His demand was complied with, and very shortly a nuncio was despatched to St. Petersburg. From that moment Pius VI., who was disposed to favour the Jesuits, gave way to his inclination, and openly maintained the suppression of the society, while he favoured their growth in Russia, condemning and encouraging them at the same time. In 1782 the fathers of Polotzk met in congregation, and elected a vicar, who governed the college for two years. In time they grew tired of such expedients, and the vicar took the name of General of the Order. And yet the brief of Clement XIV. existed, together with the anomaly of a religious order in rebellion against the holy father, yet approved by him in secret,—upheld by all the powers separated from Rome, against those powers who remained in her communion,—and, more extraordinary still, the papacy at war with itself!

“The nursery of the society was kept up in White Russia, and owed much to a man whose great ability resembled the now extinct Jesuits of former times, a real successor of Aquaviva and Laynez. This father, whose name was Grouber, and who was made general of his order, kept within the bounds of a politic prudence. The ardent and indiscreet zeal for proselyting, which discovered itself at a later period, led to the expulsion of the society from the kingdom which had afforded them a constant asylum; but this settlement in the north was no longer needful for them. Pius VII. relieved them from their degradation, and the bull of this pope (*Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*), dated the 7th of August,

1814, revoking the brief of Ganganelli, formally set it aside, and re-established the Society of Jesus throughout the world!"

And in the mean while had they departed from Europe? or, as Cardinal Bernis had warned his master, did they continue in secret, and disguised by new names, to carry on the same society with the same principles? In 1805, the French minister, Portalis, made a formal report to the Council of State on the subject of certain religious communities which had established themselves in France under the name of "Societies of the Sacred Heart," "Victims of the Love of God," "Society of Fathers of the Faith," "Paccanaristes," and others. The first have been long since identified as closely connected with the Jesuit body. The two last Portalis distinctly affirms to be only the Jesuits in another name. They were compelled to alter their title and their dress slightly while in Prussia and Russia, until the pontificate of Pius VI., who, at the solicitation of the emperor, authorized them to resume their original establishments, though under the condition that they should not exist except in Russia<sup>7</sup>. To these we may now add another body, "The Christian Brothers," who have been appended, as it were, to the original organization of the Jesuit body, for the purpose of extending their education to the lower orders; but of whom none but the superiors (we speak of the state of things some few years since) were aware that any connexion existed between themselves and the Jesuits. This is not the place to dwell upon this superficially fascinating institution, full of apparent good, and yet pregnant with the seeds of incalculable mischief. But those who may be captivated with its exterior, and candidly alive to its excellences, must never forget that it is a branch of Jesuitism.

But we must turn to a distinct branch of the considerations which beset the history of Jesuitism—its relation to the state. Statesmen, at least politicians calling themselves statesmen, may think little of its aggressions upon the ecclesiastical polity, and Gallio-like care nothing for these things, as if they were mere questions of words, and controversies on abstractions. And Churchmen, so-called, who will not realize their duty to the civil power, may think as little of a seemingly spiritual triumph over a secular authority. But if, separately, each in his own sphere may be induced to look more narrowly into the constitution of this marvellous instrument for the acquisition of power, we may be spared in future from hearing those rash and thoughtless eulogiums upon its character, which have startled the English mind, even from the walls of parliament.

<sup>7</sup> *Histoire Abrégée des Jésuites*, vol. ii. p. 372.



Let us imagine a case. Conceive that the Emperor of Russia laid claim to the sovereignty of the British empire—that on some pretence or other, moral or religious, or mixed of both, he put forward a right to interfere with the prerogatives of the English crown—that he made the validity of its succession to depend on his will, the allegiance of its subjects on his voice, the friendship of foreign states on his abstinence from any exhortation to open war—that a long series of open hostilities had been waged against us upon these very grounds—that, notwithstanding occasional and evasive professions of modifying or withdrawing such pretensions on the part of individual subjects belonging to him, he himself had never abandoned an iota of his claims—that, on the contrary, his adherents were becoming each day more peremptory in their demands, and more unreserved in their arguments in its behalf—imagine then that a body of men rose up in Russia, and placed themselves under the command of a Prince Kutusoff, or a Count Alexander, with the avowed object of maintaining and spreading through the world, and especially in the heart of England, this doctrine of the Russian prerogative. Let them come under disguises and false names, disseminate themselves through the country, act secretly, establish correspondents all over the world, plant schools where they may rear up the young under their influence and in their principles, obtain the command over the clergy, penetrate into private families, insinuate themselves into the ears of princes, become the confessors and spiritual directors of wives and mothers, exercise a sway from the highest to the lowest classes, in the pettiest as in the most momentous acts, over the souls of thousands. Let the result of this be in a few years successive outbreaks of treason, rebellion, attempts at regicide, foreign invasions, and horrible conflicts. Let these facts be formally proved and substantiated, and be confirmed by similar outbreaks in neighbouring countries, wherever these emissaries have gained a footing. Let public indignation and the necessity of the state expel them from every other kingdom. Let England follow the example. Let the emperor himself, at last worn out with remonstrances, and alarmed at the excesses and crimes of his own supporters, disband and suppress them. Let a short time elapse, and his successor once more call them into life, reorganize them on the same principles, restore every one of their powers and privileges, arm them with the same weapons, and send them forth into England once more upon the same mission. And then imagine that the legislature and the crown, paralyzed by some past concessions to popular licence, or seduced by empty professions of innocent intentions, or incapable of discriminating falsehood from truth, where, like Pilate, they have learnt to ask

but one sneering question, "What is truth?" or led away by some vague enthusiastic dreams of ardent minds, who have never examined into history, or separated between the heroism of individuals and the vices of the system which they subserve—with all experience crying out to warn them, and the laws which they have themselves enacted staring them in the face—that they should yet permit once more these emissaries to spread themselves through the country, to become masters of property, to move about in it under disguise, to assemble themselves in secret confederacies, to obtain again in the most disturbed and disloyal and precarious portion of the empire the control over the education of the peasantry and of the clergy, and through them of a whole hierarchy arrayed openly against the laws of the empire,—and then, when demand is made that the statutes they themselves enacted should be enforced, and safeguards they themselves created should be put in use, and the country be saved by speedy precaution from a repetition of the same troubles by the same confederacy, the answer given should be, that times are changed, that the constitution of England no longer permits us to expel the emissaries of a foreign power, bent on subverting its laws and enslaving its liberties; that in the times of Elizabeth and James the Jesuits might have been crushed and exterminated, but that now we must submit to the risk; that to save ourselves from such imminent peril is incompatible with the principles of toleration.

Is the unity and integrity of the empire, or of any political society, a portion of its very life and essence? Is this compatible with the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction and prerogative over the persons, property, and consciences of its subjects? Does it not depend on the recognition of some one supreme authority within the empire, beyond which there is no appeal, from which all others are derived, to which they are all responsible? Has it not been for this, as for national existence itself, that wars after wars have been waged, and struggles carried on, and laws created? And is it then a matter of no moment—a mere speculative question—a squabble, as it has been termed, of monks—or a romantic theory of self-denial and enthusiasm, that the subjects of a foreign monarch, pledged to him by the most solemn vows and obligations wholly and unreservedly, beyond any degree of vassalage that ever placed a serf at the foot of his lord, and bent upon reducing England to his power, should be allowed to penetrate into and take up their position in the heart of the country; with this excuse only, that their master is not a crowned head, but only the general of an army—that their weapons are not as yet open instruments of violence, but only plausible artifices and secret intrigues; and



their motive not a secular object, but only that which, unregulated and misapplied, stimulates the most reckless fanaticism, and emboldens men to the most enormous crimes—a false religion?

But, it will be said, Jesuitism is but a form of opinion, a mere speculation; and a speculation, from its very extravagance, unsuited to the liberalism of the present day, and incapable of making progress. Let us not deceive ourselves. It is not an opinion—but an army; not a speculation—but a warfare; and a warfare bent—directly and unremittingly, and with the most formidable of all weapons, stratagem and falsehood—against the civil power of the earth.

The same ambition which reared up the ultramontane doctrine of the independence of the pope upon councils, and of his despotic authority over bishops, reared up also the other branch of the same theory, his power over kings. Monarchs and their Divine delegation from Heaven presented even a stronger obstacle to the dream of an universal empire placed at the feet of an individual at Rome, than the independence of the Episcopate. It was therefore necessary to be removed; and Jesuitism undertook to remove it. For this purpose they asserted in their works the theory, in its fullest extravagance, of the supremacy of the spiritual power over the temporal. At the same time, to save themselves from the difficulty of maintaining the doctrine in its form most obnoxious to kings and most offensive to reason, they gave up to a certain extent the direct power of the pope over temporals, and confined his claim to the indirect, in *ordine ad spiritualia*. And thus at the present day they boldly exclaim against the injustice of charging them with the maintenance of an obsolete and absurd doctrine, reserving to themselves an equally extensive dominion through the thousand openings and channels by which temporal things exert indirectly an influence on spiritual. And whenever a touchstone is to be applied to their real opinions on this subject, if any touchstone can extort them, it must be framed to test the theory, not of a direct, but of an indirect power. Secondly, it was necessary to strip the civil authority of all its divine character, to regard it solely as a conventional arrangement, a creature of man, which society might constitute, and, having constituted, might modify and destroy at their will. Hence there is no extravagance of radicalism which may not find its counterpart in the political theories of Jesuit writers—not one or two, but the general authorized, applauded interpreters of the society. And hence the phenomenon apparently so inexplicable, that the closest alliance can subsist between the extreme forms of liberalism in politics and the most bigoted Romanism; and that, where Romanism now works, it works often with democratical associates. Thirdly,

it was necessary to create in the same manner, and, as it were, by the same gift and consecration from the Church, a temporal sovereignty which might at once place itself over the head of ordinary monarchs, possessing, like them, subjects, and domains, and revenues, and arms, and laws, and judges, wholly distinct from those of separate states. Such a sovereign is the General of the Jesuits. Bull after bull invests him with the power of defending his society against the attacks or molestations of any person whatever—"a quibuscunque personis, tam secularibus quam ecclesiasticis, quâcunque auctoritate et superioritate fungentibus;" and of defending it in any way—"per sententias, censuras, aliaque juris et facti opportuna remedia compescendo". His subjects, whether Spaniards, or Portuguese, or French, or English, swear to him an allegiance beyond any which any earthly monarch ever possessed. They are to regard their general, not merely as holding a commission from the pope, or even from the Almighty, but as his plenipotentiary upon earth, his *locum tenens*, as Christ Himself—(locum Dei tenenti, in eo Christum veluti præsentem agnoscant venerenturque). The obedience they promise is to be blind—obedientia cæca. It extends to all things, even those not obligatory—in omnibus etiam non obligatoriis. Its perfection is to be in his hand as a walking-stick, or as the limb of a dead body, without a thought or power of resistance. It is to be irrespective of the laws and tribunals of any other potentate. It is to try its subjects even as Abraham was tried. Consequently it is obligatory even to sin—superiores possunt obligare ad peccatum, in virtute obedientiæ, quando id multum conveniat'. It abandons to their superiors even the thoughts of the heart. The whole soul is to be laid open, that it may be moved and played upon with the same facility and unerring result as the keys of an instrument. And this obedience is secured by arts which other monarchs dare not use, lest they should bring upon themselves the indignation of outraged humanity,—by an espionage which besieges every member of the body on every side, which requires that all his errors and defects, and every thing observed in him, be made known to his superiors by any one who has perceived or heard them out of the confessional; and, as may be seen hereafter, even this last reserve and obstacle is capable of being removed—"ut omnes errores et defectus ipsius et res quæcunque, quæ notatæ in eo et observatæ fuerint, superioribus per quemvis, qui extra confessionem eas acceperit, manifestentur." It allows no letters to be written or received, except with the leave and through the hand of the superior, by whom they may be retained. In

\* Bull of Gregory XIII. 1593.

° Index General, p. 605.

other words, the last exercise of the prerogative, never to be used by an English monarch except in cases of the utmost state necessity, and guarded against with the severest jealousy, is the ordinary privilege of the superior of a Jesuit institution. "Litteræ scribi non debent, nisi cum licentia superioris, nec accipi nisi per ipsum. Et superior potest eas retinere".<sup>1</sup> It plants even by the officers a private as well as an official spy, whose duty it is regularly to communicate to the general every detail of his conduct. To prevent the necessity of openly breaking the seal of confession, besides the confessional there is established another tribunal of the superiors, before which it is enjoined to all the members to lay open their most secret thoughts. And though there is a law forbidding Jesuit confessors to make use of their knowledge<sup>2</sup>, it is carefully and curiously expressed in such a manner as to lay the injunction open to the dispensations suggested by the theory of probabilism—"some doctors have taught the contrary,"—"non desunt doctores, qui notitiâ per confessionem habitâ salvo sacramenti sigillo confessariis uti nonnunquam licere sentiant." And the whole theory of the authority of the general—his avowed need of knowing most minutely the character and acts of every individual—his unlimited power of dispensation and absolution from all ecclesiastical censures—and, as confirmatory of these anticipations, facts which, though they cannot be used in argument, are yet sufficiently substantiated for credibility—all lead to the conclusion, that even the seal of confession is not likely to be a bar to the *omniscience* of the ruler of the society. From very different sources it has been stated that the confessions are registered and preserved. And the King of Spain is said to have detached Maria Theresa from the society, by sending to her her own general confession, which was discovered in a Jesuit college in Spain.

Nor is the general powerless to enforce obedience. He can administer discipline, require and enforce submission, exercise the privileges of the Inquisition, eject the disobedient member, stripped of all that he possessed, or all that he gave to the society; and the return of which, if it be still in existence, depends upon the will of the general. Or, if the rebellious subject has fled from his prison, he may be dragged back as an apostate, incarcerated, and punished in any way, even by the intervention of the secular arm. There is no appeal to any laws that protect the citizen,—no *habeas corpus*,—no trial by jury,—no judicial tribunal. The will of the general is all in all.

And this universal monarch is possessed also of revenues and

<sup>1</sup> Index General, p. 571.

<sup>2</sup> Ordinat. General. cap. li. n. 14.

domains. Paraguay was their first attempt to found a separate kingdom, in defiance of the authority of its lawful sovereign. This missionary establishment, admirably planned and holily conducted—that is, if Christian education be the training of human beings in the helplessness and dependence of infancy—possessed an army of sixty thousand men, parochial regiments of infantry and cavalry, which, under the command of a Jesuit generalissimo, and of Jesuit colonels, lieutenants, and general officers, went through their exercises every Sunday after vespers. It had a commerce amounting to more than a million of piasters per annum, of which the half was clear profit. It excluded not only strangers, but even the bishop of the province, from holding communication with its district; and it ended by waging open war against the armies of Spain and Portugal. “I found the Jesuits,” says the good Bishop Palafox, speaking of another district, “possessed of nearly all the wealth and opulence of the provinces of Spanish America. Two of their colleges possess at present nearly 300,000 sheep, without reckoning other cattle. In Mexico they have six of the largest sugar refineries, though only ten colleges. One of these is valued on an average at half a million of dollars; and some even amount nearly to a million. Some bring in a hundred thousand dollars per annum. They have farm districts—farms of upwards of twenty or thirty miles in extent—mines of silver, public magazines, markets, shops, resources of trade of every kind, from high to low, even butcheries<sup>3</sup>.” In China they had three banks, which lent money at interest, from which, on ordinary calculation, they must have derived a revenue of 180,000 francs<sup>4</sup>, besides a commerce of other kinds—in pearls, diamonds, stuffs, wines, tobacco, sugar, and other commodities<sup>5</sup>. In Martinique the failure of La Valette betrayed commercial speculations, the profits of which were calculated in France by millions of francs, all of which was merged in the general revenue of the society, placed at the disposal of the general. They had obtained establishments and property in Italy, Portugal, France, Germany, Ireland, England, Transylvania, Livonia, Lithuania, Prussia, Bavaria, Hungary, Moravia, Poland, Ethiopia, Abyssinia, Malabar, Persia, Turkey, Japan, China, Canada, Brazil, Mexico, Paraguay, and Peru. And their movements in all these regions, in the words of one of their own generals, were governed without the slightest resistance, and in the profoundest secrecy, by a single hand at Rome. “From this chamber where we now are,” he observed to the Duc de Brancas, “I govern not only Paris, but

<sup>3</sup> 1 Lett. de Dom. Jean de Palafox au Pape Innocent X., 1647.

<sup>4</sup> Mém. des Missions Etrang., p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Anecdotes de la Chine, vol. ii. pp. 5. 16.

China,—not only China, but the whole world,—without any one knowing how it is done !” And the rapidity of their growth was as formidable as its extent. In 1540, when Paul III. established them by his bull, they were only in number 10. In 1545 they were still only 80. In that year they had only 10 houses. But in 1549 they had already 2 provinces and 22 houses ; and at the death of Ignatius, in 1556, they had 12 great provinces. In 1608 Ribadeneira reckoned 29 provinces and 2 vice-provinces, 21 houses of profession, 293 colleges, 33 houses of probation, 93 of residence, and 10,580 Jesuits. In 1670 they had 35 provinces, 2 vice-provinces, 33 professed houses, 568 colleges, 48 houses of probation, 88 seminaries, 160 residences, and 106 missions ; and in all there were 17,655 Jesuits, of whom 7870 were priests. And at last, according to the calculation of the Jesuit Jouvenci in 1710 they had 24 professed houses, 59 houses of probation, 340 residences, 612 colleges, 200 missions, 157 seminaries and boarding-schools, and 19,090 Jesuits\*.

In addition to this class of forces, encamped, or to be encamped and garrisoned on every kingdom on the globe, the general may now count on the secular clergy of Rome, especially in France and in Ireland, who, from being the strong advocates of the Gallican liberties, have now, partly by the artifices of the Jesuits in obtaining the command of their education, partly by the dread of the seemingly opposite faction of irreligion, thrown themselves into the arms of the Jesuits ; so that now Romanism itself is almost identical with Jesuitism. Beyond this are the children of all classes, especially the higher, whom they rear in their schools, imbue with their maxima, and attach with every art to their interest. Beyond this are various bodies, such as the Christian brothers, whom they command and direct, without their arm being seen. Beyond these, the immense numbers of weak, or troubled, or excited consciences, which they control, fascinate, and govern through the confessional. Beyond this, a number of other persons, of various classes, not absolutely enrolled in the body, but attached to it by various degrees of dependence, though they still remain in the world, and are distinguishable by no outward marks. Of the existence of such members there can now no longer be a doubt. Such are the subjects and the forces of the king of the Jesuits.

The arms with which they carry on their warfare are legitimated, and almost consecrated, as it were, by their own moral writers. There is the favour and interest of great men—of the rich and the noble. The constitutions openly direct attention to

\* *Dissertation Analyt.*, p. 25.

this, again and again'. There is the unrestricted knowledge of the passions, vices, past life, and minutest acts of every individual who can be brought within their influence. There is the fear and terror excited even in the minds of the most powerful of Romanists—sovereigns and popes—by the invisible presence of such an enormous mass of fanatical enthusiasm, penetrating into every portion of society, and ready to explode at the will of a foreign leader, the avowed antagonist of their authority. Even Henry IV. confessed that he quailed beneath it. There is the licensed use of the whole magazine of spiritual terrors and censures placed in the hands of the society by the pope himself. There is the power of calling into action any secular arm at their disposal to defend their privileges. There is an organization of consummate flexibility and unerring certainty, ramifying through every class of society, and into every country, and answering the touch of one hand with the most implicit obedience. There is a zeal let loose by a most lax but an authorized casuistry, the work not of any single writer, but of author upon author, approved and published, edition on edition, and defended pertinaciously against the most solemn condemnations of the Church,—a casuistry which releases the conscience from all moral obligations that embarrass it, and gives full scope to the passions, and which is fastened on the society, by its own acts, as its peculiar creation, property, and instrument. Let reference once more be made to that vast collection of unimpeachable documentary evidence contained in the *Annales*, and to the repeated censures and condemnations of the casuistry of Jesuit writers, by parliaments, universities, bishops, and popes, all of them Romish. Let it be remembered that upwards of 2000 extracts were verified publicly before the parliament of Paris, without resting on the sources from which Pascal drew his provincial letters. Add to this that the direction of the conscience is one of the first objects of the society; that to obtain favour with all classes, and draw crowds to their pulpits and confessionals, is repeatedly held forth in their statutes as a necessary aim; that to obtain this influence there is need of a relaxed discipline, and an accommodating morality; that to adapt itself to the varieties of human intellect, a bold sceptical religious doctrine is required; that to give full play to the means of defence and offence in the warfare they undertake, there must be a licence to employ any means, and to justify those means by the end, whether they be falsehood, or evasion, or calumny, or assassination, or regicide; that there must be uniformity of opinion in the society to preserve its solidity, and, at the same time,

7 V. Index Generalis, *Magnates*, p. 78.

plausibility and versatility, to ensure that power of adaptation to circumstances which is avowedly reserved to the general. Let it be then seen that the doctrine of probabilism, or the credibility of any opinion which has been maintained by an eminent doctor, and the liberty of following it, even against our own conscience, ensures the pliability; and that a supply of such doctors maintaining the most monstrous tenets was a necessary accompaniment to it. Let it then be remembered that every publication of the society is placed under a severe and secret police; that no book, or pamphlet, or even handbill, may be published without the permission of the general; that those who print without permission, and under a borrowed name, are subjected even to corporal punishment; that the revisors in the provinces appointed by the general are ordered to send their observations to Rome, and to wait the orders of the general; that if after correction the author makes any alterations, he will be severely punished; that these punishments extend to accomplices and even to superiors; and that even translations may not be published without permission of the general<sup>1</sup>. Lastly, let search be made through the whole list of condemned writers for any one who has been censured by the society, or punished, or expelled—who has not rather been republished again and again—("Busembaum," the worst to the extent of fifty editions)—and apologized for in the face of ecclesiastical authorities. Let all these things be candidly weighed, the *a priori* expectations with the positive evidence of fact; and then let the reader, however anxious to cast a veil over the crimes of Jesuit casuistry, lay his hand upon his heart and pronounce the society innocent of its enormities<sup>2</sup>.

With a legion thus armed and constituted, recruited by means of an exciting and overwhelming ordeal, the spiritual exercises of Ignatius, not only from zealous and ardent, but from ill-regulated or fanatical minds, burdened with the conscience of past sins—their whole nature placed abjectly at the disposal of

<sup>1</sup> The references to the constitutions enforcing these rules may be seen in Monclar's "Compte Rendu," p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> And if any, not familiar with these writings, imagine that a few only are culpable, and that the whole body is not implicated in their errors, let them examine into the accuracy of the following statement given in the "Histoire Abrégée," vol. II. p. 267. The number of Jesuit writers authoritatively condemned or to be condemned for immorality is as follows:—

On the subject of Probabilism . . . . .	56	On Falsehood and Perjury . . . . .	29
On Philosophical Sin . . . . .	40	On the corruption of Judges . . . . .	5
On Simony . . . . .	14	On Theft . . . . .	34
On Blasphemy . . . . .	5	On Homicide . . . . .	36
On Sacrilege . . . . .	2	On Parricide . . . . .	5
On Sorcery . . . . .	5	On Suicide . . . . .	2
On Irreligion and Idolatry . . . . .	37	On Regicide . . . . .	73
On Adultery and similar Sins . . . . .	14		

another—their hopes and zeal inflamed with the present grandeur of their society, or the promised glories of Heaven—their consciences released from every scruple—their wildest dreams of enthusiasm let loose by the magic words, “to the greater glory of God,” *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*—taught to regard kings as their enemies, and nations as their property—authorized to disseminate themselves throughout society in every disguise—fascinated by the interest of intrigue—supplied with every variety of talent to meet every exigency, the Jesuits who are licensed by the general (for such only are wisely permitted to engage in political affairs) carried on their warfare against the civil government of the world. And what is their history?—In 1550 they distract Venice. In 1578 they intrigue in Portugal to deprive the Queen of the regency. In 1580 they attempt an insurrection in England. In 1581 they are detected in a conspiracy in Germany. In 1584 they are charged with the assassination of the Prince of Orange. In 1589 they become the animating soul of the League. In 1593 and 1594 five conspiracies against Elizabeth in England are brought home to them. At the same period, they are charged with instigating the assassination of Henry IV. by Barrière. In the same year, they make another attempt on the life of Henry IV. by Jean Chatel. In 1595 they excite a revolt at Riga. In 1597 they are involved in another plot against Elizabeth. In 1598 and 1599 they pay and admit to confession and the Holy Communion assassins to destroy Prince Maurice of Nassau. At the same period, they excite revolts against the sovereign authority in Styria, in Carinthia, in Bavaria, in Transylvania, in Poland, and in Sweden. 1605 is the date of the Gunpowder Plot, and in the same year they involve Russia in war in the cause of the false Demetrius. About the same time they excite troubles at Venice, Dantzic, Thorn, Genoa, Bohemia, and Louvain. In 1610 they are charged as accomplices in the assassination of Henry IV. by Ravillac. In 1615, and the following years, they distract, by their intrigues and struggles, the universities and the clergy of France. In 1622, 1626, and 1634, they kindle a civil war in Poland. In 1625 they attack Louis XIII. In 1643 they are expelled from the schools of Milan by Borromeo. In 1644, and following years, they destroy the peace of the Church, and carry on a war against its most holy members in France, to the infinite confusion both of the state and the Church, by their doctrines of Molinism and their calumnies of Jansenism—a struggle, let it be remembered, not, as it may sound to some, of abstract theological opinions, but deeply real and practical—a struggle to extirpate from the Church in France the true Catholic doctrines which it had still



firmlly, though inconsistently, preserved from the grasp of the papacy, and to raise the pope as sole despot of the Church on the ruins of primitive antiquity, of the episcopacy, and of councils. But the list is not yet closed. In 1688 they advise James to his destruction. In 1722 they conspire in China to dethrone the emperor. In 1725 Peter the Great is compelled by their intrigues to banish them from Russia. In 1728 and 1751 they are expelled from the office of public education. In 1739 they conspire for the throne of Tonquin. In 1759 they join in the plot for the assassination of the King of Portugal. This catalogue might be far extended, and include the ruin of the Bourbon dynasty in France; but it is enough to have taken one which has been already given by others<sup>1</sup>.

And when it is argued that these charges are all calumnies—the inventions of infidel philosophers, of ungodly monarchs, of jealous rivals, or violent Protestants, let it be remembered what monarchs have been the most strenuous supporters of the order;—Louis XIV., Frederick of Prussia, Catherine of Russia. To whom do the defenders of the system appeal for testimonials of its value? To infidel philosophers themselves. Think of the singular uniformity prevailing in the judgment of the most remote countries, and most opposite characters! Let it be asked how, on any ordinary ground of probability, except the reality of the fact, it is possible to account for the phenomenon exhibited in the following table.

From the year 1555 to 1773, by heathen as well as by Christian sovereigns, by Romish far more than by Protestant states, they were expelled from the following places, not before, but after trial of their conduct. The table is given in the "*Histoire Abrégée*," vol. ii. p. 288, and it stands thus:—

Sarragossa .....	1555	The whole of France ....	1594
The Valteline .....	1566	Holland .....	1596
Vienna .....	1568	Tournon .....	1597
Avignon .....	1570	Bearn .....	1597
Antwerp .....	1578	England .....	{ 1601
Segovia .....	1578		{ 1604
Portugal .....	1578	Dantzic and Thorn .....	1606
	{ 1579	Venice .....	{ 1606
England .....	1581		{ 1612
	{ 1586	Ameera, in Japan .....	1613
Japan .....	1587	Bohemia .....	1618
Hungary and Transylvania	1588	Moravia .....	1619
Bordeaux .....	1589	Naples .....	1623

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire Abrégée*, vol. ii. p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> See "*Reply to Dallan, Defence of the Jesuits*," vol. i. p. 272.

The Netherlands . . . . .	1622	France . . . . .	1762
China and India . . . . .	1622	Spain . . . . .	1767
Malta . . . . .	1634	The Sicilies . . . . .	1767
Russia . . . . .	{ 1676	Parma . . . . .	1768
	{ 1723	Malta . . . . .	1768
Savoy . . . . .	1729	Rome and the whole of	} 1773
Portugal . . . . .	1759	Christendom . . . . .	

To the list may be added their last expulsion from Russia by the Emperor Alexander in 1816; the remonstrances against their restoration in 1814 by Portugal, Austria, Naples, and Switzerland<sup>3</sup>; their recent expulsion from the Continent; and to the present generation of politicians that which cannot be evaded, the formal precautions against their re-establishment in England when the disabilities of the Romanists were removed. Were the authors of that bill ultra-Protestant enemies of Rome, or infidel philosophers, or ignorant of history? Did they, in placing the practical exclusion of the Jesuits from England among the few safeguards to a most hazardous measure, follow merely the idle calumnies of forgotten days, and throw out the precaution to delude a vulgar mob, without a thought of the necessity of ensuring its execution? Or did they really believe that the history of Jesuitism was not a falsehood, its accusers not calumniators, its system not compatible with the peace of the Church, the integrity of the realm, or the liberty of the people? And one more question may be asked—if, in bribing England to the reception of their measure by such a condition, they honestly acknowledged its necessity, what have they done since to redeem their pledge? How comes it, that to ask at this day for an inquiry into the progress of Jesuitism in this empire, and an enforcement of the law against it, would be deemed a mockery?

We must now conclude.

The foregoing remarks are not meant as a sketch of the history of Jesuitism, or a full development of its principles and tendencies; far from it. But they have been made in the hope of arresting, if only one or two minds, and inducing them to examine before they panegyryze. In every panegyric (however guarded) there is great danger. It will be seized on, and employed without scruple, to answer ends that the author never contemplated. But in expressions of warm unreserved admiration and sympathy for Jesuits, in contemptuous condemnation of those who have felt it their duty thoughtfully and deliberately to protest against the system, there is incalculable evil.

Imagine that a hundredth part of the evidence merely hinted

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire Abrégée*, vol. ii. p. 388.

at in these pages, but offered to investigation in numerous accessible works, were brought against the conduct of any individual, and who would dare to set it aside as undeserving consideration, or receive the accused party with open arms as indisputably a calumniated innocent? English justice would demand that he should not even now be pronounced guilty until his cause had been heard; but it would demand also that he should be put upon his trial. This is all that we ask for Jesuitism. Let it be tried. Let it not be acquitted, any more than condemned, without the cause being heard.

And let the inquirer add to the two questions already suggested in regard to its collision with the divine ecclesiastical polity, and the divine supremacy of states, others of a more ethical nature. What is the moral bearing of a system in the hands of men, which rests on two exclusive principles—the omnipotence of an individual ruler, and the blind obedience of unresisting subjects? What must be the effect of such arbitrary unlimited power on the ruler, and of such absolute unthinking subjection on the ruled? How is this absorption and concentration of all duties in the one duty of obedience to an individual consistent with the perfection or development of human nature, which is a constitution of many affections and many principles, directed to many different objects, and intended to comprehend them all? What is the effect of stripping and laying bare all the secret movements of the heart before a fellow-creature, as if some curious hand should tear away the integuments of the skin, and set before us in our daily walks the naked carcass, the throbbing veins, the raw muscles, the whole quivering, bloody, loathed anatomy of man's miserable animal frame, instead of that decent mantle which a merciful Maker has thrown over the infirmities of the flesh? Obedience is indeed a virtue—obedience to God as supreme, and to man as His delegate and steward. But is it any longer a virtue, when separated from thoughtfulness and self-command? Is it not rather a vice, when it abdicates the first function of a reasonable being, the exercise of reason? Is it not actual rebellion against God, when paid, not to His apparent minister, but to a human authority, self-created and chosen by our own self-will? Is it not idolatry to behold and reverence Christ, not in the form which he has assumed, but in the person of the general of the Jesuits? Again; what must be the moral effect of living in an atmosphere of espionage, distrusting and distrusted, or of being severed from home, and country, and Church, and arrayed in rivalry and opposition against them? How will the honesty and integrity of Christian simplicity be twisted and corrupted by a multitude of uncertain engagements, of vows doubtful in their

validity, voidable by dispensations, perplexed with all the chicanery of a policy which has but one object—to gain and ensure to itself the services of a slave? Or how will humility consist with the pretensions of an exclusive society, surrounded with the intoxicating flatteries of the world? Is it possible to preserve, unseared and uncorrupted, a conscience daily involved, as its appointed task, in the compromises and hypotheses of a subtle casuistry? Will a bold and upright spirit be nurtured in a body, which guards its laws, its movements, its privileges, and its ends secret from the world—which does not allow even its own members to see all the obligations they contract, or the deeds to which they may be pledged—which, having once been rejected from a country, resolves and is compelled to insinuate itself again under assumed pretences and with a borrowed name? What must be the effect of that ambiguous character, which is neither secular nor clerical, which releases itself from secular obligations by pleading religious, and from religious by pleading secular, and thus unites the privileges of both without the restrictions of either? Or, if the excellence and safety and happiness of man depend on his moving at every step under the consciousness and the limitations of fixed external laws, and those laws laid down by God, what is not to be feared from letting the mind loose from all these restraints by recognizing only one object as imperatively binding, the pursuit of the glory of God, and then unfixing and unsettling even this by adding “to the greater glory,” “*ad maiorem Dei gloriam*,” leaving it to man to decide what most contributes to this end, not by adhering rigidly to the positive institutions of God Himself, but by forming a human calculation and balance of expediency, according to his own pleasure? We are indeed enrolled at our baptism, all of us, as soldiers of Christ; we pray for the Church militant here on earth, and we are bound to follow our Lord as the great Captain of our salvation. But what is this warfare appointed to us, compared with that undertaken by the Jesuit legion? Or how can the former consist with the latter? To suffer, to die, to bear witness to the truth in the face of the enemy, to mortify our flesh, to slay our own vices, to direct our battle daily and hourly against the enemy in our own hearts, and to expel him from his stronghold in others only by the word and the name of Christ—to do all this under the command of Him, and following His example in patience, lowliness, quietness, humility, and obedience to all his constituted authorities, neither striving, nor crying, or lifting a hand against our enemies: this is the true Christian warfare, which seeks for no kingdom upon earth, and recognizes no other mode of victory but abandonment of self in obedience to God. It has no intrigues, no

manœuvres, no subtle human organization, no commands to allure one class and flatter another, to manage princes and attract the populace. All that it says, and does, and thinks, and hopes, is open to the whole world. Its very warfare is the destruction of war and the security of peace. Can this be said of that camp, and those arms, and the forces, and ambuscades, and stratagems, and fiery zeal, and worldly policy, of the wealth and possessions, the principles and arts which form the campaigns of Ignatius and his followers? Does it not more resemble Mahometanism than Christianity—a religion promulgated by the sword, whether of artifice or of force, than the religion of One, who in order that He might be crowned with glory, died patiently and unresistingly on the cross?

And for those who, disgusted with unthinking and indiscriminating attacks upon Romanism, look on it with tolerant, and, it may be, with even favouring, eyes, fixing on the Catholic portions of its system which it has still retained, and apologizing by them for its acknowledged corruption, will it be an unfair or hard petition that they would examine Jesuitism in itself, and trace if it be not merely an expansion of the purely Romish features of Romanism, to the exclusion and suppression of all that is Catholic? Does Jesuitism reverence Christian antiquity as the standard of the Church, or does it proclaim a new development of doctrine? Does it appeal to the fathers, or put aside their authority? Does it maintain an immutable standard of faith, or set the door open for indefinite changes? Does it preach obedience to rulers, or privilege itself against them all by the very charter of its constitution? Does it enforce self-denial, or cast away at once all the discipline and asceticism, so attractive to modern eyes, in the ancient religious communities? Is it framed to spread devotion, or are their churches closed by statute against their own daily and public prayer? Do they look with awe on the sacraments, or do they teach men to profane the most holy of Christian mysteries, by bringing thousands both to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in an unprepared, undisciplined state; calculating the faithfulness of their own service, not by the purity of chastened hearts, but by the multitude of crowds that flock to them—counting their Christianity by heads? Weak hearts are longing for the restoration of more intimate and personal communion between their pastors and their consciences. But why? Not that they may receive opiates to remorse, and licences to sin, but that they may be placed under a more rigid and unbending rule, and be awakened more keenly to their shame and guilt. Is such the object or the influence of Jesuit casuistry? Did the Roman Catholic Church itself think so? The holy men of the Romish

Church of old abandoned themselves to a self-chosen poverty, whether with reason or not we need not inquire. And in the midst of that idolatry of mammon, which chills our hearts and repels our affections, the very name of poverty is ennobled. Where is the poverty of Jesuitism? Or have their riches exceeded those of monarchs? Are they mendicants only in name, to obtain the honours and the rewards of religious mendicity, while in reality they are lords of estates, merchants, bankers, shopkeepers, manufacturers—a whole army of mammon? Even in those æsthetic considerations of the fancy and of art, which, it is to be feared, have entered too largely into the religious movements of the present day, and which yet are closely linked with deeper questions, and are no slight evidences of the inward spirit, does Jesuitism exhibit the slightest affinity with that grandeur, severity, and purity, which fascinate newly-awakened minds in ancient religious systems? Or is there no architecture so tawdry, no music so effeminate, no eloquence so tumid and bombastic, no ecclesiastical decoration so vulgar in the whole compass of Roman art as that of the Jesuits? We have no wish to pronounce on such a question. But we do ask, that minds led captive by the æstheticism of religion, should put it to themselves.

But there are far graver thoughts beyond these. That which startles even the most partial observers in the old Romish system, but which is there excused as an accidental appendage, an excrescence capable of being softened down and reduced into some tolerable subordination to genuine Christianity, its Mariolatry,—this in Jesuitism becomes the leading idea, the main object of the whole system. Founders of institutions are most often types and prophecies of the institution themselves. And Ignatius, vowing himself to the service of the Virgin in the gallant devotion of ancient chivalry, has been more than imitated by his army. It is, in truth, a church of the Virgin rather than of Christ<sup>4</sup>.

So it is with the saint-worship, with the old-wives' legends, with the pride, the ambition, the irregularity, the exclusiveness, with every other vice in the two systems. From being excrescences in Romanism, they have become essentials in Jesuitism. Remove them, and what remains?

Let these facts be fairly and honestly examined—let a really religious mind then take up the prophecies in Scripture which

<sup>4</sup> See note, p. 48, "Compte Rendu," by Monclar. Pallavacini, in his History of the Council of Trent, demands of the Reformers if it would be reasonable to return to Gothic architecture and ancient music. "Autres temps, autres mœurs." The papal nuncio argued that we might as well return to feed on acorns as to the examples of the primitive Church.

point to some great defection within the Church in these the latter days—let him take the marks there set upon this defection, and ask, when they are searched for in the theory and the practice of Jesuitism, if a single one be missing, even those which recent writers most anxious to relieve Rome from the application of them have professed to find wanting in the merely Roman system. The individual monarch—the radical political principles—the vast commerce—the secular empire—which occur in the signs of Antichrist—are not these all found in the Jesuit empire?

And if others are allured to it by the thought that to meet the evils of the present day some vast and even overwhelming power must be found, capable of coping with them, though by hazardous and scarcely legitimate weapons, must they not listen to the warnings, both of history and of Scripture, not to do evil that good may come. In England—whatever anxiety we may feel—however desperate the effort to grapple with the false opinions of the day, and with the poverty and misery of the masses—are we not bound to avert every longing thought which turns to any other instruments of good than may be found or created within the bosom of our own Church, in harmony with our Prayer-Book, in obedience to our bishops, in conformity with the Scripture! Many such instruments are now forming around us, and within us, in this spirit, and their efficacy and power surpasses the most sanguine expectation. There is nothing to prevent us from creating within the Church of England institutions, whether for charity, or education, or the improvement of the poor, which may contain all the good to be found in Romanism, without its evils.

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*Postscript.*—These observations were in type before the recent convulsions of Europe had made England perhaps the only remaining place of refuge for the Jesuit community, and the centre of their future operations. May the eyes of Englishmen be opened in time, before it is too late!

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## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. Warburton's Rollo and his Race. 2. Bunsen's Egypt's Place in Universal History. 3. Heygate's William Blake. 4. Soames' Latin Church in Anglo-Saxon Times. 5. Rickman's Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation. 6. Millard's Historical Notices of the Office of Choristers. 7. Archdeacon Hoare on Baptism. 8. Mill's Five Sermons. 9. Hanna's Posthumous Works of Chalmers. 10. Tales of Kirkbeck. 11. Peile's Annotations on 1 Corinthians. 12. Hoare's Harmony of the Apocalypse with other Prophecies. 13. Andersen's Shoes of Fortune. 14. Sangster's Servant's Claim. 15. Harold, the Last of the Saxon Kings. 16. Swayne's Specimens from Schiller and Uhland. 17. Wordsworth on the Canon of the New Testament and Apocrypha. 18. Speculum Episcopi. 19. Maclean's Sermons for Schools and Families. 20. Biber's Royal Supremacy over the Church. 21. Mount's Guide to Candidates for Holy Orders. 22. Monro's Combatants. 23. Maskell's Holy Baptism. 24. Watts's Divine and Moral Songs. 25. Nind's Odes of Klopstock. 26. Geale's Two Years in Italy. 27. Hicks's Manual of Family Devotion. 28. Evans's Scripture Biography. 29. Watson's Seven Sayings on the Cross. 30. Sworde's Exposition of the first Seventeen Articles of the Church. 31. Hill's Scenes of 1792. 32. Via Dolorosa. 33. The Baron's Little Daughter. 34. Ross's Reciprocal Obligations of the Church and Civil Power. 35. Family Prayers for Cottagers. 36. Renaud's Matutina. 37. Conversations on the Church Service. 38. Nimrod. 39. Drury's Annesley and other Poems. 40. Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary. 41. Butler's Sermons on Human Nature, &c., ed. by Whewell. 42. Crakanthorp's Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. 43. McClelland's Predestination and Election Vindicated. 44. Whewell's Sermons. 45. Rawnsley's Sermons—Warren's Sermons—Pellow's Sermons. 46. Miscellaneous.

### I.—*Rollo and his Race; or, Footsteps of the Normans.* By ACTON WARBURTON. In 2 vols. London: Bentley.

THOSE who have been impressed with the religious fervour and brilliant descriptions of the "Crescent and the Cross," or who have been interested in the deep feeling and sound sense of "Hochelaga," the productions of the Warburton brothers, will have hailed with pleasure the work of a third member of the family, "Rollo and his Race." Its subject, however, being of a less lofty nature than that of either of its predecessors, the book is, of course, of a less striking mould; but we must add our opinion, that the author only required a wider sphere for his talents to have raised his writings to an equality of rank. More fanciful in its imaginative aspirations, and less full of direct information, we are yet at no loss to discern here and there similar outpourings of that right good feeling which so eminently characterized the two former books.

A less sketchy style would perhaps have better suited the "Footsteps of the Normans;" and its readers will probably be of opinion that the historical parts should have borne a larger proportion than they do to the didactic parts. The subject is one of peculiar interest to a large number of the families who



now boast themselves English; and, as few of them have turned as much attention to the early history of their Norman progenitors as it deserved, we think that many of them will be very thankful for having those noble minds, which in that age raised France and then England far above the level of the surrounding nations, rescued from oblivion, and brought within the compass of easy perusal; and on closing the history of "Rollo and his Race," they will only regret, that while wandering with Mr. Warburton among the pleasant meadows of Neustria, and gazing with veneration at her glorious shrines, he has not made them more historically acquainted with the individual lives and heroic exploits of their ancestors.

The book opens with an account of Queen Victoria's interview with Louis Philippe at Le Tréport, and a comparison of its significance with the two former meetings of English and French sovereigns on the same soil. It is followed by a rapidly condensed memoir of Louis Philippe, whose expulsion from the throne of France, coming just at the moment of its publication, formed the stormy sequel to his already eventful life, and did no great credit to the sagacity of the author, who, in his homage to the political talents of the last King of the French, seems to have mistaken cunning for wisdom, intrigue for statesmanship, and obstinacy for firmness; blunders which have plunged Europe into a sea of wrong, confusion, and, we fear, of lasting grief.

Interesting notices and vivid descriptions of the glorious architectural remains, which make Normandy so enchanting to the antiquary, fill up all that can be spared in the first volume from the space allotted to the history of the first five illustrious Dukes of Normandy—Rollo, Longsword, Richard the Fearless, Richard the Good, and Robert the Magnificent; all of which are drawn with so masterly a hand, that every reader will regret their having been so much compressed; for "we might well linger over this refreshing page in the sickening record of the world's average rulers. It is scarcely possible to contemplate this singular uniformity of worth, through five successive generations, without acknowledging the hand of Providence."—vol. i. p. 263.

In the second volume we have a sketch of William our Conqueror, and some pleasing reflections on the sacred institutions founded by him and by his saintly queen, in penance for their marriage, which was said to be within the unlawful degrees of consanguinity. We have not room to discuss the validity either of the marriage, or of the objection; but it does not appear by the old chronicles that Matilda's affection was very potential in overcoming that objection, as she repeatedly refused his hand; and it was not until William had convinced her of the strength of both his hand and his passion, by seizing her in the street,

rolling her in the dirt, and bestowing upon her a good beating, that she consented to become his duchess. We should be glad to know how far our gallant author, in his admiration of Teutonic customs, approves of this singular method of courtship. In another place Mr. Warburton becomes quite enthusiastic over the signature of Duke William (vol. i. p. 232), "a simple cross!" Perhaps, at the moment of that ebullition, he had forgotten the Conqueror's favourite saying, that "an illiterate king was a crowned ass!"

Further on we find a rapid but vigorous account of that "brilliant though evanescent dynasty" of the Norman kings of Sicily; from William, the gallant son of Tancred de Hauteville, down to Manfred, the betrayed and deserted king. As one of the "foot-steps" of the Normans in a foreign land, it is a bright and interesting episode in the history of that heroic race, and is certainly more deserving the space it occupies in "Rollo and his Race," than the thirty pages devoted to the oft-told tale of the war in La Vendée, which we think has indeed but little to do with the Norwegian monarch of ancient Neustria. A more detailed account of the descendants of his brethren, who soon after settled in (and, according to Mr. Warburton, civilized) England, would have been far more useful and pleasing. To those who can trace an unbroken line from the present day up to the chivalrous company who colonized the fairest portions of our fair country, these "Foot-steps" are deeply interesting, especially where we fancy that we can recognize in their descendants of the present days any traces of the high-souled honour, courage, and energy of the Teutonic spirit; and, for example, fondly link Hastings the Governor-General of India, to Hastings the Viking.—(vol. ii. pp. 231—241.)

Mr. Warburton's ideal of the Norman character is certainly rather lofty: but we do not call it inadmissibly exaggerate. He professes to have attempted only "to collect some traces of the genius of the Normans" (Preface, p. 17); and we are not surprised that an enthusiastic mind, dwelling in the land of chivalry, romance, and heroism—and lingering in the time-honoured aisles where rest the ashes of our wise and valiant forefathers—should now and then a little too vividly recognize the grandest qualities in their characters; which, through our more sober optics, may be seen under a more questionable light—

"The actions of the mighty dead, read in boyhood with glistening eyes, and stored in our hearts for imitation, though never wholly forgotten, yet obscured by the mist arising from the intervening agitation of maturer life—revive with thousandfold vividness, and are invested with an interest beyond the force of books or language, as we stand beside the graves of those by whom they were achieved. By a principle of antagonism, the greatness that once belonged to them is power-

fully suggested by the nothing they are now! And thus the sepulchres of the great and good have a double instruction. They not only tell us, as the lowliest tomb might do, that we are mortal, they further remind us how much is in a mortal's power. They tell us we have but a short time to do the Creator's work, but they also teach us how faithfully it may be done."—(vol. i. pp. 265, 266.)

We regret that we have room but for one more extract, but we think all our readers will agree in the feeling here expressed:—

"To inspect the churches seems naturally the first business in a mediæval town. In these days, when economy is the ruling principle in religious architecture, when the house of God is deemed no longer worthy of the national thought and wealth, how refreshing are those churches of the pious times when every stone was an evidence of care and love, and the whole building adorned with the nation's wealth—charged with the fulness of the people's heart. We generally find ourselves, therefore, in the morning, crossing the threshold of some ancient church. Few, I think, can stand beneath those calm and lofty aisles, so eloquent of ancient piety, without receiving something of a serene and holy spirit; and it appears to me, that the earlier in the day this good deed is done, the better. The doors are ever open: the Catholic Church takes care that her children shall never want a consecrated retreat, where the world-weary and the sinner may withdraw from the tumult of existence, to offer up their prayers to God. Protestant England! remember the cottage and the hovel, where the orisons of the poor are interrupted by earthly sounds, perhaps of discord or of sin; set wide the gates of your temples, and let them have a spot to pray in, whose atmosphere has been never stirred, except with words of heaven!"—pp. 148, 149.

"Blessed be those ever-open churches! Their portals yield to an infant's touch. The porches, sloping inwards, have a beseeching aspect; they draw you towards them, and invite you to come in. You need not wait till the Sabbath to enter the house of prayer! You may kneel at the altar to-day, and as you pass by may ask a blessing on your labour in a retired and consecrated spot. We might take a lesson from the Roman Catholic Church, that devotion is not a mere Sunday exercise; that the week-day as well as the Sabbath prayer is better said within the sacred walls: that the aspect of the Church should be familiar as the face of home."—pp. 219, 220.

Nor have we room to linger as pleasantly as the reader will over many of the individual characters of the race of Rollo; for his sake we wish that their "footsteps" had been more chronologically classed; but instead of being over-careful to record its blemishes, we shall adopt the more grateful task of recommending to our readers this book as one which will surely increase their knowledge of Norman lore—which to those who

have happily passed a summer in "La Belle France," will recall something of their sunny hours and of her "riant" landscape—and which will excite in them a fair hope of meeting again in future volumes a fuller development of the high principles and refined mind of the painter of "Rollo and his Race."

II.—*Egypt's Place in Universal History: an Historical Investigation, in Five Books.* By CHRISTIAN C. J. BUNSEN, D.Ph. and D.C.L. Translated from the German, by CHARLES H. COTTELL, Esq., M.A. Vol. I. London: Longmans.

THE volume before us contains the first book of Chevalier Bunsen's work on Egypt. To enter at any length on the important questions discussed in it, would demand a far more careful study than we have as yet been enabled to give to the subject. The present volume is of a preliminary character, entering into details on the sources from which a knowledge of the Egyptian history may be derived, pointing out the high importance of the subject in its bearing on the early history of the human race, and presenting copious vocabularies of the Egyptian language, with explanations of the hieroglyphical characters. As far as we can gather from a cursory survey, Chevalier Bunsen carries back the history of the human race to a period several thousand years more remote than that of the ordinary Bible chronology; but we gather that he conceives the true chronology of the Bible is in accordance with his views. He distinguishes between the opinions of commentators and the statements of the Bible itself. It is needless to direct attention to such a work as this; its research and the high importance of the subject will doubtless attract the general notice of the learned world.

III.—*William Blake; or, the English Farmer.* By the Rev. W. E. HEYGATE, M.A., Author of "Probatio Clerica," &c. London: Masters.

WE have perused this little volume with interest and edification. It is intended to direct the attention of the clergy to the especial case of the farmers—a most important class of men, whose influence over the labouring class is, in many places, almost exclusive of all other; and who are frequently not sufficiently guided and influenced by those whose advice and instruction would be willingly received if judiciously imparted. There is a feeling of sturdy independence, for the most part, in the English farmer, which revolts against dictation of any kind; but there is much of good feeling at bottom if it can be aroused; and the parish

priest need never despair, even under the most unpromising circumstances, of winning the aid of his farmers to the cause of truth, of morality, and religion, if he will condescend to treat them as rational beings, and to gain their confidence by kindness, humbleness of mind, and earnestness in the discharge of his duty. The story before us, which is very interesting and well told, relates the mode of proceeding by which a clergyman, newly appointed to a benefice, succeeded in gaining influence for good over the farmers of his parish, and the beneficial effects as regarded the cause of religion and morality, which were the results. We recommend this volume in the strongest manner to the clergy, from the valuable practical directions with which it abounds. We feel assured that they will value it, as every suggestion for the promotion of morality, and the removal of the causes of vice and immorality, deserves to be valued and attended to.

IV.—*The Latin Church during Anglo-Saxon Times.* By HENRY SOAMES, M.A., *Editor of Mosheim's Institutes.* London: Longmans.

MR. SOAMES is well known to the public as a useful and laborious contributor to ecclesiastical history. His History of the Reformation, History of the Anglo-Saxon Church, Elizabethan Religious history, and edition of Mosheim, bear testimony to the assiduity and research which have produced so much fruit; and although we certainly cannot place him in the first class as an historical writer, for various reasons, yet he must be regarded with respect for the qualities we have already referred to, and for the consistency and general soundness of principle which his writings evince. We may also add, the tone of feeling generally through Mr. Soames' works is not that of a mere partizan.

The volume under consideration has for its object to present a just and fair view of the character of religion in the Anglo-Saxon Church, in reply to the observations of Dr. Lingard on a former work of the author's. It is to a considerable extent controversial as well as historical; and from all we have seen, we deem it a satisfactory reply to the Romish writer, and a work of substantial merit. The subjects on which Mr. Soames treats are the following:—The Mission under Gregory the Great—The Conversion of the British Isles—Archbishop Theodore—Confession and Absolution—The Origin of Papal Ecclesiastical Power—The Equality of the Apostles Peter and Paul—The Progress of Papal Power—Image-worship—Papal Appeals—Wilfrid—Eucharistic Questions—Developments.

v.—*An Attempt to discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation, &c.* By the late THOMAS RICKMAN, F.S.A. *Fifth Edition; with very considerable additions, and new plates.* London and Oxford: J. H. Parker.

WE are indebted to Mr. Parker for an edition of Rickman, which presents several new and valuable features, and is, beyond comparison, the most instructive, as well as the most beautifully got-up, edition of this standard work on Gothic architecture which it has ever been our fortune to see. Mr. Parker has added ten-fold to the worth of the volume by replacing Mr. Rickman's *designs* of Gothic details by drawings from ancient models. The work on which so much well-chosen illustration is bestowed, is one which ought to be in the hands of every one who is interested in the study of ecclesiastical architecture, being, as it is, the original text-book from which the usual nomenclature of the science is derived; and forming, with the additional matter inserted by the present editor, the best and most popularly-written manual on the subject. We are very glad to see old Rickman so worthily treated; and the work, in its present shape, is one which abounds in wood-cuts and engravings of such great beauty, that it is as much suited to the drawing-room as to the library.

vi.—*Historical Notices of the Office of Choristers.* By the Rev. JAMES ELWIN MILLARD, B.A., *Head Master of Magdalen College School, Oxford.* London: Masters.

THIS little volume is valuable, not only as exhibiting a short survey of the origin and history of choristers in cathedral and collegiate churches, but it is practically instructive in the view which it presents of the pious care of the founders of collegiate institutions for the religious and moral training of their choir-children, and the judicious provisions which were made for their education. The position of choristers in the present day has sadly deteriorated; but we feel that a debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Millard, for bringing thus prominently before the attention of the Church a class of youths, who ought not to be neglected and laid aside when their voices no longer become serviceable in the church. Mr. Millard suggests various plans for rendering the services of choristers available to the Church on their retirement from their respective choirs. To these suggestions we hope that attention will be paid. We are sure that every chapter ought to consider the questions brought before them in this very pleasing, well-written, and sensible little volume.

VII.—*Baptism; or, the Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants, to be used in the Church; scripturally illustrated and explained. By the Ven. C. J. HOARE, A.M., Archdeacon of Surrey, &c. London: Hatchards.*

THE object of this work is to present a simple and intelligible commentary on the office for the Baptism of Infants. We have no doubt that it will be found useful in many cases; more especially from the devotional and Christian spirit which pervades its pages. A short extract will explain the doctrinal views of the author, who has no hesitation in stating that,

"There is no doubt that at the period at which these offices were prepared, as well as in all former periods of the Christian Church from the earliest ages, that term (regeneration) was habitually always associated with the baptismal ceremony. Hence our Church was not likely to have felt the difficulty which later controversies have raised in the use of the same language. Those who are even moderately conversant with the early writings of the Church at large, will fully subscribe to the truth of this remark."

The following passage is also worthy of remark:—

"Before the act of baptism takes place, we pray for these: 'Give thy Holy Spirit unto them, that they may be born again, and be made heirs of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ.' After baptism, we also observe the recital of the same petition, 'Give thy Holy Spirit unto them,' but with the new addition, 'that they being born again, and being made heirs of everlasting salvation,' may continue thy servants and attain thy promises. . . . The most solemn of all baptismal ceremonies ever known in the history of the Church was that on the day of Pentecost; after three thousand souls had been converted by the sermon of Peter, and had gladly received the word of the Lord. We believe that their faith on that occasion had been instantly called into action upon the great truths they had heard, and their knowledge and experience of the Divine power, in their own conversion to God, suddenly and exceedingly enlarged. But were they then formally born again? Were they then the ascertained and recognized heirs of everlasting salvation in the Church of Christ? No; they needed yet one thing. They were not, in the *eye of the Church*, yet born again into all the gracious provisions of its Divine covenant. But, it is added, 'then they that gladly received his word were baptized; and the same day there was added unto' the Church 'three thousand souls.' And so 'the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved.'"—pp. 101—103.

We trust this work will be found extensively useful in removing the prejudices which are opposed to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, as taught in the formularies of the English Church.

VIII.—*Five Sermons on the Nature of Christianity, preached in Advent and Christmas-tide, 1846, before the University of Cambridge. By W. H. MILL, D.D., Christian Advocate, &c.* London: Masters.

THESE sermons are admirably adapted to the thoughtful and intelligent audience before whom they were delivered. They present an excellent specimen of Dr. Mill's comprehensive and reflective mode of treating his subject. These sermons are intended to guard the minds of the young against certain popular errors and theories, and amongst others, against that of Development, in the sense advocated by some of the late separatists. The first and third of the sermons are more especially devoted to this subject. Dr. Mill, while admitting a development in Revelation *on the whole*, and a development of *form* and *expression* in Christian doctrine, entirely rejects and confutes the wild and fanciful theory which has been of late built up. At the conclusion of the volume, Dr. Mill substantiates by quotations certain remarks which he had made on a part of Luther's writings, which had been resented by that hot-tempered and prejudiced writer, Archdeacon Hare.

IX.—*Posthumous Works of THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. Edited by the Rev. W. HANNA. Vols. II. and III.*

THESE volumes carry on the series of daily Scripture readings, on which we have commented in a former number, from the Book of Judges to that of Jeremiah. Their general tone and style presents very much the same features as those which we observed in the first volume. As relics of so remarkable a man as Chalmers, they will be interesting to a large class of readers, and they present many passages characteristic of his forcible and striking style of composition.

X.—*Tales of Kirkbeck; or, the Parish in the Fells. By the Author of "Lives of certain Fathers of the Church in the Fourth Century."* London: Cleaver.

THE records of a pastor's experience in any parish must generally be tinged with sadness, even amidst the greatest measure of success in his holy ministrations. This is exemplified in the really beautiful series of tales now before us. They are most touchingly told, and bear about them a character of reality far more than is usual in publications of this description. This little work seems to us likely to be of use to various classes both within and without the Church.



xi.—*Annotations on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, designed chiefly for the Use of Students of the Greek Text.* By THOMAS WILLIAMSON PEILE, D.D., Head Master of Repton School, &c. &c. London: Rivingtons.

THIS volume is the second portion of the series of Annotations on the Greek Text of the New Testament, which the author announced on presenting to the public his work on the Epistle to the Romans. Having very recently reviewed at length the latter volume, we are under the necessity of bestowing only a notice on the present one. This circumstance we thus expressly mention in justice to the author, because the work really merits a particular examination and full reviewal, being, at least, not inferior to its predecessor either in ability or importance. The appearance in due time of this second portion we regard as a sign, that all is well with the author and his undertaking; a sign of continuing zeal and confidence within, and of encouragement from without. A steady advance like the present is all that ought to be expected; for any thing like rapidity is, from the very nature of the subject, incompatible with proper execution, however laborious the writer, and however ripe for his task.

To make extracts, unless it were done to an extent which our limits forbid, would not be serviceable to our readers, nor, indeed, fair towards the author. We remark, however, in general, that the characteristic of Dr. Peile's mode of annotation to which we called attention on a former occasion, is here fully sustained; namely, a close observation of the precise meaning of the letter of the text, in the light of its intrinsic elements of force and perspicuity; without, however, a restriction to the bare process, but with an application to the immediate results. We will venture to give one short specimen, in a note on chap. vi. 5:—

"Ἀπελούσασθε might be translated simply, *ye have had yourselves washed*, i. e. have submitted yourselves to the rite of Christian baptism; but the Apostle is manifestly reminding the Corinthians of what that holy baptism pledged them to, and of the awful privileges which were then vouchsafed in answer to the prayer of faith, and solemn invocation of the name of the Lord. Compare Acts xxii. 16, *βαπτίσαι, καὶ ἀπύλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου.*"

Those whose use of the original text of Scripture is superficial or desultory, are little aware of the treasures they are neglecting, and which are fairly within their reach by means either of their own acquirements or the aid of others, and that too without entering on the uncertain ground of the recondite or the mystical.

We ought also to remark, that assistance is rendered in these annotations in a way of which advantage has not hitherto been duly taken; namely, by giving renderings of particular passages, intended to convey their meaning with a degree of precision too often impracticable in a translation, which is rigidly bound down to the letter, and yet such as are quite distinct in their kind from what is professedly paraphrastic.

Now that an effort has been called forth to advance theological knowledge in the direction of greater accuracy and completeness on the part of the generality of its students, fresh implements may well be required without impeachment of the immutability of the science. For our own part, the retrospect of our earlier years presents a sad vacuity as respects a supply of ready and suitable appliances. When, therefore, an earnest and well qualified labourer offers his contribution of service, we trust there will not be wanting those who will warmly welcome and appreciate the gift, and will call on others to profit by its aid.

XII.—*The Harmony of the Apocalypse, with other Prophecies of Holy Scripture; with Notes, and an outline of the various Interpretations.* By the Rev. WILLIAM HENRY HOARE, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Parker. 1848.

THIS volume contains the authorized version of the Apocalypse, accompanied with a new Paraphrase and Notes, critical and explanatory. It exhibits a very useful synoptical analysis of the interpretations of the various commentators who have endeavoured to elucidate this mysterious portion of the sacred Canon, which is daily deriving fresh interest and importance from the remarkable phenomena of these eventful times. We are very glad to see that Mr. Hoare has treated this solemn subject with the sober reverence, which is one of the most valuable characteristics of a faithful minister of the Church of England, and which is specially required, and rarely found, in an interpreter of the Apocalypse. We refer to pp. 204 and 218 as expository of his views concerning the book generally. We should have been pleased with a little more reserve concerning the millennium, and with a caution to the general reader that some of the theories in pp. 132—136, and Appendix (I.) on that subject have been regarded by the far greater number of Doctors of the Church as heretical. But upon the whole, we cordially recommend the volume to our readers.

XIII.—*The Shoes of Fortune, and other Tales.* By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. With Four Drawings, by OTTO SPECKTER, and other Illustrations. London: Chapman and Hall.

WE have seldom derived greater pleasure than that which we have experienced in the perusal of this little volume. If originality without affectation, simplicity without weakness, exuberant fancy so strictly in keeping that in the strangest and most novel circumstances we feel quite at home; if these, combined with playful wit and satire so delicate as to be scarcely perceptible, and healthfulness of tone and kindliness of feeling, can render fairy tales pleasing, these are so in the highest degree; and, beyond and above all these things, there is a deep moral running through almost every tale, and a reverential cast of thought throughout the volume, which greatly increases its value. The one great lesson taught by the great majority, perhaps by all the tales, is, that, content with our lot, accompanied by a sincere attempt to do our duty in it both to God and man, is the true secret of human happiness.

The following passage reminds us of some of our earlier essayists:—

"A young surgeon having unconsciously put on the 'Shoes of Fortune,' feels a desire to examine the hearts of a row in the theatre, and exclaims, 'Ah! I wish to Heaven I could walk in and take a trip right through the hearts of those present.' And, behold, to the 'Shoes of Fortune' this was the cue: the whole man shrunk together, and a most uncommon journey through the hearts of the front row of spectators now began. The first heart through which he came was that of a middle-aged lady, but he instantly fancied himself in the room of 'the institution for the cure of the crooked and deformed,' where casts of misshapen limbs are displayed in naked reality on the wall. Yet there was this difference: in the institution the casts were taken at the entry of the patient, but here they were retained and guarded in the heart, while the sound persons went away. They were namely casts of female friends, whose bodily or mental deformities were here most faithfully preserved.

"With the snake-like writhings of an idea, he glided into another female heart; but this seemed to him like a large holy fane. The white dove of innocence fluttered over the altar. How gladly would he have sunk upon his knees, but he must away to the next heart; yet he still heard the pealing tones of the organ, and he himself seemed to have become a newer and a better man; he felt unworthy to tread the neighbouring sanctuary, which a poor garret, with a sick bed-ridden mother, revealed. But God's warm sun streamed through the open window, lovely roses nodded from the wooden flower-boxes on the

roof, and two sky-blue birds sang joyously, while the sick mother implored God's richest blessings on her pious daughter.

"He now crept on hands and feet through a butcher's shop. At least on every side, and above and below there was nought but flesh. It was the heart of a most respectable rich man, whose name is certain to be found in the Directory.

"He was now in the heart of the wife of this worthy gentleman. It was an old, dilapidated, mouldering dovecot. The husband's portrait was used as a weathercock, which was connected in some way or other with the doors, and so they opened and shut of their own accord, whenever the stern old husband turned round.

"Hereupon he wandered into a boudoir formed entirely of mirrors, like the one in Castle Rosenberg; but here the glasses magnified to an astonishing degree. On the floor, in the middle of the room, sat, like a Dalai-Lama, the insignificant 'Self' of the person, quite confounded at his own greatness. He then imagined he had got into a needle-case full of pointed needles of every size. 'This is certainly the heart of an old maid,' thought he: but he was mistaken. It was the heart of a young military man; a man, as people said, of talent and feeling."—pp. 28, 29.

The "Fir Tree" is a delightful fable. The "Snow Queen," one of the most beautiful fictions that it has ever been our lot to peruse. We will not do it the injustice of making a quotation. The "Red Shoes" we commend to the young of all stations and both sexes. "The Bell" is a mystery of great depth and power; it should be studied.

The engravings by Otto Speckter are well designed and well executed; and the minor illustrations very good in their way.

In conclusion, should any of our readers wish a little healthy relaxation for himself, or a useful as well as delightful present for a young friend, let him lose no time in purchasing "The Shoes of Fortune."

xiv.—*The Servant's Claim upon the Christian Master.* By the Rev. C. SANGSTER, M.A., Curate of High Hoyland. London: Longmans. 1848.

A PLAIN statement of a great truth; but apparently the production of a young and hitherto unpractised writer.

xv.—*Harold, the Last of the Saxon Kings.* By the Author of "Rienzi," "The Last of the Barons," &c. In 3 vols. London: Bentley.

NEITHER a romance nor a chronicle is this: the charm of fiction and the reality of history are both wanting. Much of this reproach might, no doubt, apply to Sir Edward's last historical

study, the chronicle of the white and red roses, "The Last of the Barons." But, there were minute details of description and of fact; there, was much accurate characterization also; and, above all, there, was real interest attached to the fictitious characters of Sybil, the Astrologer, and Hastings. Here every thing is vague and indistinct. Little is known of the intimate details of those old Saxon days which are here striven to be reproduced. The author has apparently feared to invent, lest he should fall into discrepancies of various orders: and so he has generally followed the plain course of history, the leading events of which alone are known. The character of Harold may be said to be finely drawn; but little, very little, has been added to the Harold of history. The heroine, Edith, is a comparative failure: the reader's mind retains no distinct impression concerning her; she is vague, shadowy, lifeless. More energy is exhibited in the sketch of the Vala, or northern prophetess, Hilda, whose personality is finely conceived, but rather suggested than clearly embodied by the author. Indeed, there is much of this sketchiness about the entire work, which we could fancy thrown off in a few weeks by a clever man. And on this score we must especially censure Sir Edward Lytton, who has always appeared to us till now to treat the public with respect, and give only his "best," in an artistic point of view, to the world. Here we consider it obvious, that he might have done far better; though the subject, as conceived by him, was scarcely adapted to a romance. We have seen a play, or rather a dramatic poem on the same theme, by Friedrich Kind, author of the clever "libretto" of "Der Freischütz," which approached nearer in form to our ideal of treatment, but was deficient in energy, power, and purpose. Bulwer has seen rightly, that the only source of living interest in connexion with the subject could be deduced from the apposition of the Saxon and the Norman races; but this, as we before remarked, is rather suggested than carried out; and, for this reason among others, the whole work has the appearance of a sketch, a "première ébauche," destined to be worked up into a real creation, instinct with more enduring vitality, and leaving a far deeper impression on the mind. But, to resume our remarks in detail, there is infinite grandeur in one conception of our author's, (also barely indicated,) which consists in the contrasting a heathen prophetess, using magic—but, as she believes, divine art, with the fearful Witch, supposed, like the devils with whom she enters into covenant, "to believe" in the Christian's God "and tremble." Sir Edward wanted faith for the execution of this grand idea: he feared that he might be ridiculed by rationalizing critics,

if he assumed the personal existence of the Evil One as an undoubted fact. Hilda, however, finding her northern deities desert her, is supposed to have recourse to this baleful witch, who undertakes, by her evil art, to show her the shadows of the future and the mysteries of existence. This terrible vision is presumed to have revealed to the prophetess, one of the last representatives of an expiring faith, who clings with all her heart and soul to the memories of her youth and race, that the gods, whom she has loved and served and trusted, are the demons of the Christian world; and that she, unconsciously, has entered into compact with the foes of human kind. This terrible knowledge shatters reason and life at once: she perishes; saved, let us trust, by the boundless virtue of His atoning blood, whom she in ignorance denied. For, we confess, that this conception appears to us neither monstrous nor superstitious. That the powers of ill have had shrines and oracles of their own, and also innocent and noble-hearted believers, we doubt not; and we are not of those who would despair of the fate of heathens, remembering that "Christ is the light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." To return to our more immediate theme, despite the sketchiness complained of, various characters are ably indicated. The cautious and worldly-wise Godwin, Harold's father, the unfortunate brother Sweyn, the evil-hearted Tostig, the merry Leofwine, the true and gentle Gurth, are all painted boldly and correctly. The Welsh king Gryffith is another very fortunate sketch; and the entire "book," which treats of his fortunes, has much merit. Aldyth, his wife, and afterwards Harold's, is unpleasantly, but perhaps not unnaturally, depicted. The Norman knight, Mallet de Graville, is very cleverly thrown out with a few bold strokes, and well contrasted with the Kentish Vebba, and the Saxon courtier Godrith. One or two other Normans are characteristically depicted, Taillefer, the minstrel, the martial and worldly Archbishop Odo, and William of Normandy himself, who, however, is scarcely sufficiently painted in detail. Edward the Confessor is well conceived and depicted, as an embodiment of middle-age asceticism; which, if scarcely appreciated in its higher sense by the author, is nevertheless not condemned without justice. The Christianity however of the entire work is rather dubious. Sir Edward appears to us to conceive that the Christian revelation is only a phase of truth, and that One still higher and greater is yet in the womb of Time: on which theme he seems to have caught some of the cant of Emerson, Carlyle, Jerrold, and their "confrères." True it is, that we "now see through a glass darkly;" but we *do* see; and the wondrous mystery, which most attracts our gaze, of the Divine atonement for human sin, though

it may, if possible, be yet more fully revealed to us, must ever remain the centre of truth, and the goal of all knowledge and perception. The critics may possibly hail "Harold" with rapture, even as they exulted in "Rienzi," and strive to make amends to the author for their exaggerated censures of his "Lucretia," which though an extremely unpleasant and somewhat untasteful book, was by no means so blamable on the score of religion or morality as the majority of "thinkers" have thought proper to assert. Reviewers of a pantheistic turn of mind, who deny nothing, who are unwilling even to condemn the evil as evil, were furious with Sir Edward for not only depicting the most abhorrent crimes, but representing them as co-existent with intellectual superiority, which in these gentlemen's estimation, (who suppose themselves to be men of genius,) is tantamount to the possession of all the virtues. But, whether critics praise or blame, Sir Edward Lytton may rest assured that "Harold" is not worthy of his hardly-earned fame: that it approximates far too closely as a whole to the wordy vagueness of "King Arthur;" and that he should study his subject longer, and put forth his undoubted powers with more success when he again appears on the arena of literature. As the first work of a new author, "Harold" might even have commanded a certain admiration; as a romantic chronicle by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, it should receive the critic's censure, and be treated with that healthful sternness which reprobates all mediocrity, and more especially the mediocrity of genius.

XVI. *Specimens from Schiller and Uhland.* By GEORGE CARLESS SWAYNE, M.A., *Fellow of Christ Church College, Oxford.* Oxford: Macpherson. London: Pickering. 1848.

WE concluded our former notice by reprobation of mediocrity, and here it confronts us with no little audacity, and after a fashion which, we think, ought to be treated with severity. Schiller is one of the greatest of lyric poets; Uhland, though a weak, is a rather pleasing one. Both are here wronged, though with varying degrees of criminality, by Mr. Swayne, their professed translator. And first, this gentleman has made the most unfortunate selection from Schiller's minor poems; has rendered productions, which even in the original would convey little idea of their author's greatness to the reader's mind. The "Lay" or "Song of the Bell" has, no doubt, much merit of a certain mechanical order: of course, it is sadly travestied in the translation, which is notwithstanding one of the most endurable. But "the Dance" is essentially Germanic and vague; "the Power of Song" is

tiresome and common-place; "the Flowers" little better; "Worth of Woman" *ditto*, the first six lines alone rising above mediocrity; "Laura at the Harpsichord" is in the worst possible taste in the original, despite a certain audacity of form. On the other hand, "die Begegnung" (the meeting) is a charming little poem; and "the Youth at the Streamlet" is one of those unassuming and natural lyrics which achieve greatness, because they do not labour for it. In such poems as "Die Ideale," despite a certain technical power and a certain solidity of purpose, the professor is far more evident than the poet. But, after all, the choice of Mr. Swayne was of little consequence; or rather, his defects are least felt in those poems which are naturally devoid of inspiration. Take one of the most poetical passages of "the Lay of the Bell," as an instance of melancholy failure, which is notwithstanding one of Mr. Swayne's most level passages.

"For where the sturdy and the tender,  
*Mutual in exact surrender,*  
 Pair, the tone is good in truth;  
 Ye who for ever fix your state  
 Prove well, if hearts *amalgamate*,  
 For brief is passion, long is *ruth*. (?)  
 In the bridal *lovelocks* clearly  
*Dallies* the garland virginal,  
 While the church-chimes echoing clearly,  
 To the blithesome pageant call:  
 Ah! the queen of festive mornings  
 Shines the last in May's sweet train,  
 With the zone and veil's *adornings*,  
 Life's illusion flies in twain."

How cold and prosaic, and almost unintelligible is this!  
 What idea does it give of such a passage as—

"For kindly stars are ever shining,  
 Where strength and tenderness combining  
 Select each other from the throng.  
 Then let those pause who woo for ever,  
 And well their hearts to test endeavour!  
 The dream is short, the penance long.—  
 Gaily 'mid the bride's dark tresses  
 Beams the virgin garland fair,  
 When the priest her union blesses  
 And the bells her joy declare.  
 Ah! that hour with rapture laden  
 Ends life's bright and smiling May:  
 With the girdle of the maiden  
 Passes doubt's sweet dream away."

We quote from a version, which is far from satisfying us.—  
 Mr. Swayne's only idea of a poetic translation, is the literal



rendering of word for word : he does not seem to apprehend the possibility of real poetic reproduction, and what he gives us instead, however "true" in a certain sense, must almost always be a parody. We would not call attention to such marvelling absurdities and instances of bad taste, as—

"Whatever for earth's children *under*"—  
 "Surveys the wide world *cudgel-laden*,"—  
 "With *torrid* tears his eyes are *bursting*"—  
 "*Blushes blood the welkin quiet*"—  
 "Dumb beasts suing, *trapped in ruin*,"  
 "*Gashes of radiance on infinite space*,"  
 "The gleaming grape with *defly winking leer*," &c. &c.

if we could recognize any thing beyond the most hopeless mediocrity in the more level passages. What idea of the force and beauty of the original, for instance, is conveyed by "the Combat" (rather, "the Battle").

"*Hear the rumbling tramp !*  
 Throbs the level turf their quick march under,  
 Like a cloud *surcharged* with thunder,  
 On and on they *stamp*.  
 Eyes strain'd ! teeth set ! *to iron hazard-play*  
*Behold the settling of the grim array.*  
 Glances earthward creep,  
 And hearts knock ribs in silence, *not of sleep.*  
*Skull-visaged* squadrons, gaunt and wan,  
 Pass the Major, *who straightens the van.*  
 Halt !  
 Regiments *shrink* from the *stark* command ;  
 Fettered and dumb they stand."

How artificial and mechanical, and wholly devoid of impulse, is this ! Let us essay, in a free version, to give some little idea of the original :—

"Dark and dreary,  
 As a tempest cloud,  
 O'er the vernal meadows they advance :  
 And the gazing eye grows weary,  
 As down that endless line of pike and lance  
 It wanders, scanning o'er the martial crowd.—  
 Downwards they gaze upon the ground,  
 And their hearts all wildly beat :  
 Whilst the Major on his restless steed  
 Flies down the line ; and none are found  
 Amongst the best and bravest now not pale with fear.  
 Halt !  
 At that single word whole thousands pause in their career,  
 And all is silence round."

Throughout we feel that Mr. Swayne is *working*, but never that he understands or appreciates his original. When he does adorn, his adornments are of the worst English character:—

“ Ask me not that sorrow’s reason,  
Which my morn of life doth pall”——  
“ Ah, the myriad liquid voices,” &c.

Small things seemingly, and yet destructive of the original’s simplicity and beauty. Uhland is wronged, in as far as one of his weakest ballads, which we scarcely had the patience to read through in the original, “The Goldsmith’s Daughter,” is made the chief sample of his workmanship. The poetry of “the Landlady’s Daughter,” on the other hand, is lost in the translation:—

— “ I’d love thee, *and date my love from now !*”  
— “ I’ll love thee *to-morrow, for ever, and aye !*”

The usual artificial stiffness is still felt even here. A little poem, called “Resolution,” and some lines “To Her,” are really not ill rendered, save that there is an unpleasant awkwardness about the last verse of the former. To place Uhland, however, in this direct apposition with Schiller is most absurd: it is as though a German were to render Shakspeare and “L. E. L.” in the same volume. The translator tells us in the Preface, which is lengthy and magniloquent, that, “in the study of Schiller’s thoughts and sayings, admiration puts out love,” while “in the study of those of Uhland love eclipses admiration;” and that “Schiller is all fire,” while “Uhland is all tenderness.” Absurd contrast! Since one is among the greatest of all times, and the other, at the utmost, a pleasing and, generally speaking, a rather silly rhymester. We suspect, however, that we should not have expended so much critical severity on this little “quasi-poetic” pamphlet, had we not imagined ourselves to recognize the cloven foot of self-conceited and short-sighted rationalism in the closing sentences of the Preface; a suspicion somewhat strengthened by the dedication of the entire performance to Professor Newman, of the London University. There is much vague profession, indeed, respecting the eternity of religious truth, and its having nothing to fear from any philosophy or literature. Nevertheless, we know that the Germans, as a nation, have been robbed of *their* faith, partly by their poets, and partly by their prosaic sages. In both fields Schiller has been equally reprehensible: witness his mischievous “Resignation” and “Götter Griechenlands,” and his equally silly and offensive “Sendung Moses.” We would certainly not exclude or denounce German literature, as a whole; but *he* only can read it with safety, who can at once

pity and despise its vague assertions and insolent negations; who feels that we have left the age of Bolingbrokes and Bayles behind us.

xvii.—*On the Canon of the Scriptures of the New Testament, and on the Apocrypha: Eleven Discourses, preached before the University of Cambridge; being the Hulsean Lectures for the year 1847. By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster, &c.* London: Rivingtons.

THIS work demands a far more lengthened notice than our present limits permit us to afford. The question on which it treats is continually rising in importance, in consequence of the efforts of Romanists and of Rationalists, in opposite directions, to sap and undermine all reasonable grounds of belief in the inspiration of Scripture. The former, in their eagerness to establish an implicit faith in the authority of their spiritual rulers, join with unbelievers in denying the Canon of Scripture as established by evidence and tradition. Dr. Wordsworth, in the able and learned work before us, meets the various classes of objections which have been raised against our Canon of the Scriptures, and vindicates the use of the Apocrypha. The mass of evidence which he has brought from the records of the primitive Church to establish the true Canon of Scripture, and in refutation of the Romish or Tridentine Canon, appear to be quite conclusive. We can recommend this work with confidence to any person who wants to make himself master of the subject on which it treats.

xviii.—*Speculum Episcopi. The Mirror of a Bishop.* London: Edwards and Hughes.

THE author of this work has undertaken an office which will earn him little thanks from that class of persons who look with entire satisfaction on the system which prevails in the discharge of Episcopal duties. The contrast which that system presents to the examples of former times, and the requirements of the Church herself, is described very forcibly and clearly in this volume. We feel assured that the author has done no more than his duty in calling public attention to what the Episcopal office ought to be, and *must* be, if the Church is to be saved. A working clergy alone will not do. We must see a working Episcopate—that is, an Episcopate which is, *in the eyes of the world*, as fully engaged in its *spiritual* duties, as the parochial priesthood. As soon as this is fairly realized, the moral power of the Episcopate will become tenfold what it now is, and they will no longer need to seek

for Acts of Parliament to promote the efficiency of the Church. The Bishop is a successor of the Apostles, not only in authority, but in duties, responsibilities, and in the charge of souls. If he does not make every thing else subordinate to the cure of souls, and the direct advancement of the kingdom of God by preaching, and teaching, and ministering, as the Apostles did, he is neglecting the first and greatest of his duties.

XIX.—*Sermons for Schools and Families, preached in the Chapel of Brighton College. By the Rev. A. J. MACLEANE, B.A.* London: Bell.

THIS volume of sermons is of a different stamp from the generality of those which come under our notice. There is a vigour of thought and language throughout, without the slightest extravagance or exaggeration, which gives unusual interest, and must, we think, have rendered them very effective in delivery. There is no far-fetched strain of reasoning, nor any attempt at fine writing in these discourses; but the mind of the reader is directed by a well-managed series of divisions, to the principal doctrines and duties fairly derivable from the passages under consideration. These sermons will afford to the young clergyman excellent examples of the kind of composition which is calculated to render his pulpit ministrations really efficient.

XX.—*The Royal Supremacy over the Church considered as to its Origin, and its Constitutional Limits, &c. By the Rev. G. E. BIBER, LL.D.* London: Rivingtons.

SEVERAL recent circumstances have drawn much attention towards the important subject on which this able pamphlet treats, and it has been felt that the Regal Supremacy as actually exercised, is fraught with practical consequences and results capable of deeply affecting the faith and the general efficiency of the Church. In dealing with the Supremacy question, we come at once to the inquiry, whether any sovereign can possess the right of appointing persons of unsound faith or immoral character to the office of bishops or clergy in the Church; or of altogether extinguishing the synods of the Church, and replacing them by Parliament. Such are the powers claimed by men of this world for the temporal sovereign, which amounts simply to the denial of all religious truth. The Erastianism of statesmen in the present day is merely a branch of infidelity: it sets aside the question of religious belief or doctrine as a matter of perfect indifference. The supremacy of the temporal power can only be endangered by putting forward extravagant claims, which make

it a matter of conscience to denounce and resist them. In the excellent pamphlet before us, the various branches of this subject are treated with ability, learning, and high principle.

XXI.—*A Guide to Candidates for Holy Orders.* By the Rev. C. M. MOUNT, A.M., *Prebendary of Wells, &c.* London: Rivingtons.

THE subjects here discussed within the compass of a thin octavo, are the criticism, interpretation, authenticity, credibility, and inspiration of the Bible; the Reformation; contrast between the Church of England and the Church of Rome; and ecclesiastical history in general. It is obvious that the view taken must be a very general one; but we think that the work will be found useful to students, as a recapitulation of points which they must learn more fully elsewhere. The general tone and principles of this work appear to be moderate.

XXII.—*The Combatants: an Allegory.* By the Rev. EDWARD MONRO, *Perpetual Curate of Harrow Weald, &c.* London: Masters.

A BEAUTIFUL allegory, descriptive of the wrestling of the Christian soul against temptations, in the endeavour to win eternal happiness.

XXIII.—*Holy Baptism: a Dissertation.* By the Rev. W. MASKELL, M.A., *Vicar of St. Mary's Church, Devon, &c.* London: Pickering.

THIS work is a very learned systematic treatise on the sacrament of baptism, discussing all the important questions connected with it with very great learning, and with perfect orthodoxy. The treatise is one which ought to be in the hands of every clergyman. Mr. Maskell contends for the validity of lay-baptism, and, we are inclined to think, with somewhat too depreciatory a tone as regards those who have denied or doubted the validity of heretical baptism.

XXIV.—*Divine and Moral Songs for the Use of Children.* By ISAAC WATTS, D.D., *with thirty illustrations, &c.* London: Van Voorst.

THE illustrations in this volume are amongst the most successful both in design and execution that we have seen for a long time. There is a purity and simplicity in the conception of many of them which is really exquisite, and refreshing to the eye and the mind.

xxv.—*Odes of KLOPSTOCK from 1747 to 1780. Translated from the German. By WILLIAM NIND, Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, &c.* London: Pickering.

KLOPSTOCK has been peculiarly fortunate in this instance, in falling into the hands of a writer whose poetical genius enables him to give full effect to the tenderness and grace with which these poems abound. There are a thousand beauties in this little volume, from which we extract the following lines, entitled "THE ROSE WREATH:"—

"I found her by the shady rill,  
I bound her with a wreath of vine;  
She felt it not, but slumber'd still.

"I look'd on her; and on the spot  
My life with hers did blend and close:  
I felt it, but I knew it not.

"Some lisping, broken words I spoke,  
And rustled light the wreath of rose;  
Then from her slumber she awoke.

"She look'd on me; and from that hour  
Her life with mine did blend and close;  
And round us it was Eden's bower."

xxvi.—*Notes of a Two Years' Residence in Italy. By HAMILTON GEALE, Esq., Barrister at Law.* Dublin: McGlashan.

WE are glad to see the Dublin press assuming gradually an increased importance in its literary productions, and capable of presenting volumes so well executed in a typographical point of view as that which is now before us. Mr. Geale is an acute and intelligent observer; and with the exception of his theological views, which are shallow, though on the whole not very objectionable, we can award to his work the character of a very readable book—a volume over which one may spend some hours of positive amusement, and even of instruction. There is considerably more of thought and observation than is commonly met with in volumes of the kind—the only positive defect we can find is, that Mr. Geale's education seems not to have included an accurate drilling in the rather important branch of "orthography." At least we see, here and there, some rather odd specimens of spelling. Such trifling defects, however, are scarcely worth mentioning, and we rise from the perusal of this very agreeable volume with respect for the writer as a scholar, and as a man.

XXVII.—*The Church of England Protestants' Manual of Family Devotion. The humble offering of a Septuagenarian, WILLIAM POWER HICKS, a Norfolk Layman.* London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

WE are unwilling to speak in any harsh or discouraging way of the labours of this Septuagenarian Norfolk layman, but we should certainly be surprised to meet with any person who could employ this most undevotional Manual of Family Devotion with comfort or profit. It is lengthy, oratorical, and wholly destitute of the spirit of devotion.

XXVIII.—*Scripture Biography. By the Rev. ROBERT WILSON EVANS, B.D., Vicar of Heversham, &c.* London: Rivingtons.

THIS volume consists of a series of seventeen biographical sketches of characters in the Old and New Testament history. It seems to us well calculated for bringing the facts of Scripture history in a pleasing and intelligible form before the mind, and we should think it adapted for reading aloud in religious families.

XXIX.—*The Seven Sayings on the Cross; or, the Dying Christ our Prophet, Priest, and King. Being a Series of Sermons preached in St. John's Church, Cheltenham, in the Holy Week, 1847. By the Rev. ALEXANDER WATSON, M.A., &c.* London: Masters.

FROM all we have seen of this volume of discourses on the Seven Sayings on the Cross, we have been much impressed in its favour. The subject appears to be treated in the devotional tone which becomes it; and the practical and moral reflections which it presents, appear to be sound and well chosen. Without aspiring to any high order of eloquence, these discourses are written with sufficient animation and interest.

XXX.—*An Exposition of the First Seventeen Articles of the Church of England. By the Rev. THOMAS SWORDE, M.A., Rector of St. Peter's, Thetford, &c.* London: Parker.

THIS exposition of the Articles is written with so much conciseness, that it cannot enter very deeply into the objects on which it touches. It is a popularly-written volume, and in general its views are sound; but we cannot approve of the author's remarks on the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed, which he would gladly see expunged, though he admits the doctrine of the Creed as necessary to salvation.



XXXI.—*Scenes of 1792 ; or, a Tale of Revolution.* By the Rev. G. D. HILL, M.A. London : Rivingtons.

To those who have read Lamartine's "Girondists,"—a work which is now brought within the reach of all readers,—the present tale will appear rather heavy and uninteresting. It is a dangerous theme for writers of ordinary powers to venture upon, more especially where they are restricted to such narrow limits as those of the tale before us.

XXXII.—*Via Dolorosa : being the Catholic Devotion of the Stations ; prepared as a special office for the use of English people, &c. Translated and arranged by the Author of "From Oxford to Rome," &c.* London : Longmans.

THIS little volume is very neatly got up indeed ; but the contents are very oddly assorted, and form a truly singular *mélange* of Romanism and Protestantism, which, after all, perhaps, represents, not unfairly, the theological system of the authoress. We cannot conceive any one but a Romanist using this manual of devotion ; and yet even to him there must be much to grate on his feelings in various parts of the work. Altogether the attempt appears to us a peculiarly unfortunate one.

XXXIII.—*The Baron's Little Daughter, and other Tales, in Prose and Verse.* By the Author of "*The Lord of the Forest and his Vassals*," &c. London : Masters.

THE little volume now before us will be read with pleasure and improvement by young persons. The "Baron's Little Daughter" is very beautifully written, and evinces the possession of poetical powers of no common order. It relates very simply and touchingly the story of a daughter, whose surviving parent is destitute of affection for her, but is at last softened by her love. We have been extremely gratified by all we have seen of this volume.

XXXIV.—*Reciprocal Obligations of the Church and the Civil Power.* By JOHN LOCKHART ROSS, M.A., &c. Oxford : J. H. Parker.

THIS work deserves a far more lengthened survey than our present limits permit us to take of it. The subject is one on which the interests of true religion very greatly depend. At present we can only present an outline of the subjects touched on in this volume, recommending to our readers to procure and read the work itself. It commences with an examination of the principle



and necessity of a Church establishment; after which it considers the duty of the State in relation to the Church; the origin and nature of the Church; its proper maintenance and privileges; its duty as an ecclesiastical body in union with the State; the Convocation question, with suggestions for the restoration of a synod; practical remarks on Church extension, and the duty of the State to aid in this cause. On the whole, Mr. Ross's views and suggestions seem to us highly deserving of attention and approbation. We hope to revert to this subject hereafter more at length.

xxxv.—*Family Prayers for Every Day in the Week; intended chiefly for the use of Cottagers.* By CLERGYMEN OF THE DEANERY OF BRIDPORT. London: Tegg.

THIS tract supplies a desideratum—a good set of prayers for family worship adapted to the use of the lower orders. Their style seems not to be above the comprehension of those for whom they are intended. Each service consists of a few verses from Scripture, suitable prayers, ending with the Lord's Prayer, and a short form of thanksgiving. We recommend it to the notice of the clergy.

xxxvi.—*Matutina: Morning Readings selected and original, chiefly practical, and adapted to the use of the younger Members of the Church of England.* By the Rev. GEORGE RENAUD, M.A., late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London: Longmans.

IN this work there is a series of short readings or meditations, generally of a practical character, for every day in the year. From what we have seen we are of opinion that the selection is well made, and that the use of it would be found instructive and salutary by educated persons. It is not adapted for any of the middling or lower classes, in our opinion.

xxxvii.—*Conversations on the Church Service.* By the Author of "*Easy Lessons for Sunday Schools.*" London: J. and C. Mosley.

A LITTLE book which will be found suitable for a parochial lending library. It gives a simple explanation of the Church service, and in a pleasing way. Teachers in National and Sunday Schools will find it useful.

xxxviii.—*Nimrod; a Dramatic Poem; in Five Acts.* London: Pickering. 1848.

No little has been attempted in this work; and, what is more,

much has been achieved. Lyrical and dramatic powers are indeed not possessed by its author; at least this production contains no evidence of the fact; but, on the other hand, grandeur of conception, and great talents both for narration and description, are here shown, and a general impression conveyed of more than ordinary promise. This work deals with the primeval ages of mankind. The first conqueror, Nimrod, is exhibited to us in his youth, and the progress of ambition in his soul is forcibly portrayed. The fourth and fifth acts, however, are in many respects deficient, by no means answering to the expectations which the earlier portion of the work has raised; and thus the latter stages of Nimrod's corruption are but imperfectly brought before us, rather shadowed out than manifestly embodied. The style approximates too closely to that of Byron; and direct reminiscences of "Cain," "Heaven and Earth," "Sardanapalus," and the "Deformed Transformed," occur from time to time both in lyric and dramatic passages. We will refer to one, as an instance of what we mean. Nahmah, the heroine, whose character is sweetly conceived, is first introduced, thus singing,

"The summer is coming,  
The little birds sing;  
The glad bees are humming," &c.

An evident reminiscence, both in form and matter, of

"The winter is over,  
The spring is come," &c.

But the lyrics of this author are generally pointless, and often introduced without any apparent purpose. Thus the Songs of the Spirits (pp. 22—24) interrupt the business of the piece most absurdly, and apparently for no other reason than to give the author an opportunity of imitating the songs of the spirits, which are far more aptly introduced in "Manfred" and Shelley's "Prometheus." The character of Abaddon, an angel who neither stands nor falls, is well conceived, and seems to have much originality of purpose. Satan is less well embodied, being a kind of compound of the Lucifer of "Cain," and the Cæsar of "The Deformed Transformed." Notwithstanding, there is much of gloomy grandeur, and even majesty, in the remarkable scene betwixt the Monarch of Darkness and Abaddon, commencing on page 79; and the idea of the final trial by which Omnipotence tested the weakness of rebellion, is solemnly and awfully impressive. The earlier scenes betwixt Nimrod and Nahmah have also much beauty of a humbler order. We will cite, in conclusion,

a single passage from the first temptation of "the Mighty Hunter:"—

*Satan.* Queller of beasts,  
And chief of men.  
*Nimrod.* Stranger, my father lives  
In yonder hut, and with my mother shares  
My reverence and obedience.  
*Satan.* *Fathers find*  
*A richer tribute when they bend before*  
*The sons who honour them by greater deeds.*  
*The world advances, and the man to-day*  
*Must view his father as the child in time,*  
*Nearer time's infancy, enlightened less.*  
*The manhood more matured is in himself,*  
*And his sire's merits added to his own*  
*Give him, the son, more honour.*  
*Nimrod.* Would'at have me break  
The earliest, dearest tie, that raises man  
Above the beasts I've slaughtered?  
*Satan.* Honour well  
Thy parents, 'tis a law that suits the child.  
But would they have thee crouching at their feet?  
*Be wise, be great, and raise them up with thee;*  
*Then, if thou wilt, kneel down, and merit find*  
*In what is now mere instinct."*

A wily temptation, and an apt: filial reverence thus eradicated, what evil might not ensue! We have to complain of an occasional obscurity or apparent absence of distinct purpose, which reminds us from time to time of that clever but displeasing and more than half unintelligible rhapsody, "Pestus." Finally, our advice to the author of "Nimrod" would be, to cultivate his narrative and descriptive powers, and give to the world, not an epic, but, say, various sketches from the primeval ages, each embodying some distinct moral in a poetic tale, and that in such blank verse as Tennyson has chosen for his "Princess," or rather, in that which is natural to the author of "Nimrod," whose versification is at once pleasing and unstudied.

XXXIX.—*Annesley, and other Poems.* By ANNA HARRIET DRURY.  
London: Pickering.

A QUIET unpretending volume of really sensible poetry. This may not appear great praise; and yet this volume is so conspicuous for its sound sense, its solidity of judgment, and its healthiness of tone, as contrasted with the L. E. L.iam and Mrs.

Nortonism of the day, that we feel bound to call attention first to these, its most characteristic qualities. Its principal poem, "Annesley," is a melancholy and affecting, but very simple tale, of a good clergyman and his fortunes, and may, perhaps, especially recommend itself to the clergy, and their wives and daughters. The minor lyrics which follow have also much merit. "The Death of Elizabeth Tudor" is forcible, though most unjust: "the Battle of Tewkesbury" has much of the old ballad spirit. "The Old Horse to his Mistress," has no little beauty; and two lays, "the Treasures of the Heart," and "the Grave of the Lost," yields promise of a noble harvest yet to come. These few words of praise and encouragement are given from the wish not only to induce some of our readers to make acquaintance with this pleasing poetess, who belongs to the school of Crabbe and Campbell, but also to inspire her to bolder efforts, as we are confident she is capable of greater things. "Annesley," however, has the merit of touching the heart, and this may recommend it to those who "cannot away with" the romantic love-sick strains of the day.

XL.—*The Imperial Dictionary, English, Technological, and Scientific; adapted to the present state of Literature, Science, and Art; on the basis of Webster's English Dictionary, &c. Edited by JOHN OGILVIE, LL.D. Vol. I. Glasgow and London: Blackie and Son.*

THIS dictionary, which is publishing in parts, and the first volume of which, in imperial octavo, extends to the end of letter I., and comprises 1100 pages closely printed in three columns, and illustrated with innumerable wood-cuts, very beautifully executed, is by far the fullest and most complete work of the kind that it has ever been our lot to see. Its object is to explain words and terms, which is done with brevity, and with accuracy. We must exempt from our commendation the theological parts of the volume, which breathe throughout the most decided Presbyterianism. It would be impossible to convey any notion of the general character of this work by extracts. The introduction of wood-cuts, which abound in almost every page, is a new feature in a work of this description, and render it so amusing that a person might very pleasantly spend an hour in turning over its pages. The architectural wood-cuts, which are numerous, are very well executed. We shall be glad to see the continuation of this work.

**XLII.**—*Butler's Three Sermons on Human Nature, and Dissertation on Virtue.* Edited by W. WHEWELL, D.D., Master of Trinity College, &c. London: Parker.

DR. WHEWELL has, in this useful edition of Bishop Butler's ethical writings, done much to facilitate the comprehension of this abstruse writer, by careful analysis, and division into paragraphs. We feel assured that students will derive material aid from Dr. Whewell's editorial labours.

**XLII.**—*Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.* Auctore RICARDO CRANTHORPE, S.T.P. Oxonii: apud J. H. Parker.

WE can only direct the reader's attention to this valuable controversial work, in defence of the English Church against Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, which has been edited by Dr. Wordsworth for the Anglo-Catholic Library. The great importance of this work demands a more careful survey than our present limits permit; but we hope to return to it on some future occasion.

**XLIII.**—*Predestination and Election vindicated from dependence on Moral Necessity, &c.* By GEORGE MCULELLAND. Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute. London: Rivingtons.

THE object of this little work is to assert the doctrine of free-will against Edwards and Dr. Chalmers, to reconcile it with the doctrine of predestination and election, and to refute the Calvinistic doctrines. The author appears to be an acute and profound thinker.

**XLIV.**—*Sermons preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge.* By WILLIAM WHEWELL, D.D., Master of the College. London: J. W. Parker.

AS far as we have been enabled to peruse the sermons comprised in this volume, they appear to us to be characterized by no very striking features. They are adapted, of course, to a highly-educated congregation; but they are practical in their character. Their language and reasoning are good, and we can speak favourably of the general tone of principle which pervades them.

- XLV.—1. *Village Sermons, &c.* By R. D. B. RAWNSLEY, M.A., &c. London: Hatchards.
2. *Sermons on Practical Subjects.* By the Rev. SAMUEL WARREN, LL.D., &c. London and Edinburgh: Blackwoods.
3. *Sermons on many of the Leading Doctrines and Duties taught by the Church of England.* By the Hon. GEORGE PELLEW, D.D., Dean of Norwich. London: Murray.

THE first volume above mentioned contains twenty-four discourses, which appear to be unexceptionable in their teaching, but do not present any features calling for particular observation. They are just the kind of discourses which appear suited to the comprehension of a congregation of very limited intelligence and education.

Dr. Warren's Sermons, on the other hand, are rather ambitious in style, and present more perhaps of the character of finished essays on the subjects of which they treat than is, we think, desirable in pulpit addresses. Yet we doubt not that the truths and the duties which they put forward in vigorous and authoritative language, have been presented in a shape which was well adapted to the congregation to whom they were addressed.

The Sermons by Dr. Pellew are plain, sensible discourses, rather common-place. The only feature that presents itself as worthy of remark is, their uncompromising attitude in reference to Romanism, or whatever the author considers to approximate to it.

#### XLVI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

A RECENTLY-PUBLISHED work, entitled "*Sacro-Politica; the Rights and Relations, Civil and Spiritual, of the Anglican Church,*" &c., by R. C. Sewell, D.C.L. (Bell), will repay an attentive perusal. This is the first part of a work on the relations of Church and State, and discusses the question of the Royal Supremacy. The writer argues with great ability for the repeal of the Act establishing the Supremacy. "*The Principles of the English Constitution in Church and State,*" &c., by a Lay-Member of the Church of England (Rivingtons), points out ably and well the abuses and evils arising from the appointment to bishoprics having become a branch of Ministerial patronage, instead of being vested in the Crown. "*The Oath of Supremacy inconsistent with the Provisions of the Irish Charitable Bequests Act,*" by the Earl of Clancarty (Ridgway), furnishes additional evidence of the tendency of modern legislation to subvert the Royal Supremacy. It is indeed grossly inconsistent to assert the right to govern all

classes in ecclesiastical matters at one moment, and at the next to concede the claims of those who deny to the State any such power or right.

"Church Leases," &c., by W. H. Grey (Ridgway), is a pamphlet written in furtherance of the views of certain gentlemen who are desirous of obtaining a different tenure for the tenants of Church lands. According to this gentleman's calculations, a large sum might be raised for the cause of Church extension by an arrangement of the kind.

We have to notice some interesting publications received from America, amongst which are, Bishop Doane's Address on the Ends and Objects of Burlington College; Four Sermons on "The Way of the Church with Children," by the same eloquent writer; an Address to the Students of the General Theological Seminary, by Dr. Ogilby; and a Sermon on the Communion of Saints, by Rev. E. M. Johnson.

Of Sermons, we have to mention with high commendation a Visitation Sermon "On Sanctifying Grace, and the Grace of the Ministry," by J. Jackson, M.A., Rector of St. James's, Westminster (Rivingtons). We can also speak favourably of "Sound Education," &c., by the Rev. Thomas Ainger, M.A.; "Four Sermons preached at the General Ordinations of the Lord Bishop of Oxford," &c. (Parker); "The Middle Way, a Sermon," by Rev. R. W. Essington, M.A. (Bell); Two Sermons preached at the opening of the Parish Church of Wellesbourne (Rivingtons). We must not omit to mention an admirable Sermon by the Rev. W. Sewell, of Exeter, "The Danger and Safeguards of the Young in the Present State of Controversy" (Parker).

Recent events in the political world have led to the publication of a Series of Anti-Revolutionary Tracts (Masters), of which some numbers are before us, and apparently well executed. "Sermons for the People" are intended for the same object, of conveying cheap instruction, suited to the crisis.

Of Periodicals, "The Ecclesiologist" continues to maintain its interest and practical value unabated. We can also speak favourably of the "Churchman's Companion," a sixpenny monthly magazine; the "Theologian and Ecclesiastic" (Masters); and "Sharpe's Magazine." The latter is, we think, becoming too exclusively a vehicle for tales of fiction, and approximating too much to other magazines in its character. But it is still a very pleasing publication, and a very cheap one.

## Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

**AFRICA.**—*Christian Institution at Sierra Leone.*—Six students from this institution have received appointments in the service of the Church Missionary Society. Seven youths from the grammar school were drafted into the institution. The latter now contains nine pupils, the school forty-five. The establishment is in a highly satisfactory state.

**AUSTRALIA.**—*Arrival of the Bishop of Adelaide.*—Letters have been received from the Church at Adelaide, stating the arrival of the Bishop and Archdeacon on the shores of their new diocese, which they first beheld on board the *Derwent* on Christmas-eve, 1847. They landed on the 4th of January, 1848.

**CANADA, DIOCESE OF TORONTO.**—*Diocesan Church Society.*—The fifth annual report of the Toronto Church Society states the receipts for last year at 1921*l.* 13*s.* 3½*d.*, exclusive of receipts in the Depository, and of rents for special purposes. In the previous year 1970*l.* 8*s.* were received; the decrease is attributed to the exertions made in the early part of 1847, for the relief of the starving population of Canada.

*Gifts of Land for Church purposes.*—At one of the recent meetings for current business of the Church Society of Toronto, five votes of thanks were past, for gifts of land to the Society from different individuals; one of which was an entire "lot;" and three of them portions of lots, of 100 acres each. They were given, partly for sites and endowments of local churches, partly for the support of clergymen and missionaries in the diocese, and partly for the general purposes of the Society.

*Travelling Missionaries.*—In a pastoral issued by the Bishop on the 12th of January last, announcing that the produce of the next of the four annual collections for the Church Society is to be devoted to the travelling missions, it is stated that two clergymen are at present actively employed in the different districts of the diocese, and receive an allowance from the Travelling Mission Fund, besides an interpreter and a catechist. The Bishop further intimates his intention, as soon as the clergymen can be furnished after the next general ordination, to increase the number of the travelling missionaries.

*Diocesan Theological College.*—*Divinity Scholarships.*—The Toronto *Church* newspaper contains the following notice:—The Scholarships attached to the Diocesan Theological College at Coburg, by direction of the Lord Bishop of Toronto, will henceforward be divided into three classes:—The first class to comprehend the Scholarships instituted by



the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at the rate of 40*l.* sterling per annum ; the second class, chargeable upon the Bishop's Students' Fund, at the rate of 40*l.* currency per annum ; and the third class, chargeable upon the same fund, at the rate of 30*l.* currency per annum. The Scholarships, as thus classed, will henceforward be open for competition, and awarded according to the results of a general examination, to be holden annually at Toronto, by a Board of Examiners appointed by the Lord Bishop of the diocese. The first general examination for this purpose will be held at the Church Society's-house, at Toronto, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 4th and 5th of October next, at ten o'clock, A.M., when two Scholarships in each of the above classes will be awarded according to the merits of candidates. The subjects of examination are fixed as follows:—Gospel of St. Luke, in Greek ; Homer, *Iliad*, Book XVI. ; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, Book II. ; Cicero de Senectute ; Virgil, *Eclogues* and *Æneid*, Book VI. ; Euclid, first four books.—The Scholarships will be tenable for not more than four years, or until ordination ; and the age of candidates must not be under nineteen. Candidates for the Scholarships now announced are required to communicate their intention of offering themselves, to the Rev. H. J. Grasett, M.A., Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop at Toronto ; their application to be accompanied with testimonials as to their moral and religious deportment for the three years preceding, and their fitness for the work of the ministry, from at least two licensed clergymen in the diocese in which they reside.

*Examination of the Normal School.*—The examination of the students at the Normal School took place on Thursday, the 13th of April last, in the presence of the Lord Bishop of the diocese, the Principal of Upper Canada College, and a large company. The examination lasted five hours, and embraced the different departments of Grammar, with the Elements of Logic ; Arithmetic ; the three first books of Euclid, and Algebra, as far as Quadratic Equations ; Geography ; Sacred History ; the outlines of History generally ; Mechanics ; Heat and Electricity, and Agricultural Chemistry. The result of the examination is described by the Toronto papers as having been most satisfactory. A large proportion of the pupils entered after the 1st of January, several in February, and some only within two months of the examination. A great majority of them were, previously to their admission, nearly totally ignorant of all the above departments of knowledge.

*Clergy Widows' and Orphans' Fund.*—The proceeds of the sermon on behalf of the Church Society of the diocese of Toronto, being the first for the seventh year of the Society, appointed to be preached on Trinity Sunday, the 18th of June, were, on the suggestion of the Bishop, to be applied to the support of the widows and orphans of the clergy. At the adjourned meeting, held on the 17th of May, for the final settlement of the Widows' and Orphans' Fund, his Lordship, being desirous that the proposed by-law, for the management of the Widows' and Orphans' Fund, should be submitted for the general consideration of the clergy and laity throughout the diocese, recommended

that no final decision on this subject should be made until after the annual meeting of the Society, which was fixed for Wednesday, June 7; to begin with prayers in the cathedral. The following are the principal provisions of the proposed by-law:—It repeals that portion of the 19th clause of a by-law, passed Oct. 23, 1844, which “provides that the proceeds of one of the annual sermons, which may be appointed by the Lord Bishop to be preached in aid of the funds of the Society, shall be annually invested for the benefit of infirm clergymen and the widows and orphans of clergymen deceased,” so far as regards the investing of the proceeds of such collections. It provides, that in each year the interest and dividends of former investments, the collections made under the annual sermon, the annual grant of the Church Society, and any other donation, bequest, or gift, not specially restricted by the donor or testator, shall form part of a fund to be denominated “The Widows’ and Orphans’ Fund,” and shall be considered disposable in each year for the purposes of that fund. And further, it provides, that immediately after the next annual meeting of the Church Society, applications may be received, and aid dispensed from the Widows’ and Orphans’ Fund, in such cases as may appear to require it; and that the excess in each year of the annual disposable fund above the demands upon it shall, at the end of the year, be added to the permanent fund already accumulated.

**DIOCESE OF QUEBEC.**—*Chaplaincy at the Quarantine Station.*—A circular of the Lord Bishop of Montreal, which summons the clergy of the diocese for the 5th of July to the Diocesan Visitation at Montreal, contains an appeal to the clergy for their voluntary co-operation in supplying the functions of chaplain at the Quarantine station; the onus of which, including even their personal expenses, it appears, both the home and the colonial government are suffering to devolve upon the already over-worked clergy of the Colonial Church. The following is the passage of the Bishop’s circular on this subject:—

“The time is rapidly approaching at which the services of the Church of England will be required at the Quarantine station at Grosse Isle, situated thirty miles below this city, and (with the exception of one mission, which is at the same distance,) much more remote from any other charge in the diocese.

“Although it is confidently expected that the effect of recent legislative enactments, respecting passenger-vessels, will reduce the emigration to a comparatively small amount, and avert the repetition of such scenes as were witnessed at the station in the summer of last year, yet there will be strangers still coming to make their home with us, and, among that portion of them who will be detained at the island, there will be sick and dying, bereaved and desolate persons, whom (to say nothing of the burial of the dead) it is impossible, for one moment, to think of leaving without the comforting care of the Church and the faithful guidance of her clergy.

“It has, however, so pleased God, that I am at present without the

means of providing a chaplain for this station ; and I can, therefore, only hope to meet the exigency by *the voluntary attendance of such of my brethren in succession as shall be enabled, for a short time, to leave their own cures for that purpose.* It is not my intention to suggest to any of them individually the assumption of the task, nor to take the responsibility of judging who, in particular, ought to consider themselves called upon, by the circumstances of their position, to stand forward. I mean, if so permitted, personally to take a share as before in these labours, and other clergymen from Quebec and its immediate neighbourhood will do the same. If you should be prompted to place your services at my disposal in this behalf, you will have the kindness to make an intimation to me accordingly, without delay ; and if there is any cause which limits your offer to a particular portion of the season, you will do me the favour of specifying the same.

“I have not yet received from her Majesty’s Government in the province, the promised means of *reimbursing those clergymen who were subjected to expenses in the discharge of this duty last year*, and whose accounts I submitted after the close of the operations for the season ; but so soon as I shall be enabled to do so, I shall not fail to see that all existing claims of this nature are duly adjusted.”

*Bishop’s College, Lennoxville.*—The *Colonial Church Chronicle* contains, on the authority of a private letter, an account of the crippled state of this college, for want of funds<sup>1</sup>. There is no chaplain ; only two of the four professors are in holy orders ; one of whom is regularly, the other occasionally, engaged elsewhere on Sundays : neither is there a chapel. There is a great want of books, and of a good philosophical apparatus. The salaries of the four professors amount altogether to little more than 500*l.* per annum. The college was opened in September, 1845, with six students. There are now twenty-three on the books, fourteen of whom are in residence. Five students have been admitted to holy orders ; and at least as many more will probably be ordained in the course of this year. The regular routine of study includes Divinity, Hebrew, History, Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, Logic, Classics, Composition, and Mathematics. The present Lecture List exhibits per week seventeen lectures in Classics (as high as Herodotus, Virgil, and Sophocles) ; one in Logic ; six in Mathematics (including Differential and Integral Calculus, and Mechanics) ; three lectures in Hebrew, and one in Rabbinical Literature, and fourteen more in Divinity ; in which appear such books as Barrow on the Supremacy, Hooker, Burnet on the Reformation, and on the Articles ; besides Lectures on the Gospels and Epistles.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—*Arrival of the Bishop.*—The Bishop of Cape Town, with his family, arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on February 20th, after a very favourable voyage of nine weeks. A letter from his Lordship, of the date of March 20th, describes the state of Church

<sup>1</sup> Subscriptions are received at Coutts’, Strand, and at the Old Bank, Oxford.

matters in that colony as upon the whole promising. The Bishop had disposed of all his fellow-labourers, and wanted six more—two clergymen, and four catechists. He had ordered sermons for a mission fund to the heathen to be preached in all the churches throughout the diocese. The Governor was giving him a very hearty support.

*The Romish Episcopate.*—The *John Bull*<sup>2</sup> gives the following intelligence from a colonial paper:—A new Vicar Apostolic has recently been appointed for the eastern part of this colony. The colony of the Cape of Good Hope is now divided into two vicariates, and the eastern province, in which are most of the British settlers and the greater part of the troops, is placed under the episcopal charge of the Right Rev. Dr. Aidan Devereux, Bishop of Paneas, whose consecration took place on Monday, the 27th of December last, in the temporary chapel, Cape Town; the consecrating bishop being the Right Rev. Dr. Griffith, assisted by the Rev. Messrs. Murphy, Griffith, and McCarthy. This is the first consecration of a Romish bishop in South Africa.

CEYLON.—*Mission at Mahara.*—A letter, recently received by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, from the Bishop of Colombo, dated Feb. 10, 1848, gives an interesting account of the mission at Mahara, which extends over about seventy native villages, with a population of about 37,000 souls, one-third of whom have been baptized many years ago, but long since neglected. There is one dilapidated church, near the principal Buddhist temple of the district at Calamy. Nine schools have been opened there recently, which are attended by nearly 400 children. Temporary buildings have been erected by the natives at twelve different places, where Divine Service is celebrated by the catechist on alternate Sundays. Subscriptions are in progress for four small churches along the high-road from Colombo to Kandy. For these the natives themselves have given land, and offer materials and labour with much good-will. Education, they say, is their want; they are willing to build schools, which, when built, will be available also for strictly religious purposes.

CHINA.—*Mission at Hong Kong.*—Associations in connexion with the *Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, and *for the Propagation of the Gospel*, have been established at Victoria, Hong Kong. The erection of St. John's Church, at Victoria, is progressing satisfactorily. It affords accommodation for 750, and, if necessary, one hundred might be added. The whole is probably roofed in by this time.

*American Episcopal Mission.*—Bishop Boone, the American missionary bishop at Shanghai, has sent in a report to the General Convention, from which the following are extracts:—

“When at Hong Kong, by request of the Rev. V. Stanton, British chaplain, I confirmed sixteen persons. At Shanghai I have bap-

<sup>2</sup> We perceive with pleasure, that the *John Bull*, under its new management, devotes a portion of its columns to the collection of interesting ecclesiastical and religious intelligence, both at home and from abroad.

tized five infants and one adult. The latter is the first-fruits of our mission from among the Chinese. The Lord's Supper is administered on the first Sunday of every month at my house. The present number of communicants is seventeen. Public service is held at the British consulate every Sunday, by the Rev. Mr. McClatchie, a missionary of the Church of England, Mr. Syle, and myself. A parish has been recently organized at this place, under the name of Trinity Church, Shanghai; and a rector is expected to arrive early in the next year from England. At the request of the British consul I drew up the resolutions, passed at the public meeting for organizing the parish; and I was requested to act on the committee for superintending the building of the church, and also on that for writing to England for a clergyman. The church we hope to have completed in six months. Our school continues to prosper. It numbers at present thirty-two. The Sunday services for the Chinese are sustained. Last year I translated, from the Prayer Book, the Morning Service, the Baptismal and Confirmation Offices, and the Service for the Administration of the Holy Communion. I prepared, also, a catechism for the use of candidates for baptism. I have had a correspondence with the *Prayer Book and Homily Society* of England, on the subject of a translation of the Book of Common Prayer into the Chinese language, to be used by both the missionaries of the English and American churches."

Later accounts, to the 18th of November, 1847, speak discouragingly of the health of Bishop Boone. The church mentioned by the Bishop, spacious school-buildings, and some dwellings for the missionaries, were to be erected in 1848; the British consul, R. Alcock, Esq., taking an active part in conjunction with the American Bishop. Unfortunately the Committee have no other way of raising the funds for building a church and parsonage than by selling fifty pews at 200 dollars each. The *Church Missionary Society* is to be applied to for a clergyman of the Church of England to undertake the charge.

FRANCE.—*Position of the Romish Clergy.*—The pleasant understanding which had taken place at the beginning of the French revolution between the Romish clergy and the Republic, has already ceased to exist. We noticed in our last the first symptoms of antagonism<sup>3</sup> between the democracy and the priesthood; the occasions of dissension have since become more numerous. Unpopular priests have been summarily ejected from their parishes; religious houses have been ransacked, and their inmates driven away; and numberless collisions have taken place on a variety of points between the clergy, who make the republic their plea for doing whatever they list, and the civil authorities of the republic, who consider themselves at perfect liberty to dispense both with the letter and the spirit of the law, whenever they deem that course expedient for the public weal. The tone of feeling which subsists

<sup>3</sup> See our last Number, pp. 248—252.

between the two parties may be gathered from the correspondence which has recently passed between the Bishop of Viviers and the Commissaries of the *département de l'Ardèche*, in consequence of repeated collisions which had taken place. The Commissaries wrote to the Bishop, requesting of him that he would exhort his clergy to show more devotion and confidence towards the republic. The Bishop, in his reply, after promising to act upon their suggestion, thus continues:—  
“ I venture, on the other hand, to request you, gentlemen, to consider in your wisdom, whether in the interest of that union which we have both at heart, it would not be expedient that you should give some admonitions to the *maires* of the *communes*. Among those honourable gentlemen, there are some occasionally to be found, who consider all things lawful to them, especially under the government of the republic. Among those recently appointed, I know of some who inaugurated their new functions by dismissing the functionaries of the Church, and appointing others in their places; by making violent changes in regard to the sittings of the sanctuary, although the law places these matters under the authority of the incumbent, or the Church committee. A few days ago, I received a letter from a *maire*, who requires to have at once both the incumbent and the curate changed. The two priests in question are among the most virtuous and the most conciliating of my clergy. The demand is couched in haughty and menacing terms, indicating a violent and hasty character. If this magistrate makes use of such language towards the chief pastor, what will he not do towards poor country clergymen. You must clearly perceive, gentlemen, that my exhortations to the clergy would be of no use, if the *maires* were to take it into their heads that under the republic they are absolute masters in the Church as well as in the parish. An instruction to them, recommending them not to interfere in religious matters; to show themselves, and cause others to show, respect for the ecclesiastical office; to evince in their communications with the clergy, regard, kindness, and a spirit of conciliation, would have an excellent effect, and would secure the effect of my own exhortations to the clergy.”

The state of feeling which this letter indicates, is by this time pretty general. The ostentatious participation of the clergy in the republican demonstrations has long ceased; they began themselves to be ashamed of the farce which they enacted with the trees of liberty, when they found that they had to repeat the performance times out of number; and the programme of the grand *fête* in honour of the republic, which assigned to the archbishop and the clergy of Paris their places at the tail of the procession, after a series of fantastic exhibitions and heathenish emblems, was so manifestly degrading to religion, that the archbishop signified to the government, that he and his clergy must decline to form part of the pageant.

While the clergy thus stand aloof from the republic in these matters, the republican authorities and the leaders of the democratic party are opposed to another kind of pageants which the Romish priesthood are



most anxious to set on foot. Popish processions are, according to the existing law, forbidden, except with the special licence of the civil authority, which is not to be given in places in which there is a Protestant consistory, nor in any other instance in which disorders might be apprehended in consequence. But the clergy maintain that this law is obsolete; that under the republic there must be perfect liberty of worship, of which the liberty of walking in procession is an essential part. Numerous are the contentions that have already arisen upon this point: the most recent and most serious of them is an affray which took place on Whitsunday at Toulouse, when the clergy, having the populace on their side, marched through the town in procession, with a tri-colour banner at their head, bearing the inscription, *Liberté des Cultes*. The democratic clubs became outrageous, and the two parties came to open blows in the streets; but the Popish party had the best of it, and the procession was continued after a stoppage of an hour and a half. If the clergy should carry into effect their present intention to try the question very generally throughout France, on the approaching feast of *Corpus Christi*, there is every reason to apprehend serious collisions.

Meanwhile matters of yet greater importance than local squabbles about parish priests and religious houses, and the opposition pageantry of the heathenish republic and the idolatrous Church, are being brought to an issue. The question of the maintenance of the clergy by an annual charge on the budget will be brought under discussion; and the question of ecclesiastical patronage, and especially of appointment to the episcopate, has already been raised. Two remarkable documents, bearing on both these questions, have found their way into the public prints: one a brief of Pope Pius IX. to the Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, on the ecclesiastical affairs of France; the other a letter from M. Thiers, who, from being the most violent opponent of the clergy under the old *régime*, has, under the republic, unexpectedly become their advocate and patron. As both these documents are not only important in themselves, but calculated to throw great light upon the position and prospects of Romanism in France at this moment, we shall transfer them to our pages.

*Brief of Pope Pius IX. to the Apostolic Nuncio at Paris.*—"To his venerable Brother, Raphael, Archbishop of Nicæa, Nuncio Apostolic, Pius IX., Pope, sends greeting, and his apostolic benediction.—It has been no small consolation to us to learn, from your letter to the cardinal secretary of state, that the faithful people of France have, during the recent political changes in that country, generally exhibited marks of veneration and of devotion towards our most holy religion. Nor did it afford us less pleasure to learn that the clergy themselves, mindful of their vocation and ministry, did all that lay in their power to secure tranquillity and to prevent bloodshed. As soon as we were informed of this, we could not but offer, in all humility of heart, our thanks to God for it. And, above all, it was satisfactory to us, venerable Brother, to learn from the same letter how judiciously and wisely you answered those who, in the present state of the government of that nation, wished

to raise in the public prints, for the defence of the liberty of the Church, a discussion on matters of the gravest import, which belong exclusively to the supreme authority and judgment of ourselves and this apostolic see. The fact is, that the Roman pontiffs, to whom the care and charge of all the churches is committed by God, have never ceased, according to circumstances, to protect the liberty of the Church in France, and to resist the endeavours of those who attempted to undermine this liberty in that country. Thus Pius VII., our predecessor of blessed memory, with apostolic freedom and fortitude, boldly rejected the organic articles as soon as they were published, in regard to all those things which were contrary to the doctrine and the laws of the Church; and, subsequently, both he and other our predecessors have used every diligence and exertion to promote the liberty of the Church and the spiritual welfare of that nation.

“At any rate, the canonical discipline, and the regulations respecting sacred things, now in force in the French churches, cannot be changed by any one but the Roman pontiff, since no one else has general authority over all the episcopal and metropolitan churches of the French dominions; and it can never be lawful for any one to determine any thing on subjects connected with the general discipline of the Church, or to abrogate those things which have been established with the sanction of this apostolic see.

“As regards the revenues appointed for Divine service, and for the sacred ministry, it is known to every body that this kind of endowment is but a small compensation for the vast properties of the Church, which have in former and most sad times been alienated in that country. To renounce that endowment would be to bring religion itself into great jeopardy, as it would deprive the clergy of their necessary stay and support; especially as in some towns, and in most of the smaller places in France, the poverty of the people is so great, that they are quite unable to contribute to the support of the Church and the clergy. And for this cause, several Bishops can hardly manage to maintain their clerical ‘*petits séminaires*,’ and are unable to establish additional ones as they could wish to do, as being most necessary for extending the education of their clergy and increasing their numbers. There would be reason, therefore, to apprehend that the dearth of clergy, already so sensibly felt in the French churches, would become still more pressing, to the great injury both of religion and of souls.

“It is true, that in the United States of America, the Catholic faith is, with God’s help, daily enlarging its borders; yet would it have borne far more abundant fruit if the number of the native clergy had been adequate to the numbers and the spiritual wants of the people; which, to the extent required, is impossible for want of seasonable and sufficient supplies.

“We have thought it fit to write thus much to you, venerable Brother, that you may communicate the same to whom you shall, according to your judgment, in the Lord, see fit to do so. And while we bestow on you just praise for having most ably discharged your most



difficult office, we trust that you will, with the same prudence, zeal, and judgment, continue to exhort and to admonish, especially clergymen, sincerely to consider, that the Church, as St. Innocent I., our predecessor, most wisely said, is not to be changed according to the fickleness of human things; and therefore to be extremely careful not to do, through excessive zeal, in a hasty and precipitate manner, any thing that might be injurious to the Church, and grievous to ourselves. We, emulating the illustrious example of our predecessors, shall not fail, as becometh our office of Supreme Apostolate, to adopt, according to times and circumstances, such measures as we shall deem to be most conducive, in the Lord, to the safety of the Church, and to the spiritual welfare of that nation. And we have not the least doubt that our venerable Brethren, the Bishops of France, from whom we have received so many striking proofs of their veneration and devotion towards us and this chair of St. Peter, as well as the clergy and the faithful people in that nation, who have always shown themselves to be animated by singular zeal for the Catholic religion, will with yet greater alacrity carry themselves in such a manner, that the worship and splendour of that holy religion may thereby be increased daily more and more. Lastly, receive as an earnest of our singular affection for you, our Apostolic benediction, which from our very heart we bestow upon you in perpetuity, venerable Brother.

“ Given at Rome, at St. Maria Maggiore, March 18, 1848, and in the second year of our Pontificate.”

*Letter of M. Thiers on the Ecclesiastical Affairs of France.*—This letter, addressed to “ Mr. M. de M., late deputy,” is dated “ Paris, May 2, 1848,” and runs as follows:—

“ My dear M., my opinion on your most weighty questions of the present moment is this. You are aware of the usual tenacity of my political, social, and financial opinions; you know how little taste I have for a deputy’s life; and you may therefore be well satisfied that I would not sacrifice a single one of my notions to the electoral multitude. But I am sometimes annoyed to see what silly opinions some of your friends impute to me, in reference to the clergy: it seems to me, that, after reading what I have written on the Concordat, they ought to have a little more insight into my real principles.

“ At any rate, the revolution of February would have changed many things in this respect; and could leave no doubt on points on which some doubt might have existed. I have always thought a positive religion, a worship, and a clergy necessary; and I have thought that the most ancient thing of the kind is the best, as well as the most respectable. Now that all social ideas are perverted, that we are to have in every village a phalansterian schoolmaster, I regard the parish priest as an indispensable rectifier of the ideas of the people; he will at least teach them, in the name of Christ, that suffering is necessary in all conditions of life; and that, when poor people are afflicted with fever, it is not the rich that have sent it to them.

“ Without salary, there can be no clergy. Many Catholics are

under a mistake on this point, and imagine that, by renouncing the salary, they will be emancipated from State bondage. All they will be emancipated from, is the trouble of drawing their salary; and there their freedom will end. The yoke will be an iron yoke for them as well as for us all, and they will die of starvation in a state of aggravated bondage.

"Let this be taken as a fact, that in nine-tenths of France the priests would be left to starve. Perhaps in the Vendée they might be supported; possibly, too, large proprietors might form a fund of some millions (though I much doubt it), and Heaven knows what would become of these millions!!! I have told you, my dear M., these two months—*Upon this system we should reduce France to the level of Ireland.*

"As for liberty of instruction, I am changed, not by a revolution in my principles, but by a revolution in the social state. While the University represented the good and sensible *bourgeoisie* of France, while it taught our children upon the methods of Rollin, and gave the preference to sound old classical studies over the physical and altogether materialistic studies of the promoters of professional instruction, I was, indeed, prepared to sacrifice to it the freedom of instruction. I am so no longer, and why? because nothing is in the state in which it was. The University falling into the hands of the phalansterians, professes to teach our children a little mathematics, and physical and natural science, and a great deal of demagogism; I therefore see no salvation, if there is any, except in the liberty of instruction. I do not say that it ought to be absolute, and without any guarantee to the public authority; for after all, if there was a *Carnot* system, and beyond it a *Blanqui* system of instruction, I should be glad to have it in my power to stop at least the latter! But in any event, I repeat that the instruction of the clergy which I disliked, appears to me now to be better than that which is in store for us.

"This is my way of thinking about all these matters. I am the same man I ever was; but I direct my hatred and my zealous resistance only where the enemy now is. That enemy is demagogism; and to it I will not sacrifice the last fragment of social order, that is, the Catholic establishment.

"If this had to be printed, I should work up the argument more powerfully and in better language; there will, however, be no indiscretion in communicating it privately to friends; all I object to is its being printed; for I like to be more careful of my *toilette* before I appear in public."—THIERS.

*Revolution in the French Protestant Communions.*—The two Protestant Communions of France have undergone revolutions scarcely less violent than that which has befallen the body politic; every thing is reduced to a provisional state. The news of the revolution at Paris had scarcely reached Strasburg, when a number of members of the Lutheran Communion, who had long been dissatisfied with the government of the "Central Directory of the Confession of Augsburg," met together, and

having obtained the resignation of the two remaining members of the Directory (a third being absent at the time from ill health, and two seats being vacant, one by death, the other by resignation), they appointed a Provisional Directorial Commission, for the transaction of all the current business of the Directory, and for preparing "a project of reconstitution of the Confession of Augsburg in France, upon the recognized basis of the ancient Church, that is, of the sovereignty of the general body of the faithful." The Provisional Directorial Commission so appointed, has placed itself in communication with the local Lutheran consistories throughout France, and as soon as the project is completed, will take measures for the convocation of a new general consistory, which will be the constituent assembly of the Lutheran Communion.

In the Reformed or Calvinistic Communion, the progress of revolution has been, if possible, still more rapid. A general cry for reorganization, raised almost simultaneously with the revolution, was responded to by the appointment, in eighty-six out of ninety-two "Consistorial Churches," of delegates to a constituent assembly, which met accordingly at Paris, where it held its sittings from the 10th to the 25th of May. By the admission of their own prints, the debates were of the most disorderly and, occasionally, violent character. The first difficulty arose in the verification of the powers of the delegates. As the election had been conducted without any electoral law whatever, the proof of their authority to represent their "Churches" was, in the case of many of the delegates, of the most questionable kind; but as the assembly had no rule or principle to guide it, all were admitted, even those who were accredited only by their own affirmation that they were the "natural representatives" of their "Churches." After much discussion on the mode of conducting its business, the assembly at last came to the conclusion that they were not a sufficiently constituted representation of the "reformed Churches;" and that, therefore, they ought to confine themselves to the drawing up of an electoral law, preparatory to the convocation of "a general assembly of the reformed Churches in France." The principles of this electoral law are of the most democratic kind; we have not room to enter into any details as to its provisions, or the debates which took place in its preparation. To show the character of the movement, as well as the actual condition of these "Churches," it will be sufficient to quote from the session of the 20th of May the different tests proposed for defining Church membership, and the consequent right to vote in the approaching elections. The following tests were successively proposed: "To be baptized, a communicant, and to believe that Jesus Christ is God manifest in the flesh;" negatived:—to substitute for the words "that Jesus Christ is God manifest in the flesh," the words "that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God;" negatived:—to substitute adhesion to the Apostles' Creed; negatived:—to retain only baptism and communion, without any expression of belief; negatived, on the ground that many of their Church members, nay, even of the members of their consistories, *never* receive the communion:—to rest satisfied with

baptism and the first admission to the communion; negatived, on the ground that numbers have never communicated at all:—to let baptism be the only test; negatived, on the ground that there were unbaptized Church members who ought not to be excluded:—to require that the electors should take part in “the essential acts of religion;” negatived, on the ground of its being too indefinite. The resolution ultimately agreed upon was, “that all shall have a vote who declare that they heartily belong and adhere to the reformed Church of France.” After settling the electoral law upon this wide basis, the assembly appointed a “provisional commission” to undertake “the care of all the Churches,” till the new assembly can be convoked. An attempt was made to effect a fusion between the Lutherans and the Calvinists; but it led to nothing but the unanimous adoption of a resolution in the latter assembly, to the effect that the union of the two communions, if possible, would be desirable: a proposition on which one of the speakers remarked, that “Satan alone could refuse his adhesion to it.”

GERMANY.—*New Church Constitutions.*—The King of Prussia has issued his edict for the election of deputies to a general assembly of the Protestant Church in Prussia, which is to settle “the future constitution of the Church.” On the other hand, the “friends of light” convoked a general assembly of their own, which met at Köthen (of rationalistic notoriety) on the Wednesday in Easter week, under the presidency of Uhlich of Magdeburg, when a programme, prepared by a “commission,” was adopted by a large concourse of persons, which, being too numerous to be contained within any building, had to adjourn to the open air. The programme defines the “Church” as “the congregation of Christians, animated by the spirit of Christ, which is a spirit of liberty and of love.” Positive doctrines are repudiated as inconsistent with the free development of the Church’s life. Each particular congregation is to consist of “those who keep to one and the same meeting-house.”

INDIA. DIOCESE OF CALCUTTA.—*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.*—An appeal has been issued under the sanction of the Bishop, in the name of the Calcutta Diocesan Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, by the Rev. Professor Street, the secretary, for raising the sum of 2000*l.* annually, to defray the expenses of the missions connected with the Society in the diocese of Calcutta. Besides the claims which the Society has, on the ground of its end and aim being the glory of God in the extension of the knowledge of His salvation, the Professor urges that it is the most ancient Society of our Church for directly missionary purposes, and that it has been its constant rule and endeavour to hold fast the fellowship and doctrine of the Apostles, by conducting its operations in direct connexion with the whole body of Bishops. In enumerating its special claims on the diocese of Calcutta, the appeal instances the establish-

ment of Bishop's College, and of the missions connected with it; the erection of churches and maintenance of missions; and the endowment of a canonry in the cathedral of Calcutta.

*Bishop's College, Calcutta.*—There are at present twenty-three students resident within the college; of whom seventeen, intending to devote themselves to the ministry of the Gospel, are maintained at the Society's sole cost. The following are the missions in connexion with Bishop's College:—1. Tallygunge; 2. Howrah; 3. Barripûr; 4. Mogra Hât; 5. Tamlook; 6. Cawnpore; 7. Saugor (to the Gonds of Central India); 8. the Rev. K. M. Banerjea's Schools in Calcutta; 9. the Calcutta Hindustani Mission. In these missions there are at present employed twelve missionaries and five catechists, besides numerous native Christians engaged as schoolmasters and readers. In the three first-named missions, Christian Orphan Schools are maintained on the mission premises; and at Cawnpore the Asylum for Native Female Orphans has, from the first, been the nucleus of the mission.

*DIOCESE OF MADRAS.—Native Clergy.—Schools.*—A letter addressed by Archdeacon Shortland to the *Madras Christian Intelligencer* gives the following pleasing account of the mission at Secunderabad, under the charge of a native clergyman, the Rev. N. Parenjody:—"The schools of the mission, Tamil and Telugoo, are scattered over the station of Secunderabad, and extend to Bolarum, and the residency at Hyderabad. Their instruction is, at present, exclusively religious; children of all classes and castes, Mahomedan as well as Hindoo, read and are examined and catechized in the Holy Scriptures.

"These schools were formed, and have been brought to their present state, by the unassisted labour of a native clergyman; the very funds by which they are supported, and by which the school-rooms also were built, having been entirely raised by him on the spot, without the smallest grant from the Diocesan Committee. He is anxious to establish a Hindoostanee school, which is one of the principal languages spoken in the Nizam's country, but does not possess funds for this purpose."

*ITALY.—Critical State of Church Affairs*<sup>4</sup>.—The Jesuits have been expelled from the whole of the Italian territories. The Pope has issued a circular to the Archbishops, Bishops, and others charged with the supervision of religious publications, laying down rules for the exercise of a canonical censorship over religious books, rendered necessary by the provisions of the recent Constitution, by which the freedom of the press, with the reservation of religious publications, is established. A concordat has been concluded with Tuscany, adapted to the new state of things in Italy.

<sup>4</sup> The great press of intelligence, at this moment, from every quarter, does not permit us to enter into further details. The most important part of the intelligence from Italy will be found embodied in Article I. of the present Number, entitled "The Papacy and the Revolution," to which we refer our readers for the completion of this department of our intelligence.

**JERUSALEM.**—*A Mahomedan preaching to Christian Bishops.*—Mustapha Sheriff, the Pacha of Jerusalem, convened the Latin, Greek, and Armenian Patriarchs, with their respective staff of clergy, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the 15th of March, when he harangued them in the Turkish language, inculcating peace, concord, and harmony, in order to set a good example to the people; and concluded by saying, that they ought to do this for the love of Jesus Christ, before whose sepulchre they were. Peace was made, and the Latin Patriarch said to the Pacha, "I congratulate myself that your Excellency being at Jerusalem, to administer justice, you made yourself the conciliator of peace between Christians—an office of the greatest honour and highest glory."

**MAURITIUS.**—*State of the Mission.*—The *Colonial Church Chronicle* contains an extract from the letter of a naval officer, giving an account of this mission, from which we abridge the following:—"There are but four clergymen in the island, including the military chaplain. The population is a mixture of French, English, Coolies from Bengal, and Creoles, which last are the native inhabitants; they amount altogether to about 160,000, of which there may be about 2000 belonging to the Church of England, exclusive of the soldiers. There is one church in the town of Port Louis, which was formerly a powder-magazine: this is served by one of the colonial chaplains. Another church has been built by subscription, at the west end of the island, where it is much wanted. This is served by the second colonial chaplain, who lives at Port Louis, about twenty-five miles from it. There is another church in progress at Moka, a district which includes the governor's country-house, and near the houses of several of the principal merchants. There is no prospect of any clergyman at present for this. There is a military station at Mahèbourg, about thirty-two miles from Port Louis: the military chaplain going over there once a month from Port Louis, on a Sunday, to do the duty. There was some mention of a subscription being raised for a church at this place. Much might be done at the Mauritius, if there were a sufficient number of missionaries, with the Coolies, of whom there are upwards of 50,000, employed in the sugar plantations. After remaining a few years on the island, they go back to Bengal, as soon as they have earned a certain sum of money. They lose caste on leaving their own country; so that this obstacle, the great one in India, is obviated in their case. There is a Roman Catholic Bishop at the Mauritius, a Jesuit, a young and most polished man; he is an Irishman. The Romanists there subscribe to our churches."

**NEW BRUNSWICK.**—*State of the Diocese.*—We extract the following from a statement published by the Bishop of Fredericton, during his short visit to this country, respecting the condition and wants of his diocese:—"There are several entire counties without a single clergyman. One of my clergy has a district of 120 miles to travel over, with 2 churches; another has 90 miles, with 3 churches. Two others have three services on Sunday, and each travels 25 miles. Opposite



to these clergymen is a settled district of 80 miles without a pastor of our Church. Several have four churches to serve. These journeys must be performed in all weathers, of the coldest as well as the hottest kind; for the extreme range of our thermometer varies from  $100^{\circ}$  in summer to  $25^{\circ}$  and occasionally even  $30^{\circ}$  below zero in winter.

"The income of our Church Society (established by the Archdeacon of the province twelve years since) amounts to about 1000*l.* It is a Bible, Missionary, Prayer Book and Homily, Church and Parsonage-building, and Religious Tract Society, all in one. It made the following grants at its annual meeting in February, 1848:—Towards the support of missionaries, 500*l.*; for gratuitous distribution of books, 200*l.*; for books on sale, 300*l.*; in aid of churches to be built, 150*l.*; in aid of parsonage-houses, 100*l.*; and to a fund for widows and orphans of the clergy, and similar purposes, 100*l.* By means of the grants to missions, 27 churches and stations were served during the past year, which would otherwise never have been occupied."

**NEW ZEALAND.**—*Supply of Clergy educated in the Diocese.*—A letter addressed by the Lord Bishop of New Zealand to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, dated December 17, 1847, contains the following interesting particulars:—

"We have lately received a large accession to our clerical body by the ordination of three collegiate deacons, all of whom are in connexion with the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. The ordination of the collegiate deacons was a most interesting occasion. Our Native and English schools sat in front of the communion table, and conducted the singing. The whole church (St. Paul's, Auckland,) was crowded with a most attentive congregation. Thirteen clergymen, including the five who were ordained, partook of the Holy Communion. The college is now beginning to discharge its duty of ministering to the neighbourhood. In a new colony the proportion of sick and aged persons is very small, and therefore the Sunday ministrations form a larger share of the whole duty of a clergyman than they do in England. This is peculiarly favourable for the working of a collegiate system, where the college duties occupy the greater part of the week, and the Sunday is devoted to the care of the college chapelries. Each of these districts now visited from the college will be formed gradually, I hope, into a separate parish, and will be fully organized, with a resident clergyman, when the deacon now in charge is admitted to the priesthood. This is the plan which is now in progress at Auckland, but I fear the same process cannot be carried on at the other settlements until colleges on a similar plan can be formed in them."

*Close combination of Education with the Clerical Office.*—The *New Zealand Church Almanack* for 1848, contains many admirable regulations for the government of the diocese, among them the following on the subject of education:—

"The deacons are allowed to take private pupils, to be educated during the hours not occupied in the school. The archdeacons and

senior clergy, upon recommendation of the deacons, are at liberty to recommend scholars from the parochial schools, to be received by the deacons into their class of private pupils, from which the candidates for scholarships at the diocesan colleges will be selected by the Bishop or examiners appointed by him. It is hoped, that the direct way to the ministry of the Church will thus be opened to every young man of piety and worth, in whatever rank of life he may have been born.

“The great importance of the diocesan system of education, in its bearing upon all the highest interests of the country, requires that it should be clearly understood from the first, that no deacon can be admitted to the order of the priesthood, whatever may be his qualifications, who shall have neglected the schools committed to his charge. For the same reason, the surest way by which a candidate for holy orders can recommend himself to the notice of the Bishop will be, by diligence and skill in the management of a school. No permanent distinction will be drawn between the offices of clergyman and schoolmaster. Every clergyman must be also a schoolmaster, and it is the object of the diocesan system to provide, that every schoolmaster shall become a clergyman. The great point to be kept steadily in view is, to sanctify the work of teaching, by connecting it, in act or in hope, with the ministry of the Church of Christ.”

*State of the Population on Stewart's Island.*—In a letter addressed by Captain Brown from New London to a Sandwich Island paper, the following gratifying account is given of the state in which he found the population on Stewart's Island:—

“The natives of New Zealand who reside on Stewart's Island are fast becoming Christianized. They are very strict in their observance of the Sabbath. They will not even go into their gardens to get a potato to broil on the Sabbath, but always prepare enough on Saturday to last until Monday, and if they fall short go without. All the white residents here were formerly sailors, sealmen and whalers. There are no rum shops. I must acknowledge that many of them in behaviour are far superior to the majority of people in any other part I ever visited; they seemed to be much pleased with our religious meetings, always attending whenever the weather would permit, coming sometimes ten miles. I distributed all the religious books I had, among them, which they seemed to be eager for; and a large number of tracts. They felt much the want of Bibles, and I was very sorry we had no more to part with.”

*NOVA SCOTIA.—Annual General Meeting of the Diocesan Church Society.*—On Wednesday, the 15th of March last, the annual meeting of the Diocesan Church Society of Nova Scotia was held at Halifax. His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Harvey, in the chair.

His Excellency, in his opening remarks, urged “upon all, who professed themselves members of the Church of England throughout the province, the necessity of solemnly pledging themselves, with every



adult member of their families, to the annual contribution towards its support, of some specific sum, however inconsiderable in amount, to be paid with undeviating punctuality, at such period as may best suit the convenience of each, but under no circumstances other than those of extreme distress to be withheld. The Governor observed, in support of this proposition, that the Church of their affections would ere long have to rest its sole dependence upon such voluntary contributions; and as their amount would be self-imposed, it would be open alike to rich and to poor, to evince the sincerity of their desire to sustain the glorious fabric of their faith, and even to transmit it in a more strengthened, embellished, and improved state to their descendants."

In the report, the whole amount of contributions for the year was announced to be 534*l.* 18*s.* 4½*d.*, not including the contributions in Halifax, which this year were postponed till after the meeting. The increase on country contributions was 70*l.* The Lord Bishop in the course of his address to the meeting stated, that there were 111 churches now in Nova Scotia, only two of which were in existence within his recollection. Among the resolutions, the following two were the most important:—

"That while we rejoice in the success which has attended the labours of our first visiting missionaries, and desire to express our gratitude to God, we trust it will serve as an effective call for the increased exertions of the Church throughout the province to send forth more labourers into the harvest.

"That as the Church must mainly depend for labourers in the Lord's Vineyard upon the supply to be derived from the college at Windsor, this meeting hails with gratitude the munificent offers of the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, to which we are already so largely indebted, in so liberally responding to the call of the Right Rev. the Visitor addressed to them on behalf of the institution, and calls upon the members of the Church at large to give their liberal aid to the exertions now making by them, the Bishop, and the incorporated Alumni on its behalf."

**POLYNESIA.**—*Abandonment of the Romish Mission in New Caledonia.*—The Roman Catholic mission in New Caledonia was abandoned on the 20th of July last. The Bishop of Antiphille, a priest and four others, were received on board the French corvette "La Brillante," off Poeto. In escaping from the attack of the savages at Balade, they left behind them one of their number, Brother Blaire.

**SEYCHELLES ISLANDS.**—*Statistics of the Mission.*—A letter from the missionary of the Seychelles Islands, the Rev. F. G. Delafontaine, to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, gives the following topographical account of his mission. The group of the Seychelles consists of more than ten islands, the population of which is as follows:—

Mahé, the principal island of the group	..	..	5000 inhabitants.
La Digne	..	.. 21 miles from Mahé	350 „
Praslin	..	.. 21 „	250 „
Silhouette	..	.. 15 „	200 „
Curieuse (a lazaretto for lepers)	24	„	80 „
Frégate	..	.. 30 „	25 „
Other small islands	..	.. ..	55 „
Total .. ..			5960

Mahé is about thirty miles in length, and from three to eight in breadth, the whole island being a mountain, the highest summit of which is 3000 feet above the level of the sea. One may visit the different districts of the island either by crossing over the mountain by the worst paths you can imagine, or by sea in small piroques.

“It is impossible,” says the missionary, “for me to extend my regular labours beyond the town of Victoria and its immediate neighbourhood; and I have found by experience that rare and irregular visits to the other parts of the Archipelago are of no avail. Besides, our population will not come spontaneously under religious instruction: they must be sought for, and this I cannot do alone.” The necessity of some further provision is self-evident.

**TURKEY.**—*American Episcopal Mission at Constantinople.*—Bishop Southgate has been engaged in preparing a treatise on the Anglo-American Church, which he proposes to publish in Armenian, Greek, and Arabic. His object is to exhibit her in her true colours to the Eastern; accordingly he sets forth (1) the antiquity of the Anglican Church as a proof, in part, of its being a true branch of the Church Catholic; (2) its relation to Rome; (3) its relation to the various Protestant denominations. The following are abridged extracts from the Bishop's report to the General Convention, of the two first years of his mission.

“Immediately upon my arrival I presented to the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs, translations, in Greek and Armenian, of the letters commendatory from our venerable Presiding Bishop. By both these patriarchs I was received with unmingled respect and cordiality, and the character of our intercourse up to this time has been the same. The letter to the Greek Patriarch was laid before the Episcopal Synod, and I presented, at his Holiness's request, a copy of our Prayer Book, in Greek, for his better information concerning our Church. Another copy of the Presiding Bishop's letter was sent, in Arabic translation, to the Syrian Patriarch in Mesopotamia, with a communication from myself. I received, in due time, his friendly salutation. My intercourse with these three Patriarchs has been uninterrupted, and within the last year it has been extended to the Nestorian or Syro-Chaldean Patriarch, who has received, with great kindness and confidence, the presbyter whom I have sent into that country. Two of the patriarchs

to whom I first addressed myself, the Greek and the Syrian, have since died. The same relations are now maintained with their successors.

“ Besides the Patriarchs, I am in relation with a large number of bishops, clergy, and principal laymen of the Oriental Churches, solely with reference to the welfare and improvement of their respective Churches. I have been freely consulted in their plans of usefulness, have offered suggestions, and aided them in such ways as seemed to promise the greatest utility. My suggestions have often been adopted.

“ A considerable number of Armenians have been connected with our mission; and it was important that, in a time of great agitation of doctrinal and ecclesiastical questions, they should not be compelled to accede to more than the Church of Christ, in the best and purest ages, has prescribed for Christian communion. I have been happy in securing such terms for them, and in receiving the assurance of the Armenian Patriarch that his own views of official duty would not warrant him in prescribing any others. His Holiness has further assured me of his readiness to receive all upon the same Catholic terms, and has, through my instrumentality, admitted many who were alienated, and allowed many to remain who were not yet removed.

“ It is a matter of great moment, in the present divided state of opinion in the Armenian Church, that its limits, in a word, should not be defined so as to exclude those who admit the rule of our own Reformation. There are many now in the Armenian communion, who, while sound and faithful Churchmen, are zealous to see the work of the Lord advancing among their countrymen. These men are clustering more and more around this mission, receiving their influences from it, and looking to it as presenting, in the Church which it represents, the best standard of a primitive faith and practice. These men will increase; and already, I trust, they are too numerous and too influential to allow terms less pure than those which we have lately secured to be enforced in time to come. The position which we, as a Church, have assumed here, seems to be the only means of saving the Eastern Churches from rationalism and infidelity on the one hand, or a degrading superstition on the other.

“ One of our first cares was to provide a mission chapel, which was set apart for religious uses by a special form. Here we have had the daily services of the Church, and weekly communion, during a great part of the two years which have elapsed since my arrival. The service on Sunday evenings has ordinarily been in Turkish, and there has been preaching in that language when natives were present. The number of Oriental Christians who have attended at different times has been considerable, but we have never aimed to compose a formal congregation of them. This I do not think expedient, especially in the present excited state of the Oriental mind; and I doubt whether it would be consistent with the principles upon which the mission is based. I have always welcomed with gladness the presence of my Oriental brethren, and I shall never fail to speak to them a word in

season when they come. I have also, in a few instances, administered to them the Holy Sacrament, when they have presented themselves for it, and when I have known them to be in full communion in their own Churches, and worthy to be received in any Church on earth. This I have done upon the broad ground of Christian brotherhood.

"We have aided very largely Oriental schools. I have thought it best, instead of attempting the establishment of schools ourselves, to assist those of our native brethren. I have provided teachers in two instances, and supplied text-books, maps, and other articles. Some have been bestowed here, and some sent into the interior. I have given particular attention to the introduction of text-books in English for instruction in that language. Two of the pupils whom I have promised to take into our seminary, are two who have shown themselves the most advanced in native schools, where their instruction has come wholly from our benefactions. Not less, probably, than 1000 pupils have been so aided; and all, or nearly all, the text-books in English have been of a sound religious character, obtained from the Christian Knowledge Society of England.

"I have also engaged largely in the distribution of books. I have sent into the interior large numbers of Prayer Books, in Arabic and Turkish, religious tracts, and other works. Copies of the Scriptures, our own publications, tracts in English from the Protestant Episcopal Tract Society, and Prayer Books in various languages, have been sold or distributed here; many of these have also finally gone into the interior. I suppose that not far from 2000 copies have been distributed and sold within the last two years. The Prayer Books especially, in five or six different languages, have been valuable for this purpose, both as showing the character of our own Church, and giving, at the same time, the purest and most valuable religious instruction. I have received from one Patriarch the authority to translate into the modern language, for the use of his people, the Holy Scriptures, but I fear we are not yet ready for so great a work.

"The translations which we have accomplished within the last two years have been the following:—1. The Sermon of Bishop Seabury on Christian Unity, into Armenian. 2. A Treatise on the Anglican Branch of the Church of Christ, including the English, Scottish Episcopal, and American Episcopal Churches, by myself, into Armenian. 3. The same, into Arabic. 4. The Succession of the Church of England, the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, into Arabic. 5. The American Communion Service, into Greek. 6. The same, into Armenian. 7. The Prayer Book of the Church of England, into Armenian. Of these the Sermon of Bishop Seabury, and the Prayer Book, in Armenian, have been published; the former 500, the latter 1000 copies. The Treatise on the Church, in Armenian, is about going to press. The Prayer Book has been our great work in this department. It has been printed at an Armenian press, by permission of the Patriarch. This is a sufficient answer to the objection, that we do not appear in

our real character in the East. Wherever we go, we go with the Prayer Book in our hand. Another publication has been the *Psalm* in Syriac, issued by the Bishop of the Syrian Church at Jerusalem, who has been for several years the representative of his Church in this city; and is now, by succession to the late Patriarch, the incumbent of the Syrian see at Antioch. He has aided us materially in our work, so far as his own Church was concerned, and has been in constant friendly intercourse with us up to the time of his recent departure for Mesopotamia. One-half of the edition was sent by a special messenger, to be circulated among the ancient Syrian Christians of Hindostan.

**UNITED STATES.**—*Comparative Statistics of the American Church.*—The following table, taken from the statistical returns made to the General Conventions, will show the progress which the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States has made during the last twelve years:—

Returns made to the Convention of 1838.			1841.		1847.	
	Number of Dioceses.	Returns.	Number of Dioceses.	Returns.	Number of Dioceses.	Returns.
Clergy . . . . .	19 ..	763	25 ..	1,052	28 ..	1,404
Baptisms { Adults . . . . .	11 ..	2,021	14 ..	4,729	21 ..	4,408
{ Infants . . . . .	11 ..	10,371	14 ..	22,496	21 ..	23,661
{ Not specified . . . . .	9 ..	9,457	9 ..	7,340	7 ..	5,013
Communicants added . . . . .	6 ..	2,136	9 ..	3,678	11 ..	5,128
Total of Communicants . . . . .	19 ..	30,416	25 ..	55,427	27 ..	67,508
Marriages . . . . .	11 ..	5,416	17 ..	8,604	19 ..	6,228
Burials . . . . .	11 ..	8,774	14 ..	14,961	19 ..	12,014
Sunday School Pupils . . . . .	11 ..	28,661	10 ..	32,265	18 ..	30,437
Sunday School Teachers . . . . .	11 ..	3,050	11 ..	3,974	16 ..	5,279
Clergy Deceased . . . . .	8 ..	22	11 ..	28	15 ..	34

*Relative increase of Churchmen and Dissenters.*—From a comparative table of the places of worship belonging to the different denominations of Christians in New York, and of their increase during the last twenty years, it appears that the Church has increased in the largest ratio, having more than doubled within the period named, and now numbering forty-two places of worship.

*New Jersey, St. Mary's Hall.*—An institution "for female education on Christian principles," has been founded in New Jersey by Bishop Doane, under the name of St. Mary's Hall. It was first opened in 1837; it now numbers upwards of 130 pupils; and a chapel was consecrated last year. The course of instruction includes a primary department, into which applicants are at once received; a junior, middle, and senior class, into which they are successively admitted, as their attainments enable them to sustain an examination in the peculiar studies of each class. The subjects for the senior class are thus enumerated:—Elocution; Grammar, including analysis of English Poetry; Rhetoric; Logic; Algebra; Trigonometry; Astronomy, and Astronomical Geography, with the use of the Globes; Chemistry; Natural Philosophy; Christian Morals; General History; Exercises in Composition; Sacred Music. Instruction in Latin, Greek, French, Spanish,

Italian, German, Drawing, Painting, on the Harp, Piano, or Guitar, and in Singing, at the discretion of the rector. Pupils who have passed the senior class, and received a testimonial to that effect, are allowed, if they desire it, to remain in the hall, and be subject to its discipline, and to continue their studies.

*Missionary Diocese of Wisconsin.*—From the report of this diocese to the last General Convention, it appears that the Nashotah mission has an important bearing on the character and increase of the Church in Wisconsin; seven of the missionaries who are labouring in this territory having received their education there. There are thirty students, all of whom are looking forward to the ministry of the Church, and five of them are candidates for holy orders.

The Scandinavian station is spoken of as in a high state of spiritual prosperity; it is occupied by immigrants from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, who in 1843 were at their request incorporated into the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. In the Oneida mission there are out of 800 persons under the charge of the missionary 169 communicants. The Oneida Indians have erected a neat Gothic church, called Hobart Church, the first Protestant Episcopal Church in the territory of Wisconsin. The diocese contains 22 clergymen, 25 parishes, 2744 persons enrolled in the registers, 969 communicants, and 407 children under catechetical instruction; 1123 adults and infants have been baptized, and 393 persons confirmed.

*The Theological Institution at Nashotah.*—A later account, given by the *John Bull*, contains the following additional particulars:—Since the ordination of the six in June last, twelve additional divinity students have been received into the institution; two from Philadelphia, four from New York, one from Boston, one from Maryland, two from Ohio, one from Mississippi. Two are Swedes, one is a Dane, one a Norwegian, four English, and one Irish; one a converted Israelite from St. Croix; and three Oneida Indians. It is in contemplation to receive three or six native Chinese, to educate for the China mission. In connexion with the institution a parish school has been established, in which forty children from the surrounding country are taught by the pupils of the institution. This is the first parish school west of the Lakes. A handsome church is about to be erected for this new parish, to be dedicated to St. Mark.

*Slavery Law in Virginia.*—The *Toronto Church* newspaper brings under public notice and reprobation the following fact, illustrative of the state of the law in the slave states of the American republic:—

In August last, Martha Christian was tried before the Court of Common Pleas, Wood County, Virginia, for a crime, the nature of which may be best described in the words of the indictment. “WOOD COUNTY, TO WIT.—The grand jurors empanelled and sworn to inquire of offences committed in the body of said county on their oath present: That Martha Christian, late of said county, being an evil-disposed person, on the fourth day of July, in the year of our blessed Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, at Righteous Ridge, in said county, not

having the fear of God before her eyes, but moved and instigated by the devil, wickedly, maliciously, and feloniously, did teach a certain black and negro woman, named Rebecca, alias Black Beck, to read in the Bible, to the great displeasure of Almighty God, to the pernicious example of others in like case offending, contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the commonwealth of Virginia."

Upon this indictment Martha Christian was tried, and having been found guilty of aiding and abetting Satan to propagate the Gospel, she was adjudged to suffer ten years' imprisonment in the penitentiary! The judge, in passing sentence, commented upon the enormity of the convict's offence, and the great lenity and favour which had been exercised towards her. The *Church* animadverts on this transaction in terms of great but merited severity.

**WEST INDIES.**—*State of the Church at St. Croix.*—St. Croix being a Danish island, the Lutheran is the established faith; but it is professed only by a small portion of the people. The remainder are Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, and Moravians. The former are the most numerous, amounting to about 8000 persons, or more than a third of the whole population. These are divided into two parishes. St. Paul's numbers 3000 persons, white and coloured, and about 500 communicants. It has a handsome and commodious church, a large Sunday school-house for the accommodation of 400 or 500 scholars, a hospital for the sick and indigent of the parish, and a comfortable parsonage. The other parish (St. John's) comprises the eastern part of the island; it numbers 5000, the communicants more than 1000. A large Sunday school-house has just been erected, capable of accommodating 1000 or 1200 scholars. The Danish government will not suffer more than these two parishes; the incumbents of both belong to the American Church.



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# THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

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SEPTEMBER, 1848.

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ART. I.—*The Protestant Reformation in France ; or, The History of the Hugonots, by the Author of "Father Darcy," "Emilia Wyndham," "Old Men's Tales," &c.* 2 vols. Bentley. 1847.

*The History of the Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, by LEOPOLD RANKE. Translated from the German by WALTER KEATING KELLY, Esq., B. A., of Trinity College, Dublin.* 1 vol. Whittaker & Co.

THE sixteenth century may be considered as the opening of modern improvement in religion, government, and civilization ; three hundred years ago, the great states of the world presented a very different picture from what we see at present ; but the seed sown by the invention of printing, and the diffusion of knowledge, was even then beginning to show itself as a vigorous plant, from which future centuries were to reap the maturer fruits. Our object in considering the works before us, is to examine the state of religion in France at the period, and, from a short view of the prominent characters, to inquire into the reasons why France rejected those truths, which England and other nations eagerly received.

During the middle and end of the sixteenth century, the two greatest countries of the world were governed by women,—England by Queen Elizabeth, and France by Catherine de Medicis ; their reigns commenced about the same period, if we date Catherine's accession from the death of her husband Henry II. in 1559, and consider her as the real ruler of the kingdom during the lives of her unfortunate sons, Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III. The history before us includes only the reigns of the two former of these princes, from 1559 to 1574, a period when events were crowded into a space almost incredibly small ; a violent persecution, three civil wars, several sieges, murders of the chiefs on both sides, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, succeeded each other with frightful rapidity. France became the arena on which the world's great contending parties tried their strength, liberty of conscience struggled for existence against papal tyranny and the superstition of ages, and

the Hugonots, after severe trials and several victories, were at last driven from the field.

In examining the characters presented to our view, the first which deserves our attention is Catherine herself: with as much ambition as Elizabeth, and with the same desire of personal authority, she fell far short of her great contemporary in the art of acquiring and retaining power. Elizabeth had a certain object; she was determined to advance the Reformation, and to improve England, and by both these means to increase her own power; she chose her instruments judiciously, and as long as her ministers served her purpose, she never betrayed them or consulted their opponents. Catherine, however, was exactly the reverse; she had no fixed principle, and no definite object; "divide and govern" was her motto; she was like the man in the Gospel, out of whom the evil spirit was departed, "empty, swept, and garnished," and so, ever ready for the occupancy of any power of evil, who should seize upon the first possession. Her love of pleasure was unbounded; she invented side-saddles, to enable her to accompany her husband in hunting; she delighted in tournaments, processions, masquerades, and all the gaieties of a dissipated court. Her young ladies, about two hundred in number, called "the queen's daughters," added much to the splendour of her train, and were a special object of her care: she attended to their education, chastised them if they displeased her, and was extremely strict in repressing scandalous conversation or writings. She considered herself a warrior as well as a queen; she attended several sieges, and loved to see a battle: when the English reinforcements were allowed to enter Rouen, she got into a violent passion, and swore at the French officers, saying, that had she been in command it should not have happened; and that she had the courage, if not the strength of a man. Though a good French woman (says Brantôme) she discouraged duelling. (Brantôme has written largely on duels, and is one of the best authorities on the subject). "For," he adds, "when one of my cousins challenged an officer, she sent him to the Bastile; and suspecting that I was engaged as his second, she sent for me and reprimanded me severely, saying, that whatever excuse might be made for the folly of a young man, there was none for me, as being older I ought to have been wiser." But with all her physical courage, she was evidently deficient in moral courage; and for her cruelty she had not even the pretext of religious enthusiasm: after the battle of Dreux, when the Hugonots were supposed to have gained a victory, her only remark was, "Then for the future we must say our prayers in French."

The predominant party was of course Roman Catholic; these,

represented by the Constable de Montmorenci, the Duke of Guise, and the Maréchal de St. André, who are known as the triumvirate, held possession of Paris and the king's person. As Catherine disliked all authority except her own, she feared and hated these nobles; to check their power she encouraged the Hugonots, at the head of whom were Anthony, king of Navarre, the father of Henry IV., his brother the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral Coligny. These generally seemed Catherine's favourites, except when they were in arms against the king, yet this was the party afterwards massacred by her orders. In order therefore to gain a true view of the times, we must consider Catherine as vacillating in her intentions, the creature of those around her, always wishing to advance her own power, but never hesitating to take the advice of the most depraved religionist who should promise her her object, even by the most unworthy means. Let us recollect that the Roman Catholic Church had not been idle in its opposition to Luther; a vast and irresponsible power had now been created, ready to espouse the cause of Rome, and bound to advance the spiritual empire of the Church by every art, whether lawful or unlawful. Ignatius Loyola had received the sanction of the Pope for the incorporation of the Jesuits in 1543. Now the secret influence of their crafty policy, in which the end sanctifies the means, and all things expedient are considered lawful, had already begun to exert its influence upon the councils of nations. The Cardinal of Lorraine, brother to the Duke of Guise, had returned from the Council of Trent with a full determination to uphold Catholicism; the duke was the first warrior of his day, and though so ignorant that he swore a New Testament could be worth nothing because it was only a year printed, and our Lord died 1500 years ago, yet, as he said himself, he understood the trade of chopping off heads, and that was enough to give him the greatest influence in a barbarous age.

With these men, the near relations of Francis II. and his beautiful bride (the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots), nothing was more easy than to obtain the ascendant over a weak-minded and delicate boy of thirteen. Francis had attained his legal majority at that age when some children are almost too young for a public school. The duke's habits of business were such, that he seldom commanded his officers to do what could be done by himself; he was in the habit of examining the enemy's fortifications with his own eyes, attending to the most minute details, and then sitting up during the whole night to write his own despatches: one of his officers inquiring for him at the siege of Thronville, was told that he was writing; he replied by cursing his writings, and added, "What a pity he was not brought up to



be a clerk!" "Well, Montluc," said the duke, overhearing him, "do you think I am the right stuff to make a clerk?" and then, coming out of his tent, he gave his orders with his customary decision and authority. He was killed by Poltrot, an assassin, at the siege of Orleans, in 1563. While the Duke of Guise was the pope's temporal agent, his brother the cardinal was no less useful in spiritual matters: like his brother, he had great talents for business, and was besides an excellent courtier and a fluent speaker. He spared no expense to have the earliest intelligence from all parts of Christendom; and thus, by his paid agents, he enacted the part which Eugène Sue attributes to the superior of the Jesuits: he organized a sort of spiritual police, who could inform him of the secret intentions, as well as the actions of men; and of course, as a cardinal, he was bound to wield this power in the service of the pope. Though learned, eloquent, and polite, the cardinal was essentially vicious; he was a persecuting bigot without the excuse of religious zeal. A Roman Catholic writer tells us, that he used his religion chiefly as a means to build up his greatness: he often spoke highly of the confession of Augsburg, and at times almost preached it to please the Germans: his own party accused him of extreme haughtiness in prosperity; and when he once spoke more graciously than usual to some of the young ladies of the court, one of them replied, flippantly enough, but with some truth, "Pray, Monsieur le Cardinal, what reverse of fortune has befallen you that you condescend to speak to us?"

The cardinal, though outwardly a strict member of the Church of Rome, was equally anxious for the independence of the French Church. At the Council of Trent (says Ranké<sup>1</sup>) he demanded the cup for the laity, the administration of the Sacraments in the vulgar tongue, the accompaniment of the mass with instruction and preaching, and permission to sing psalms in French in full congregation; besides, in conjunction with the other French bishops, he maintained the authority of a council as above the pope. In these matters, however, he was over-ruled; the Spaniards did not concur in his demands, and the Italian bishops gave the pope an overwhelming preponderance. Lorraine seems to have considered himself bound by the decision of the council, and was all his life a most unrelenting persecutor. Two years before, he had revived a confession of faith which had been used in the reign of Francis I.; he induced the king to issue an order that any person who should refuse to sign it should be deprived of all offices, and burnt alive without further trial. He also added a declaration, that all persons who should sign the confession should

<sup>1</sup> Page 85.

solemnly engage to pursue all recusants as public criminals, without regard to their nearest relations. The chancellor was bound to require the signature of the officers of state ; the bishops were to present it to the inferior clergy ; the curés were obliged to carry it from house to house ; and the Queens were enjoined to require the signatures of their respective households. This scheme the cardinal called his rat-trap. Supported by his rank, his connexions, his brother's authority, and his own secret intelligence, we can easily imagine how dangerous an opponent the cardinal must have been to the Hugonots, and how powerful a rivalry he must have presented to the views and ambition of Catherine de Medicis.

The colleagues of the Duke of Guise in the triumvirate were Montmorenci, generally known as the Constable, and the Maréchal St. André. The former, like the duke, was a warrior, with little idea of religion. He was scrupulously exact in saying his prayers ; but, like those of William of Deloraine, they seem to have partaken of the nature of a border foray. His soldiers used to say, "The Lord deliver us from the pater-nosters of Monsieur le Connétable !" He would turn about between his beads, and say, "Hang such a one for disobedience !" "Burn three villages on yonder hill !" "Let another be run through the pikes !" He was inferior to the Duke of Guise in talent ; but by a gravity of manner, and a certain degree of reserve, he could often, like Solomon's fool, pass for a wise man by holding his tongue. He was killed at the age of seventy-nine, at the battle of St. Denys, where he commanded the king's army ; after several successful charges, his squadron of cavalry was routed by the Prince de Condé, and having received several wounds, he was retiring from the field, when a Scottish adventurer, Robert Stewart, levelled his piece, and Montmorenci exclaimed, "I am the constable !" "Therefore," said Stewart, "I present you with this." Though severely wounded, the courageous old man dashed the broken hilt of his sword into the face of his adversary with so much force that he broke several of his teeth, and felled him to the ground. The constable's wound proved mortal ; a priest was sent for, but the old man told him not to molest him, as it would be a vile and unworthy thing if he had lived for nearly eighty years without learning to die for half an hour. This anecdote proves that zeal for a cause, loyalty to a king, and the desire of military glory, were his ruling principles, rather than any preference of his own religion above Protestantism, or any mistaken zeal in thinking that he was doing God service by the extirpation of heresy.

The constable and the Duke of Guise had long been jealous of each other ; each thought himself entitled to be prime minister,



and each looked upon the other as a dangerous rival. After the death of Francis II., the Maréchal de St. André undertook to reconcile these differences, and seems to have been admitted to the triumvirate as a sort of mediator between the two contending parties. At Easter, 1561, the constable and the duke, by St. André's advice, partook together of the sacrament, and dined at the same table. St. André did not long survive his union with these great men, as he was killed the next year at the battle of Dreux: he seems to have had a presentiment of his approaching end; on the morning of the battle, he came to the tent of the Duke of Guise much dejected, and seeing the duke's confessor going out, he said, "that the duke was much happier than himself in having heard mass that day, as a preparation for what might occur." He hated Catherine de Medicis, and said on one occasion, that the best thing he could do for France would be to throw her into the sea in a sack; and he might probably have fulfilled his purpose, had it not been for the opposition of the Duke of Guise.

The Chancellor de L'Hôpital was the man of the highest principle and most liberal views among the Roman Catholic party. Brantôme calls him the Cato of his age, and compares him with Sir Thomas More. He upheld the divine right of kings in its strongest sense, yet made more advances towards toleration and liberty of conscience than any of his fellow ministers; but the sentiments of a single individual, however noble and enlightened, were easily overborne by a host of persecuting courtiers; and the pope offered Charles 100,000 crowns of Church property, if he would "only confine the chancellor within four walls." De L'Hôpital was suspected of being a Hugonot at heart, though he never showed any tendency to their doctrines; and some of the Romanists were heard to say, "The Lord deliver us from the chancellor's mass!"

At the head of all these various powers, Charles IX. found himself the nominal King of France, at the age of eleven years, with the expectation of obtaining his legal majority at thirteen. Few princes received a worse education in childhood; and few kings have ever been called upon to rule a more corrupt court even in the prime of manhood. His early education was entrusted to Du Perron, from whom, among other accomplishments, he learned to swear outrageously; "not like a gentleman," says Brantôme, who occasionally lets fall an oath, "but like a catchpole, when he seizes his victim." To this habit of profane swearing we may attribute the disregard of solemn engagements, and the tendency to break his faith which characterized the life of Charles. He was less dissipated and more inclined to manly amusements than might have been expected from his circumstances; but his temper

was violent, and he was easily led by his mother and her associates: he ought to be considered rather as the instrument of a party, than their leader; and as he only lived to the age of twenty-five, we cannot suppose that his authority was much felt, or that he is the person really responsible for the atrocities committed in his name.

While the destinies of France seemed to fluctuate between the two contending parties, a foreigner appeared upon the scene, who was the real mover of the greatest enormities, and the evil genius of Catherine; we mean the Duke of Alva. Till long after the death of Francis II., the queen seemed undecided between two opinions; she appeared to balance Condé against Guise, and Beza against Lorraine; but circumstances, in an evil hour for France, brought her under the influence of the dark, designing, treacherous, and bloodthirsty Spaniard, who seemed, like some brilliant but poisonous serpent, to fascinate his victim to the destruction of her principles and the perversion of her conscience. Elizabeth, the daughter of Catherine, had been engaged to Don Carlos of Spain, but had afterwards married his father Philip II. The court of France, with Catherine at its head, visited the court of Spain at Bayonne, in the month of June, 1565. Here was a grand opportunity for the display of all the pomp and splendour in which Catherine so much delighted. The queen travelled from town to town, accompanied by forty or fifty of her young ladies, mounted on beautiful haquenées with splendid trappings. "To imagine these scenes," says Brantôme, "one must have seen this lovely troop, one more richly and bravely attired than another shining in those magnificent assemblies, like stars in the clear azure of heaven; for the queen expected them to appear in full dress, though she herself was attired as a widow, and in silk of the gravest colours; still she was elegant and enchanting, ever appearing the queen of all; she rode with extreme grace, the ladies following with plumes floating in the air, so that Virgil when he describes Queen Dido going to the chace has never imagined any thing comparable to Queen Catherine and her attendants." This graphic writer minutely describes the beauties of the court, but gives the highest praise to Margaret of Valois, the future queen of Henry IV. The brilliant cavalcade arrived at Bayonne, and was entertained by Elizabeth and the Duke of Alva. The king of Spain was absent, but Alva attended, ostensibly for the purpose of presenting the order of the Golden Fleece to Charles IX., but really with the intention of establishing a secret influence over the mind of Catherine, and with the determination to induce her to renew in France the persecutions of the late reign, and to imitate the cruelty which Philip had countenanced in England, and which he himself afterwards devised

and executed in his sanguinary persecution of the Protestants of Holland. The connexion of Philip with England has already too well fixed his history in our minds ; his object was to exterminate heresy by fire and sword, and to extinguish political and religious liberty in his own dominions and in the rest of the world. Alva was an agent singularly well qualified to carry out the designs of his master ; he was barbarously cruel, but cold and dispassionate, not the less dangerous because alike incapable of tenderness or rage ; he seized his victim like some vast machine, and crushed him to pieces with the certainty and coldness of a complicated series of wheels and pulleys, breaking his limbs with remorseless power, and insensible to his cries and indifferent to his resistance. Living in an age of dissimulation, the Duke of Alva was certainly not a hypocrite ; he openly avowed his belief that no toleration ought to be extended to those who should dissent from the religion of the king ; he stated his determination to spare neither age nor sex, and, like some political economists, coolly argued on his right to exterminate as if he were demonstrating an abstract proposition, quite distinct from human rights, or the sufferings of mankind. In the midst of feasts, tournaments, processions, dancing parties, and illuminations, the wily Spaniard managed to spend a certain portion of every night in the apartments of the Queen of Spain. Thither Catherine used to repair to meet him, through a private gallery ; and while the rest of the gay party of courtiers were sleeping after the fatigues of a day of pleasure, the queen and the duke were consulting upon the best method of governing France. The wily Spaniard laid it down as a principle that two religions cannot co-exist in the same state ; that no prince could do a more pernicious thing as regarded himself than to permit his people to live according to their consciences ; that there are as many religions in the world as there are caprices in the human mind ; and that to give them free licence is only to open a door to confusion and treason ; that religious controversy is only another name for popular insurrection ; and that all indulgence only increases the disorder. The queen, it appears, was averse to sanguinary measures ; she was desirous of restoring her subjects to the bosom of the Church, but wished to do it by fair means. She spoke of the strength of the principles of the Hugonots, admitted the inconvenience of conflicting opinions, but declared her intention of reaching her object by a circuitous route ; she said the port was distant and the sea difficult of navigation, she must therefore be satisfied not to steer a straight course ; that it is safer to weaken the opposing power by degrees, than to attempt to stifle a flame too suddenly, as it may then burst out into a violent conflagration. These sentiments it was Alva's business to combat. He had received

absolution for making war upon the pope, and was of course anxious to give a compensation for his late sins. The pope had recommended a repetition of the Sicilian vespers, and while the queen was cautious, Alva pressed her to proceed boldly and make away with the chiefs ; he said in the hearing of Henry IV. (then a child of eleven years old), that "one salmon was well worth a hundred frogs." It seems, then, from the best contemporary authority, which is quoted at large by our author, that the plan of a general massacre was now considered advisable if opportunity should offer ; that Alva persuaded the queen, contrary to her better judgment, that destruction of heretics was both lawful and politic ; and that while she herself might have been contented with indirect persecution, double taxation, legal restraint, and the occasional execution of a troublesome leader on feigned pretexts, nothing less than final extirpation was sufficient to satisfy the agent of the pope.

The young king was not exempt from the temptations of the Duke of Alva ; he seems at this meeting to have been familiarized with notions from which in his better moments he must have shrunk with horror. The Queen of Navarre, the most zealous Hugonot of her day, perceived the change in Charles during the return of the expedition. It is hard to ascertain that any definite plan was arranged for the destruction of the Hugonots : the massacre of St. Bartholomew must have arisen out of circumstances ; but this much seems clear, that the Duke of Alva prepared the minds of Catherine and Charles to betray and murder the most innocent portion of their subjects, as soon as a convenient opportunity should offer ; and having thus broken down the barrier of conscience in the rulers of France, he himself repaired to Holland, where his fierce persecution of the Protestants has handed down his name to us as one of the most cruel and unrelenting agents of the Church of Rome.

Let us now consider the party opposed to the court, the Hugonots, and their leaders. Here we may easily trace one of the great causes of the failure of the cause of Protestantism in France. The whole history presents us with a narrative of a political scheme rather than a religious movement. We believe true religion was never yet propagated by the sword. "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal," though they are mighty. God has appointed a way in which his cause is to be advanced, and that way he will bless and no other. The Hugonots certainly fought for liberty ; they only drew the sword when they were attacked ; but there seems a sad want of religious zeal even among those in whom we ought the most to expect it. The Reformation in England was strictly religious ; Cranmer, Latimer,

Ridley, Hall, Davenant, and a host of writers and preachers, laid hold first on the intellects and then on the feelings of the nation. John Knox, like Luther, was a zealot of the most ardent class, sometimes intemperate, but always sincere. We look in vain for such men among the French Hugonots. Religion, by the word we mean a conscientious desire of serving God according to his will, has always been the prime moving cause of every great change in England. Oliver Cromwell was a zealot; if he was not his party thought him so, and followed his orders because they felt anxiety in the same cause. James II. lost his crown because he interfered with the religion of England, represented by the seven bishops. Radicals, Chartists, and various disturbers, have in all periods endeavoured to overturn our institutions; but the strength of the people has always been attached to Protestantism and the established Church, because they consider them the proper means of serving God. Nothing therefore has ever shaken the throne of England but a religious movement, and to be religious a movement must depend upon its leaders: we may fairly form a conjecture as to the character of any class of men from the persons whom they obey, and whom they put forward as their spokesmen when liberty and life are at stake. Here, as in the present day, France presents a strong contrast with England; there seems a strange want of all religion among the people, the power of God seems to be forgotten, his name is never mentioned, and last Easter Sunday was fixed for a general election. We regret that even among the martyrs of the sixteenth century, there is a great deficiency in Evangelical principles and virtue. Let us consider the character of some of the leading Hugonots.

The first, in point of rank, as first prince of the blood, is Anthony of Navarre. His wife, Jeanne D'Albret, was well fitted, as far as a woman can be, to take the lead in a religious war. Her letters all express zeal for God, and devotion to the cause of Protestantism; and to her early care may be traced the formation of the character of her celebrated son Henry IV. As long, however, as her husband lived, her powers seem to have been shackled, and her influence lost.

“Anthony (says our author) is a striking instance of the evils which arise, when second-rate ability, combined with weakness of moral principle and instability of temper, is elevated to influential situations. The vacillations of his selfish fears and calculations, aided by jealousy, that demon of weak minds, did more to ruin France than all the loftier errors of the rest united; so true is it, that states and families may perish as surely, through the timidity, meanness, and want of spirit in their leaders, as through the greatest excesses of ill-directed energy.”  
—vol. i. p. 81.

After lending his name to the Hugonot party, and supporting them by his right to approach and advise the king as first prince of the blood, he allowed himself to be drawn into a league with their enemies ; and, in 1562, he is found united with the cardinal and the Duke of Guise, the most powerful and the most insidious of the enemies of his party. His wife remonstrated, but he only answered her by sending her home to Navarre, and placing his son under the care of a Roman Catholic. Shortly after new troubles broke out, and we find the King of Navarre on the side of the Duke of Guise. At the siege of Rouen, in the same year, he was mortally wounded, but though he suffered great pain, he was not at first considered in a dangerous state. His amusements at this time were dances, which he gave in his bed-chamber to the young people of the camp ; and his mistress, La Belle Rouet, was seated by his side. He continued to boast of all he was to do, and talked much of the riches and beauty of Sardinia. When the town was taken, he insisted on being carried through it in a litter, which inflamed his wound, and caused serious apprehensions of danger. The terrors of conscience now succeeded to the levity of his former occupations, but he does not seem to have known whether he were a Protestant or a Roman Catholic. He began to examine his past life, and, like Cardinal Wolsey, regretted, when too late, that he had sacrificed his religion to the aggrandizement of his kingdom. When his brother, the Prince de Condé, sent to inquire for him, he returned an answer, that, if his life were spared, he should make the establishment of reform his great object. His last hours were spent in the miserable remorse of a troubled conscience : he was attended by two physicians of opposite persuasions ; and a contemporary writer describes him as receiving extreme unction from a priest, and listening to portions of the Book of Job, to which his attention was drawn by a Protestant minister. He seems altogether to have been one of the most contemptible of men ; in private his propensity for thieving was so great, that his attendants were obliged to empty his pockets after he was asleep, and restore the plunder of the day to its lawful owners.

We turn with pleasure from the contemplation of a character like the King of Navarre, to that of his younger brother, Louis Bourbon, Prince of Condé. In him were united several of the noble traits which constitute the hero of the world's admiration : —a skilful warrior, a generous adversary, the admiration of the ladies of the court, the most scientific knight in the tournament, and the champion of the cause of civil and religious liberty. Who is there that does not admire the character of the valiant, the liberal, and the accomplished prince ? But here, unfortunately,



we must stop; we look in vain for the high principle of sound religion, which shines in private as well as in public, and is ready to sacrifice all personal gratification in the service of God. Condé fought in the cause of the Gospel, but he did so rather as a crusader than as a Christian: he valued his life little, for he was a truly brave soldier; but his own pleasures were the rock on which he split; the temptations of a dissipated court were more dangerous weapons than the swords of his opponents; and he who could conquer in the field, or take a hostile city, was yet unable to rule his own spirit, and was foiled in the conflict with his own ill-regulated passions. Catherine, ever watchful of her advantage, was too wise to overlook the weak point of the prince, and soon set snares for him, which he was unable to escape. Among the daughters of the queen, were two young ladies of the name of Limeuil: to the elder of these, who was distinguished for her fine figure, her taste in dress, her beauty, and her wit, the queen confided the task of gaining the affections of the prince. The business was but too easy, for the victim was willing, and, like Samson, only too ready to betray his dearest secrets to his treacherous charmer. Catherine obtained her object, and learned the intentions of the Hugonots; but La Belle Limeuil discovered too late that she had ventured on dangerous ground; that she had been tampering not only with the affections of Condé, but with her own; what she had considered as a gay frolic, ended in a melancholy reality; she had fallen deeply in love with the knight she had intended to betray, and she now found herself deserted in her turn, like some unfaithful damsel of romance. The widow of the Maréchal de St. André had also set her affections upon the Prince de Condé; she bestowed upon him the most valuable gifts; among others, the splendid palace of St. Valery, which her husband had built; but Condé, equally unfaithful to his religion and his knighthood, received the gifts, but deserted the giver. The tragedy, however, does not end here: the beginning of sin is like the letting out of water: his excellent wife, who had long shut her eyes to his irregularities, died shortly after, the victim of abused affections; and the Demoiselle de Limeuil found herself pointed at by a censorious court, not because she had been guilty of any irregularity, but because she had been fool enough to be caught in her own snare. Her health began to sink, and she retired from the eyes of the world; she was passionately fond of music, and, on one occasion, she desired her page to play her a melancholy air, where "tout est perdu" is the burden of the song. When this had been once or twice repeated, she called on him to play it over again, with increased emphasis, until she should desire him to leave off; he did so for

some minutes, and she seemed to join in the chorus, but suddenly her voice ceased, and, on looking round, the page perceived that his mistress had breathed her last.

“ When lovely woman stoops to folly,  
And finds too late that men betray,  
What charm can soothe her melancholy,  
What art can wash her guilt away ?

“ The only art her guilt to cover,  
To hide her shame from every eye,  
To bring repentance to her lover,  
And wring his bosom, is—to die.”

A man influenced by true religion may fall once and again, but had the character of Condé been such as the leader of a religious movement ought to possess, no woman of Catherine's discernment would have conceived such a scheme, and the first advances in executing it would have been repelled with scorn.

Again we meet with Condé under circumstances where religious principle is tried to the uttermost—the near prospect of death. By the treachery of Francis II., he and his brother Anthony were seized, and, after a mock trial, were left under sentence of death on a vague charge of treason. The Cardinal of Lorraine was most anxious to have Condé executed at once, but his connexion with the royal family was pleaded in his behalf, and the vacillating spirit of Catherine was anxious to be free from his influence, but afraid of the power of his rivals: under such uncertainty we might expect some traits of religious feeling; but the contemporary accounts give us little on the subject. The death of Francis changed the whole face of affairs, and one of Condé's attendants, who went to communicate the intelligence to him, found him *quietly playing at cards* with the officer who guarded him; and being afraid to tell him directly, made signs that he had something to communicate. The prince let fall a card, and stooping to pick it up, his attendant whispered in his ear, “ Our friend is done up.” The prince finished his game without altering a feature. Much, however, as we must regret the want of religious feeling in the prince, we must remember the difference between those times and the present, and make every allowance for the differences of education and the darkness of the age. Condé was sincere in his attachment to Protestantism, and never wavered in its cause. Sometimes at the head of a victorious army; sometimes a prisoner in the tent of his rival, and meeting him with the courtesy of an old and valued friend; sometimes flying from a superior force, unable to pay his mercenaries, and



with equal reason to fear his own troops and the royal army, he displays a degree of heroism which we seldom meet with, except in romance. The Alcibiades of modern history, fond of pleasure, but faithful to his cause, anxious on the subject of religion, but sometimes inclined to superstition, erring in many instances, but beloved by all around him, his character and adventures give an opening for the historian which modern events seldom afford, and we can assure our readers that our author has not neglected the opportunity. We extract a passage from his history.

“Condé, who regarded a battle as inevitable, wished to halt and prepare to meet the enemy; but the admiral, judging from the excessive reserve that had already been shown, that this movement was intended as a demonstration only, was for proceeding without delay. His advice prevailed, and the dawn of the 19th found the Hugonot army still upon their march. ‘I will relate,’ says Beza, ‘two things that occurred, which seemed as if sent from God as presages of what was approaching; and that I can attest for true, having seen the one with my own eyes, and heard the other with my own ears. The first is that the prince, crossing a little river at Maintenon (he passed Maintenon on the 17th), where some of the lower orders had assembled to see him go by—an aged woman flung herself into the river, which was deep (the rivulet having been trampled in by the passing of the cavalry), and stopping him short, laid hold of his boot, and said, ‘Go on, prince, you will suffer much, but God will be with you.’ To which he added, ‘Mother, pray for me,’ and went on. The other was, that in the evening, the prince being in bed, and talking with some who had remained in his chamber, held the following discourse to a minister who had been there, and was reading prayers (probably Beza himself), ‘We shall have a battle to-morrow,’ said he, ‘or I am much deceived, in spite of what the admiral says. I know one ought not to attend to dreams, and yet I will tell you what I dreamed last night. It was that it seemed to me that I had given battle three times, one after the other; finally obtaining the victory—and that I saw our three enemies dead; but that I also had received my death-wound. So, having ordered their bodies to be laid one upon the other, and I upon the top of all, I there rendered up my soul to God.’ The minister answered, as usually a sensible man would answer in such cases, that such visions were not to be regarded. Yet strange to say (adds Beza), the dream seemed confirmed by the result. The next day the Maréchal de St. André was killed, then the Duke of Guise, then the constable, and finally, after the third engagement, the prince himself.’”—*Reformation*, vol. i. p. 400.

Again, in 1568, when Lorraine and Alva had first persuaded the Hugonots to lay down their arms, and then proclaimed the decrees of the Council of Trent, Condé had retired to his country seat. In the mean time, strange reports had been spread that

no Protestant would be alive against the vintage ; that Charles must either exterminate them, or retire to a monastery ; that to keep faith with heretics is a weakness, and to murder them a service acceptable to God. Several of the adherents of Condé had been slain, some as if by the king's order, some by popular violence. The clubs of Paris had begun to show their power, and had declared for the pope ; and the first movement was made for the formation of the celebrated *ligue*. Condé naturally began to fear for his personal safety, and while consulting with Coligny on the proper course to be adopted, Coligny's son-in-law arrived, bearing friendly letters from the king, but advising his relations not to trust the royal promises. The same evening a mysterious note was intercepted, containing these ominous words, "The stag is in the toils ! the hunt is ready !" and at the dead of night an unknown cavalier galloped by the castle, sounding his hunting-horn, and crying, "The great stag has broken cover at Noyers." Condé acted on these warnings, and escaped with his brother's family and his own, closely pursued by the king's troops. He crossed the Loire at a ford not commonly known, the prince holding his infant in his arms. Though the river was generally too deep for crossing, yet on this occasion there was no difficulty in passing the ford, until Condé and his troop of about 150 persons had landed in safety. Immediately, however, as if by a special interposition of Providence, the stream rose above its usual height, foaming and rushing with a sudden torrent, so that the pursuers, who crowded rapidly upon the further bank, saw that they were too late, and their expected prey had escaped from their hands. Condé was killed at the battle of Jarnac, after he had surrendered as a prisoner of war ; he is supposed to have owed his death to the treachery of the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III.

The man of the highest sense of religion, in our acceptation of the word, was the Admiral of France, Gaspard de Coligny. To his influence may be attributed the strictness and sobriety which usually characterized the Protestant army. Games of chance were strictly forbidden ; swearing and plundering were severely punished ; and the forms of religion steadily observed. "I fear," said Coligny to one who complimented him on these subjects, "that it will not last long—a young hermit is an old devil:" "the French infantry will soon become tired of their virtue, and put the cross into the fire." His predictions were only too true, as the event proved. Coligny himself combined the characters of a soldier and a reformer more than any of his contemporaries. Brantôme compares him with the Duke of Guise. He says they were diamonds of the first water, on the superior

excellence of which it would be impossible to decide. They had been intimate friends in youth, wearing the same dresses, taking the same side in the tournaments, joining in the same mischievous pranks, and encouraging each other in extravagant follies. Coligny, however, soon grew tired of youthful excesses; he seems to have understood the principle,—

“*Nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum,*”—

for as a man we never find him drawn into the excesses of the court, or imitating his friend Condé in the pursuit of pleasure. His rules for the conduct of his soldiers were adopted even by his enemies; and he was the first who raised the character of a French army, and placed it above the level of a horde of barbarous invaders, whose chief object was plunder, without respect even to their own allies. He attempted to procure for France a just system of representative government; and he is said, by his influence during the civil wars, to have preserved the lives and properties of more than a million of persons. His wife, Charlotte de Laval, was devoted to the Protestant cause. She established in his family a system of propriety seldom witnessed in the households of the great. We have a minute description of Coligny's household, the regularity of his hours, his family prayers, and his instruction of his dependants; but he seems to have stood almost alone: few in that age could appreciate his virtues; and though his influence over the Prince de Condé was exerted for good, yet he was but one among a multitude, and his salutary influence was often overborne by the evils incident to a civil war. This great man survived the other leaders of his party, and was the first victim of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Another reason why intelligence and Protestantism made little progress was the ignorance of the times. We do not speak so much of the great body of the people, as of those who may be supposed to have received the best education. When the Duke of Guise was wounded by an assassin, during the siege of Orleans, the surgeons at first augured favourably of his recovery, but they evidently killed him by their unskilful treatment: first, they widened and cauterized with a hot silver instrument, to destroy the effects of the poison which they imagined to be in the powder and bullets. They were astonished to find that the bullet had made a larger hole at its exit than at its entrance, and therefore agreed to open the wound again in order to look for it, though the age of the moon pointed out the day as unfavourable. They then with their fingers examined both sides of the wound, and found all safe and sound: not

satisfied with the progress which nature was making, they made another opening across the wound, and passed a piece of linen through it, by way of a seton, to keep it open ; and though this was on the fourth day of the moon, the duke was better, though his fever increased. Some of his friends wanted him to try the effect of enchantments—we confess we should have preferred them to the treatment of his surgeons—but the duke refused them as unlawful means, and declared that he should prefer death to the prospect of life by remedies forbidden by God. When we consider the ignorance of one learned profession, and recollect that it had become a proverb to say, “as ignorant as a priest,” we cannot much wonder at the darkness of the people ; and we cannot feel much surprised that they should be led into excesses by the advice of a cruel nobility and an ambitious priesthood.

Great allowance must be made for the differences of the age from ours ; and we must remember that until the works of John Locke, toleration, in our sense of the word, was never understood. Uniformity of opinion was the grand object ; the Council of Trent met for the purpose of settling what men ought to believe, with the full expectation of being able to persuade them that it was their duty to do so, and a full determination to exterminate all recusants. Some of the more moderate party did not expect to be able to bind the opinions of others ; these only said that outward conformity to established usage should be sufficient ; and that no inquiry should be made as to religious sentiments, provided only the people should attend mass and confession. The Hugonots themselves never expected equal privileges with the dominant party : all they asked was, leave to have their own churches, and administer the sacraments ; and they even proposed that they should pay double taxes as a test of their sincerity. These reasonable demands were frequently promised, but the promises were broken as soon as the Hugonots had laid down their arms.

Persecution, burning heretics by legal warrant, were as common as in England during the reign of Bloody Mary ; but France went a step further than England, and often murdered the recusants without the shadow or pretence of law. We can scarcely imagine, even from the worst portions of the history of England, that a nobleman of high rank, like the Duke of Guise, should set out on a progress to his country seat, and suddenly massacre a whole congregation of men, women, and children while on his journey. Yet this took place at Vassy, on Sunday morning, the first of March, 1562. The duke declared that it was done against his will, and in consequence of an insult offered by the Hugonots to some of his followers ; but whatever

be the cause, the melancholy effects were undeniable. The massacre of Vassy was the signal for similar excesses throughout the kingdom; priests were seen pointing out their victims to the soldiers, lest any should escape; and though the duke asked pardon on his death-bed for being the cause of so much bloodshed, yet, Brantôme tells us, that while he solemnly denied having done it intentionally, he at the same time made light of the matter. It was asserted by the Hugonots, in their petition to the king, that 3000 lives had been lost at Vassy, and by the excesses which followed.

The Duke of Guise was not the only royalist who made light of human life: Montluc, one of the king's generals, coolly tells us, that "there is no such thing as a prisoner in a civil war: I therefore hung up the carrions as soon as I took them: every body knew where I passed, as the trees were every where hung with my colours. At Monsegur, I took eighty or a hundred soldiers, and went round the walls and made them leap down; they were dead before they came to the bottom. At Pamiers, forty women were killed at once, which made me very angry, as soldiers ought not to kill women; but several bad boys came in my way, who served to fill up the wells in the castle." A letter is still extant from Pope Pius IV. to this noble and well-beloved son of the Church, congratulating him on the gifts of Heaven, commending him for his virtuous and honourable deeds, and assuring him of the eternal favour of God, whose cause he had so triumphantly defended.

Reprisals are the natural consequence of oppression; and the Hugonots, though slow to take up arms, were well skilled in their use; and in one single instance were equally cruel with their opponents. The Baron D'Adrets was the only Protestant who imitated the barbarity of his enemies: after plundering several convents, and laying waste the country around, he took the tower of Maugiron; and, by way of amusement after dinner, he compelled the garrison to leap from the battlements. One of his victims ran forward three times to the fatal leap, but paused upon the brink. The baron reproached him with cowardice; but the man replied, "My lord, brave as you are, I will give you ten trials." For this answer the baron spared his life.

With these characters and facts before us, we are led to the painful conclusion, that there was little religion on either side; but we cannot forget that we have no "acts and monuments" of the martyrs of France. The historians seem to have thought little of the feelings which prompted men to sacrifice their lives for conscience' sake; and we certainly miss honest John Fox and his writings: perhaps, had such a man been found to record the

sentiments and virtues of the Hugonot martyrs, they might have been considered equal to some of his English heroes :—

“ Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona  
Multi ; sed omnes illacrymabiles  
Urgentur, ignotique longâ  
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.”

Kings were supposed to be absolute, but “ woe to the land where the king is a child and the princes eat in the morning ;” he who could secure the person of the king and get his signature to his warrants, had the power of life and death in his hands ; the court was bent on pleasure ; excitement was the grand object, and Catherine’s motto was, “ keep the ball rolling.” The Parliament was a mere court for the registry of royal edicts ; and the only influence they ever exerted was to reject some of the proclamations in favour of toleration, which Charles IX. had been induced to grant.

The interest of the reigns of Francis and Charles is fully sustained up to the final catastrophe of 1572. It is only fair to the author to allow the history to speak for itself, and we wish we had room to extract the whole chapter ; our limits, however, will only admit of a short portion.

“ Queen Margaret (the bride of Henry IV.) will supply a picture of what was passing in the queen’s private circle, during this terrible evening. ‘ I knew nothing of all this,’ says she ; ‘ I saw every one in agitation. The Hugonots in despair at the wound (Coligny had been wounded some days before) ; the Guises, having been threatened that justice would be had for it, whispering in each other’s ears. I was suspected by the Hugonots of being a Catholic, by the Catholics as being married to the King of Navarre ;— so that no one told me any thing until the evening, when, being at the toilet of the queen my mother, and sitting near my sister of Lorraine, who I saw was very sorrowful, the queen my mother saw me, and told me to go to bed. As I made my courtesy, my sister took me by the arm, and stopping me began to weep, saying, Sister, do not go. This frightened me excessively, which the queen perceived, and calling very angrily to my sister, forbade her to tell me any thing. My sister said it was too shocking to send me to be sacrificed in that manner ; for doubtless if any thing were discovered, immediate revenge would be had upon me. The queen answered, unless it were the will of God, no harm could happen to me ; but be that as it might, I must go, lest they should suspect something. They continued to dispute, but I could not hear their words. At length she told me very roughly to go to bed, and my sister bursting into tears bade me good night, not daring to say more. As for me, I went away shivering and trembling, unable to imagine what was to be feared. As soon as I was in my closet, I began to pray God that



he would be pleased to protect and guard me, not knowing from whom or against what. The king, my husband, who was already in bed, called to me ; I came and found the bed surrounded by about thirty or forty Hugonot gentlemen, whom I scarcely knew, being so lately married. All night they did nothing but talk of the admiral's accident : and resolve that in the morning they would demand justice of the king on M. de Guise, and failing him, do it for themselves. I, who had my sister's tears still upon my heart, could not sleep, and so the night passed. At the point of day the king rose, saying he would go and play tennis till Charles awoke ; resolving then to demand justice. He quitted the room, his gentlemen with him ; I begged the nurse to shut the door, and fell asleep.'

" It was at midnight that Catherine, fearing the resolution of her son might still fail, came down to the king's apartment, to watch over him till the moment for execution should arrive. She found there the Duke d'Anjou, the Duke de Nevers, De Ritz, and Biraque, who were all uniting their efforts to encourage Charles and maintain him in his resolution, but their words were vain. As the moment approached, horror took possession of the king ; cold damps stood upon his brow, and a troubled fever agitated his frame. The queen endeavoured to arouse him by every means in her power, endeavouring, by arts she too well understood, to irritate once more his fiercer passions, and silence the remorseful and relenting feelings of nature—striving with her usual wicked sophistry to colour crime by a pretence of justice and necessity. She asked him (says D'Aubigné) whether it were not best at once to tear corrupted members from the bosom of the Church, the blessed spouse of our Lord ; and repeated, after a celebrated Italian divine, that abominable sentiment, so often and so easily perverted, ' That in their case mercy was cruelty, and cruelty was mercy.'

" She again represented the critical nature of his affairs, and how bitterly he would repent if he suffered the present opportunity to escape him : thus striving to stifle that cry of outraged conscience which, in spite of all her efforts, would make itself heard in the bosom of her wretched son. At last she succeeded in dragging the fatal order from his lips. The moment it was obtained she was impatient to begin. It wanted an hour and a half of day-break, when the appointed signal was to be given upon the tocsin of the Hall of Justice. But the interval appeared too long for her fears ; and as the distance to the Palais de Justice was considerable, she commanded the tocsin of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, which is close upon the Louvre, to be sounded in its place, and the dreadful alarm to be given without loss of time.

" This order being issued, a pause of perfect silence ensued—and then those three guilty creatures, the queen and her two miserable sons, crept to a small closet over the gate of the Louvre, and, opening a window, looked uneasily out into the night.

" But all was silent as the grave. Suddenly a pistol shot was heard. ' I know not from whence,' says the Duke of Anjou (for it is his account which I am following), ' nor if it wounded any one ; but this I know,

that the shot struck us all three in such a manner that it paralysed our sense and judgment. Seized at once with terror and apprehension at the idea of those great disorders about to be committed, we sent down a gentleman in much haste to tell the Duke of Guise to proceed no further against the admiral, which would have prevented all that followed. But the order came too late. Guise was already gone. It was still dark, for the morning had not yet dawned, when through the awful stillness of that fearful night the tocsin of St. Germain was heard sounding. Through streets lighted by flambeaux, which now appeared in every window, and through crowds of people gathering on every side, the Dukes of Guise and Nevers, with the Chevalier d'Angoulême, and their suite, made their way to the hotel of the admiral, with whose murder the general slaughter was to begin.'

"Coligny, reposing in peace upon the good faith of his master, was quietly resting in his bed; and having dismissed Guerchi and Teligny, who lingered long after the rest of the Hugonot gentlemen had retired, was attended only by Cornaton and Labonne, two of his gentlemen, Yolet his squire, Mulin his religious minister, his German interpreter, and Ambrose Paré, who was still in the house. His ordinary domestic servants were, however, in waiting in the ante-chamber. Outside the street-door of his hotel, Cosseins (his enemy, and a creature of Catherine, sent ostensibly for his protection), with fifty arquebusiers, was posted, and within were five Swiss guards belonging to the King of Navarre. As soon as the Duke of Guise, followed by his company, appeared, Cosseins knocked at the outer door which opened into the hall where the Swiss were placed, and saying one was come from the king who wanted to speak to the admiral, demanded admittance. Some persons who were in waiting, upon this went up to Labonne who kept the keys, and who came down into the court, and hearing the voice of Cosseins, undid the lock immediately. But at the moment that the door opened the unfortunate gentleman fell covered with blood, poignarded by Cosseins as he rushed in followed by his arquebusiers. The Swiss guards prepared to defend themselves; but when they saw the tumult headed by the very man who had stood guard before the door, they lost courage, and retreating behind another which led to the stairs, shut and bolted it, but the arquebusiers fired through it, and one of the Swiss guards fell. The noise below awakened Cornaton, who springing up ran down to inquire the cause of this disturbance. He found the hall filled with soldiers, with Cosseins crying out to open the inner door in the king's name. Seeing no means to escape, he resolved at least to defend the house as long as he could, and began barricading the door with boxes, benches, and any thing that came to hand. This done, he ran up to the admiral. He found him already risen, and in his dressing gown, standing leaning against the wall and engaged in prayer. Still unsuspecting of the real truth, and imagining the populace, headed by the Guises, were endeavouring to force the house, he relied upon Cosseins for protection. Merlin, who lay in the same chamber, had risen with him on the first alarm.



"Cornaton entering in the greatest terror, Coligny asked what all this noise was about? 'My lord,' said Cornaton, 'it is God who calls you—the hall is carried, we have no means of resistance.' The eyes of Coligny were suddenly opened, and he began to understand the treachery of the king; but the terrible conviction could not shake his composure; he preserved his usual calmness, and said, 'I have long been prepared to die; but for you, all of you, save yourselves if it be possible: you can be of no assistance to me. I recommend my soul to the mercy of God.' Upon this, those who were in the room, all except one faithful servant, Nicholas Muss, his German interpreter, ran up to the garrets, and finding a window in the roof, endeavoured to escape over the tops of the neighbouring houses; but they were fired at from below and the most part killed, Merlin and Cornaton with two others only surviving. In the mean time, Cosseins having broken the inner door, sent in some Swiss of the Duke of Anjou's guard (known by their uniform,—black, white, and green); these passed the Swiss upon the stairs without molesting them, but Cosseins rushing in after armed in his cuirass, and with his naked sword in his hand, followed by his arquebusiers, massacred them all, and then hurrying up stairs forced open the door of the admiral's room. Besme, a page of the Duke of Guise, a man of Picardy, named Sarlaboux, and a few others rushed in. They found Coligny seated in an arm chair, regarding them with the composed and resolute air of one who had nothing to fear. Besme rushed forward with his sword raised in his hand, crying out, 'Are you the admiral?' 'I am,' replied Coligny, looking calmly at the sword. 'Young man, you ought to respect my grey hairs and infirmities—yet you cannot shorten my life.' For answer Besme drove his sword to the hilt in the admiral's bosom; then he struck him over the head and across the face—the other assassins fell upon him, and, covered with wounds, he soon lay mangled and dead at their feet. D'Aubigné adds, that at the first blow Coligny cried out, 'If it had been but at the hands of a man of honour, and not from this varlet!'

"The above circumstances were related afterwards by Attin Sarlaboux, who has been mentioned as one of the murderers, but who was so struck with the intrepidity displayed by this great captain, that he could never afterwards speak of the scene but in terms of admiration, saying, 'he had never seen a man meet death with such constancy and firmness.' The Duke of Guise, and the rest who had penetrated into the court, stood under the window of the admiral's chamber, Guise crying out, 'Besme, have you done?' 'It is over,' answered he from above; the Chevalier d'Angoulême called out, 'Here is Guise will not believe it, unless he sees it with his own eyes. Throw him out of the window.' Then Besme and Sarlaboux, with some difficulty, lifted up the gashed and bleeding body, and flung it down; the face being so covered with blood that it could not be recognized. The Duke de Guise stooped down, and wiping it with his handkerchief, this man (whom Hume has not hesitated to call as magnanimous as his father) cried out, 'I know him;' and giving a kick to the poor dead body of

him whom living every man in France had feared, 'Lie there,' said he, 'poisonous serpent, thou shalt shed thy venom no more.' The head was afterwards severed from the body and carried to the queen, with a large sack full of papers found in pillaging the house. The poor miserable trunk was exposed to all the insults which the terrific violence of an infuriated and fanatical mob can lavish upon the objects of its detestation. Mutilated, half-burned, dragged through the dirt and mire, kicked, beaten, and trampled on by the very children in the street, it was lastly hung by the heels upon a common gibbet at Montfaucon. Such was the fate of that honest patriot and true Christian, Gaspard de Coligny.

"The murder completed, the Duke of Guise sallied from the gate followed by all the rest, crying out, 'Courage, soldiers! we have begun well; now for the others. For the king! It is the will of the king; the king's express command!' At that moment, the tocsin of the Palace of Justice began to sound, and then a loud and terrible cry arose, 'Down with the Hugonots! Down with the Hugonots!' and the massacre in all its horrors began.

"Dreadful was the scene that ensued. The air resounded with the most hideous noises: the loud huzzas of the assailants as they rushed to the slaughter; the cries and screams of the murdered; the crashing of breaking doors and windows; the streets streaming with blood; men, women, and children flying in all directions, pursued by the soldiers and by the populace, who were encouraged to every species of cruelty by their dreadful chiefs—Guise, Nevers, Montpensier, and Tavannes, who, hurrying up and down the streets cried out, 'Kill! Kill! Blood-letting is good in August! By command of the king! Kill! Kill! Oh, Hugonot! oh, Hugonot!'

"The massacre within the Louvre had already commenced. Some scuffling had early taken place between the guards posted in the courts and neighbouring streets and the Protestant gentlemen returning to their quarters, and the general slaughter of all within the palace speedily followed.

"'I had slept but an hour,' continues Margaret, 'when I was startled by the cries of one striking with hands and knees against the door, and calling loudly, Navarre, Navarre. My nurse ran to it and opened it, when a gentleman called M. Tejan rushed in, having a sword wound in his elbow, and one from a halbert in his arm, and pursued by four archers; he threw himself upon the bed from which I sprang, and he after me, catching me in his bloody arms, both of us screaming with terror. At last, by God's help, M. de Nancay came in, who, finding me in that situation, *could not help laughing*. He scolded the archers for their indiscretion, and having ordered them out of the room, he granted me the life of the poor man, whom I hid in my cabinet till he was cured. While I was changing my night-dress, which was covered with blood, M. de Nancay told me what was going on, assuring me that the king my husband was in the king's own apartments, and that he was safe; and throwing a cloak over me, he led me to the chamber of my

sister De Lorraine, where I arrived more dead than alive. As I entered the ante-chamber, the doors of which were all open, a gentleman named Bourse, flying from the archers who were pursuing him, received a blow from a halbert and fell dead at my feet. I swooned in the arms of M. de Nancay, who thought the same blow had struck both at once, and was carried into my sister's room; soon afterwards two gentlemen, M. de Miossons, and D'Armagnac, valet to my husband the king, came to entreat me to save their lives: I went and threw myself at the feet of the king and queen, and at last my petition was granted.'

"The above gentlemen were almost the only ones who escaped of the numbers that night within the palace. Flying from room to room, the murderers butchered the Calvinist nobility, gentry, and servants, without mercy or distinction; dragging them from their beds, and flinging their bodies out of the windows. Others, attempting to escape, were pushed into the courts between files of the guards, who struck them down with their halberts as they passed. The stair-cases and galleries were slippery with blood and defiled with the mangled bodies; and vast heaps of the dead were accumulated under the king's windows, who from time to time came to look out upon this horrid spectacle. As a proof of the barbarous insensibility of those dissolute, yet beautiful and accomplished women, who formed the chief attraction of Catherine's court, it must be related that numbers of them might be seen examining the dead bodies of their acquaintances, and amusing themselves with ridiculous remarks upon the miserable remains."—*Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 363.

"All efforts to stop the slaughter were useless. The demon of popular insurrection is easily summoned in aid of political measures; but the power which has conjured is ineffectual to lay it; that hideous population, which exists in the narrow streets and obscure quarters of Paris, and with the characteristic and still existing features of which some late French writers have made us but too well acquainted; that population grovelling in obscure vice and misery till some fearful revolution summons it into action; and which has taken such a tremendous part in every one of those convulsions with which that city has been visited, was now thoroughly aroused, and had taken the matter into their own hands. In spite of every effort, which was at last in sincerity made by the citizens, soldiers, and superior classes, to restrain them, they raged through the streets and continued their barbarous slaughters.

"Seven long days was Paris one scene of pillage, outrage, and cruelty, which would have disgraced a horde of the wildest savages. Brutality was bred of brutality, cruelty grew from cruelty. Four monsters,—Tanchou, Pezon, Croiset, and Perier,—stood for three days in turns at a gate near the river, and taking all that could be found, poignarded them and flung them into the water with every sort of outrage. Men might be seen stabbing little infants, while the innocents smiled in their faces and played with their beards. Even children might be seen slaughtering children younger than themselves. Pierre Ramus, a man of learning,

is torn out of his study, thrown out of the window, and his body, all broken and mangled, is dragged along in the mire by the younger scholars, incited to it by his rival, named Charpentier. Lambin, a royal lecturer, and a bigoted Catholic, dies of horror at the sight."—vol ii. p. 373.

According to different historians, from 70,000 to 100,000 perished at this time; and Pope Gregory XIII. ordered thanksgivings for the victory of the faithful; and a medal was struck to commemorate the event, with the head of the pope on one side, and a representation of the massacre on the reverse.

We have thus endeavoured to give a short sketch of the characters which influenced an important crisis in history; we recommend our readers, however, to judge for themselves. The book suggests many subjects for reflection, and gives many hints for the present time. There is still fierce confusion and civil war, and the foundations of the earth are out of course, and there is still the secret power of Romanism endeavouring to shape all changes to its own purpose, and employing every agent to fulfil the will of the Church, and bring all men into subjection to the spiritual power. The pope is shaken as a temporal prince, but as a spiritual power he is the same as ever. The individual pope, like an individual monarch, is often but a name, while the power resides in the body of his satellites, and is dispersed throughout the world, with every Roman Catholic priest as its sworn agent. Alva and Lorraine were only doing the work of the Church, and assisting her spiritual authority, when they led Catherine and Charles to believe that the extirpation of heresy was lawful and expedient; and we believe there are thousands at this moment in the British Islands who would use the secular arm to carry out their own ends, if the power of the state were once in their possession.

"Ranke's Lives of the Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," is a work of great research and gives most valuable historical information. The notes are full, and contain long quotations from contemporary authorities; but the Reformation in France will be read as a book of amusement; and while the author, by long references to contemporary writers, increases our information, and gives us an opportunity to acquire more by consulting the authorities, the style of the narrative is animated and the characters well sustained. History is improving where it is true, but private life and individual character have an interest beyond historical detail, and our author has happily combined both. We only hope that the promise in the advertisement may be realized, and that we may soon have a continuation of the history through the reign of Henry IV. to the Revocation of the edict of Nantes.

ART. II.—*Vindiciæ Symbolicæ ; or, a Treatise on Creeds, Articles of Faith, and Articles of Doctrine.* By THOMAS WILLIAM LANCASTER, M.A., Vicar of Banbury, and formerly Bampton Lecturer. Vol. I. Oxford: Vincent. London: Rivingtons.

THE Christian religion, like the temporal governments of the world, has been assailed in these latter days by agencies altogether different from those which menaced its earlier stages of existence. Heresy has been replaced by various forms of scepticism in the one case, as dynastic revolutions have been superseded by social revolutions in the other. But in both alike, the concealed object is to emancipate the individual from the necessity of submitting to the ordinances of God. The tendency of the whole movement is to Atheism, though there are many stages on the way—the objector to creeds not being always prepared to doubt the inspiration of Scripture; and the reasoner against the inspiration of Scripture not being prepared to reject Christianity in the gross as a fable; and the denier of Christianity not being willing always to deny the existence of the Deity, or the obligations of moral duty. But though men are restrained by their own wilfulness, or by their resolution not to see the logical consequences of their opinions, from reaching the goal of either incredulity, still it is the duty of Christians at all times, and, we will add, more emphatically in the *present times*, when the enemy of souls is at work in a thousand forms for the subversion of faith—to be awake to the tendencies of opinions and principles bearing on the truth and the stability of the Christian faith.

Orthodoxy has often been sneered at by secret unbelievers, and is in little favour with what is called “the world.” It conveys to the mind of too many persons, the notion of a stiff, rigid, hard, unbending, and arrogant system—a collection of words, forms, logical niceties, devised for the purpose of imposing the opinions or the terminology of a certain set of men on the rest of the world. Now we are far from denying that orthodoxy has sometimes taken a form in which, to a mere spectator, it must present very little of what is inviting. Orthodoxy may exist where little of real practical religion exists. It may be combined with pride, uncharitableness, a harsh, intolerant, and bitter tone of controversy, and much else that cannot be approved. And yet it would be very unreasonable to infer, that because orthodoxy is sometimes united with such tempers and conduct, it is in itself incon-

sistent with the character of real Christianity. While human nature continues to be what it is, the cause of truth is at all times liable to be injured by the faults of its adherents.

But if Christianity be a real substantive religion at all—if it possesses any tenets or institutions distinguishing it from other religions, or from a merely negative and sceptical philosophy—it is clear that there is a right and a wrong as regards Christian doctrine. The creed may be extensive, or it may be restricted; but whatever its tenets are, they are the tenets of the Christian religion, just as there are certain tenets which belong indisputably to the Mahomedan religion, and do not belong to the Brahmin or the Parsee, and *vice versa*; and to attempt to divest Christianity of dogmas altogether, would be just as reasonable as it would be to divest Mahomedanism or Heathenism of all doctrines or tenets. Human ingenuity can, of course, find difficulties in any case, however clear and evident to the common sense of mankind: there is absolutely no proposition, however self-evident, which may not be assailed by sophistry capable of involving it in doubt and perplexity. It is thus that much subtle and ingenious reasoning has been expended in proving what, after all, no one believes, that Christianity has no doctrines. The mind revolts from the ultimate conclusion, and the Unitarian possesses his *creed*, just as much as the Catholic believer.

It is, therefore, more easy than consistent, in any professed believer in Christianity to sneer at orthodoxy, or to pretend that it is a matter of indifference what religious tenets are held by Christians. But the case is made infinitely stronger, when it is admitted by all those whom we have in view, that Christianity is, in fact, a religion revealed by God—a system of moral and spiritual truths designed for the highest welfare of man. According to this, the Christian religion possesses an obligation on conscience, and ought to be received in its integrity by every one to whom it is made known. Be the tenets of this religion what they may, man has no right to alter, or to deny, or to regard as needless or superfluous, what God has revealed.

The question, then, of orthodoxy, or of the duty of believing those doctrines, whether of a speculative or a practical nature, which God has actually revealed, is a very simple one. It is really marvellous to see such examples of the way in which the common sense of men may be perverted by sophistries, as we sometimes do see in the case of persons of intelligence, and not without religious belief, who have been led to join in the prejudice against creeds and articles of faith as such, and any fixed or settled code of belief. Persons who think and talk in this way, are frequently very little aware of the real substratum of prin-



ciple on which they are arguing. They are not conscious that the tendency of the whole is to deny the existence of any Divine Revelation in Christianity. And yet, if it be in itself absurd or wrong to take measures for securing the continued reception of those doctrines which were revealed by God, and guarding them against counterfeits, perversions, or denials—if it is, in short, a matter of indifference, whether any particular tenet, whether relating to morality or faith, be accepted or denied, the only inference that can be drawn is, that God cannot have revealed any religious tenets whatever, and that Christianity is a human invention.

Latitudinarianism is thus in its extreme form, as applied to Christianity, but one step removed from infidelity. The latitudinarian, who professes his own persuasion of the truth of certain tenets, as those of Revelation, but at the same time holds that those who deny those tenets may be regarded as sound in their faith, and admissible to the privileges which are connected with faith, is guilty of self-contradiction to a most strange degree; unless, indeed, he regards his own faith as mere matter of opinion, in which case he has, in fact, no real faith at all in the objects of his belief.

To the believer, however, whatever may be the religious system in which he finds himself placed, it can never be a matter of doubt that Christianity is a substantive religion, with tenets, dogmas, principles, institutions, revealed and established by God, through Jesus Christ and the Apostles. A student of the Bible, even without any other instruction, could not hesitate on this point. And if this be certain in itself, it is equally clear that Christians are bound by the mere fact of the existence of such a Revelation, to treasure its sacred tenets with reverential care, guarding against all deviations either on their own part, or on that of others. So that a zeal for the truth of the Gospel, for the doctrine revealed by Jesus Christ, as distinguished from all human inventions, all theories elicited by the force of human ingenuity, is an essential branch of religion, which cannot fail to distinguish all real Christians.

We are indebted to the learned author of the volume before us, forming the first instalment of a work on Creeds and Articles of Faith, for a lucid and well-reasoned exposition of the grounds and principles on which the Christian Church in all ages has acted, in prescribing formularies of faith. It is really refreshing in this age of wire-drawn reasonings, and mysticism, to meet with a work in which the great principles of Catholic Christianity are stated with clearness and simplicity, and in which the appeal throughout is to common sense. We may add, that while no

ostentatious display of research is made, there is abundance of evidence of the praiseworthy diligence of the author in collecting materials for the full and fair discussion of this deeply important subject.

We shall offer such remarks as occur to us on the various points brought before us by Mr. Lancaster's volume.

Faith is a necessary condition to being admitted into the Christian Church. It has been made so by our Lord Himself, in announcing the institution of the Sacrament of Baptism; and it would be inconsistent with reason to suppose that it could be otherwise. To admit a person as a member of a religious community who did not identify himself with the religious tenets of that community, but disbelieved or rejected them, would be an absurdity. Thus, then, it becomes at once the duty of such a society to ascertain the faith of those who are proposed as its members, and hence arises the necessity for some profession of faith. In dissenting communities this profession of faith is made subsequently to baptism, when admission is sought into a "Church." In the Church it is made at Baptism, either by the person baptized in any case of adult baptism, or by others for him in the case of infant baptism. But in all cases, whether within or without the Church, some confession of belief is made previously to admission to the privileges of Christianity, with the object of satisfying the condition required by God Himself. From this arose the earliest creeds, or confessions of faith, the origin of which is coeval with Christianity itself—not that it is meant to say that any one of the creeds of the Church as it now stands is in all respects of apostolical antiquity, because it is evident that much of their existing substance has been added since the apostolic age; but confessions of faith must always have been made in some way whenever baptism was administered.

Mr. Lancaster refers with great justice to the baptism of the eunuch by Philip the Evangelist, as furnishing a distinct evidence of the apostolic practice, and of the existence of such a creed as we have referred to. The eunuch's words before baptism, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God," were the simple baptismal confession of the convert. It is probable, that originally the creed comprised little more than such a confession of God the Father and Jesus Christ; the object being to ascertain by some such test the belief in the divine commission of Jesus Christ as the only Son of the true God. But there is no distinct evidence to determine whether specific forms were established for this purpose by the Apostles themselves, or by their successors. In the course of a century or two, there were various creeds or forms of confession extant in different Churches, all of



them comprising a brief outline of the Christian faith, but differing slightly in language and in the extent of matter comprised in them. These were employed in testing the faith of candidates for baptism.

The rise of heresies is pointedly referred to by the author of the work before us, as having been the cause of the insertions of various articles in the creeds which were not included in them at the beginning. In the case of some of the articles of the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds this is *certainly* the case, in others *probably* so; but we are scarcely prepared to go as far as some writers have done, who have attributed to almost all the articles even of the Apostles' Creed an origin derived from the necessity of combating heresy. It is perfectly true, that each article of the Apostles' Creed condemns some early heresy, but does not Scripture itself do so by anticipation? This creed, except those articles which follow the profession of faith in the Holy Ghost, is apparently nothing more than a recapitulation of the Gospel statements, and as such may well have been put in the mouth of a candidate for baptism irrespectively of the existence of any heresy whatever. And we should say the same of much of the Nicene Creed, though in this case the history of its composition by the Councils of Nice and Constantinople, proves that the maintenance of the Christian faith against specific errors and heresies was an immediate object in the selection of the expressions employed; and it is manifestly the case on examination. While, therefore, we admit the truth of the statement which ascribes to various articles of the creeds a controversial origin, we would limit our assent to those cases in which historical evidence bears us out in saying that such was actually the case; and not attempt to find in every article of a creed which may be opposed to heresy, an origin *later* than the rise of that heresy. We see no reason why creeds very nearly the same as the Apostles' and the Nicene, may not have existed from the time of the Apostles themselves in different Churches.

The rise of false doctrines within the Christian communion, or external to it, rendered it undoubtedly necessary to provide for the safety of true doctrine, by requiring some tests either from candidates for baptism or for communion. And hence arose a different characteristic of creeds and doctrinal confessions, which in some cases comprised what are called *negative* articles, rejecting errors in matters of doctrine. The Nicene Creed contained such negative articles; for at the conclusion of it, a condemnation was added of the various false doctrines held by Arius; and the Thirty-nine Articles in the same way contain condemnations of various errors taught by Romanists and others. This *negative*

character of some of the articles, has been sometimes objected to by opponents of the Church ; just as if the guardianship of truth did not imperatively require negative articles, as well as positive expressions of belief. We shall here avail ourselves of Mr. Lancaster's remarks :—

“ There soon arose, even among the pastors of the Church, men who spoke perverse things, in order to draw away disciples after them, and who introduced under the mask of Christianity an adulterate doctrine ; thus subverting the faith, and frustrating the purposes of the Gospel. What then would be the duty of those whose office it was to ordain pastors ? They had no power to transmit any other commission than that which they had themselves received, namely, to preach the Gospel in its pure integrity. But how were they to keep away from this office the teachers of lewdness and blasphemy ? From men who taught not the doctrine of eternal life, but the doctrine of perdition, how were they to withhold the authority (which fidelity would never suffer them to impart) of an ambassador of Christ ? Under the commission of Christ, men could preach only the doctrine of Christ ; but what, in the case of false teachers, was to restrain them from teaching any doctrine that they would ? It was impossible that this could be done, without ascertaining the soundness of men's faith : nor again, could this latter be done, without inquiry as to all particulars respecting which danger was apprehended. There must needs be a declaratory abnegation of errors which were to be suppressed, and a declaratory profession of truths which must not be suppressed. It was thus necessary that there should be propounded certain distinct tenets, whether of profession or of renunciation ; such tenets relating, as need might be, to various essential parts of Christian doctrine. These tenets are nothing else than what we call articles of doctrine : and the purpose of such articles is to secure the truth and purity of doctrine in those who are about to enter the ministry of the Church, or who desire to continue in it.”—pp. 20, 21.

The primitive creed, as we have said, was probably limited to a brief recapitulation of the leading facts and truths of the Gospel ; but as time advanced, it became necessary to introduce further details into the creed, or into the doctrinal formularies of the Church. In this sense, certain tenets became articles of faith gradually, that is, they were taken from the general body of Scripture and of Christian belief which existed from the beginning, and were given a distinct and prominent place by being expressly and carefully defined, and guarded from heresy, and inserted in the creeds, or doctrinal formularies of the Church, which were put forward as expositions of the revealed truth, and held to be binding in general belief. The doctrines which have been comprehended in the creeds and doctrinal formularies of the Church, have not been selected on the ground of their being the most important doctrines of religion, nor has it ever been attempted to collect all the doctrines

of revealed religion in any formulary, but the doctrinal formularies have been moulded and shaped with an especial view to heresy and error.

“If, for instance,” says Mr. Lancaster, “the doctrine of Pelagius had never been broached, the Church would not, in this form, have put forth the true doctrine relating to original sin. If the peculiar tenets of Arius had never been published, no creed would have been framed for assertion of the contrary verities. ‘If the Church,’ says the Abbé Fleury, ‘sometimes makes new decisions and employs new terms, this is not done in order to form or to express new doctrines; it is only in order to declare what it has all along believed, and to apply proper remedies to the new subtilties of doctrines.’”—p. 41.

It is satisfactory to be able to appeal to Fleury and to so many other eminent writers of the Church of Rome, in refutation of the dangerous principle advocated by some of their divines, and recently revived by some writers in this country, which ascribes to the Church the power of sanctioning novelties of doctrine elicited by merely human reason, and elevating them into articles of faith. According to this fatal error, the Apostles and first teachers of Christianity knew less of Christian truth than uninspired men do at this day.

There is no need of any infallible tribunal for the determination of controversies, and the preservation of the Christian faith. It is a taunt which is frequently heard, that the English Church pretends to pronounce on matters of doctrine, and yet does not claim infallibility. But, assuredly, there are many points of the highest importance which must be decided without infallibility. For instance, an individual is called on to choose a religion, and yet he is not infallible. In many cases, there is sufficient certainty to authorize even individuals to pronounce that a doctrine is inconsistent with the Christian religion. To adopt Mr. Lancaster’s words:—

“Where God has imposed an obligation such as in this case rests upon the pastors of his flock; it is reasonable to presume, that He will, to all who are faithfully disposed, impart his blessing and his heavenly direction, in a measure sufficient for the exigency of their duty; to think otherwise, would be at once unworthy of God, and inconsistent with his promise: yet this blessing and direction may be very different from those special communications, by which men are inspired to foretell future events, and to declare a new religion; which God only can reveal. Whether this ordinary help be adequate to the present case, may be readily determined by a reference to examples. Suppose, then, the case of a man, desiring the holy baptism of the Church, or the communion of the blessed Eucharist, who with one of

the ancient heretics maintains that the God of the Jews was an apostate Angel ; or who with another of them teaches the transmigration of the soul ; or who inculcates with a third, that it is expedient for the future happiness of a Christian to indulge every possible appetite of the flesh. Is it now difficult to determine in regard to each such opinion : ‘ This is *not* Christianity ? ’ Is it not, on the contrary, an easy and safe judgment ? Now this is virtually all that is done in the proper use of articles of faith : this is all that, in the use of such articles, the Catholic Church has ever done : this is all that the Church of England, since the Church of Rome separated from her, ever did or does to this day.”—p. 197.

The author happily remarks, in reply to those who impute to the framer of the Thirty-nine Articles an attempt to *add* to the truths revealed in the Gospel, that their object is quite the reverse—that “ they are not to augment, but to retrench ; not to enlarge the primitive substance, but to remove the incrustation.” They remove human additions and corruptions, without diminishing the Divine substance. The great doctrines of Christianity, and the sacred formularies in which they are comprised, are frequently denounced by men of unsound faith, or of a sceptical disposition, as remnants of scholasticism. This is one of those arguments which relies for its force on the ignorance of those to whom it is addressed. Scholasticism was certainly a very faulty system : its characteristic was the substitution of human philosophy for the authority of Divine revelation. The Bible, and even the belief of the Church in former times, was to a great extent subordinated to the deductions of a subtle and refined logic. Christian theology lost its ancient simplicity, and became loaded with endless distinctions, subtleties, obscurities, and difficulties. But then this system commenced many ages after the creeds of the Christian Church had assumed their present form ; and it is an anachronism to describe them as scholastic, while the Articles were drawn up by those who had rejected scholasticism, and whose greatest object was to return to the ancient simplicity of the Christian system, when reason was subjected to revelation. This whole subject is very well treated in the work before us.—pp. 228—256.

There can be no doubt that the Articles express the sense of the Church of England on the subjects on which they treat ; and thus they appear to be binding on all her members to a certain extent, although actual subscription is not required from any except the clergy. The canons of the Church denounce excommunication against impugners of the Articles, which implies her full confidence in their truth, and a firm resolution to maintain them in authority. In short, the intention of the Church plainly is, that doctrines opposed to those of Romanism, Pelagianism,

Anabaptism, Socinianism, and other errors rejected in her Articles, should be taught and received within her borders. No true Churchman can for a moment deny the high value and importance of the Thirty-nine Articles for these objects; but, at the same time, these Articles are limited to certain specific tenets. They do not comprise the whole body of Christian belief and doctrine; no one formulary can possibly do so. The Christian faith is enshrined in the Holy Scriptures, but its expression and its form are capable of indefinite variety, consistently with the preservation of the substance of revealed truth; and the very language of Scripture itself, as well as of formularies composed by uninspired men, are capable of perversion. To propound the mere letter of the Thirty-nine Articles as the sole test of soundness on *all* points of Christian doctrine would be unwise, because, as we know from experience, there may be devices for escaping from the plainest declarations. This difficulty, however, would be obviated by the exercise of judgment by some competent authority, which would pronounce what the simple meaning of the article was, and would thus preclude subterfuge and prevarication.

But our objection to any proposal of innovation in the ecclesiastical law, as we have lately heard of, which would constitute the Articles the sole test in regard to all subjects mentioned in them, *e. g.*, the sacraments, is, that it would exclude from the character of tests of doctrine those formularies of the Church which have always possessed that authority from the period of their composition. We allude to the three Creeds of the Church, and the Book of Common Prayer. There cannot be the slightest question that these formularies express as fully and distinctly and authoritatively the doctrine of the English Church as the Thirty-nine Articles. The Creeds are even of more authority than the Articles, and are expressly referred to in the Articles as necessary to be believed by all; while the Articles are no where pronounced to be necessary to salvation, or directly imposed on all men as absolute conditions of Christianity. If there are to be any tests of doctrine whatever besides the Holy Scriptures, there can be no reason assigned for giving to the Thirty-nine Articles an exclusive authority in matters of doctrine which they have never yet possessed. The very fact of a proposal to declare them the only test of doctrine in the subjects on which they treat, is a proof that they have never hitherto been so considered, and it is therefore an innovation of a most important character which is thus attempted: the Church of England is called on, three centuries after the Reformation, to make an alteration in the principles on which she has hitherto acted, without even the formality

of any previous discussion or argument. Some nameless individual or body intimates an intention to propose a clause in an Act of Parliament most decidedly affecting the interests of religious truth in the Church of England, although such a proposition had never before been suggested by any member of the Church, as far as we are aware of.

It may be easy to allege, that the Articles represent truly the doctrine of the Church of England. Undoubtedly they do so. But so also do the Creeds and the Ritual of the Church; and considering that these various formularies were composed at different times, with reference to different controversies, or with different objects, it seems evident that the real doctrine of the Church must be gathered from the comparison of its various formularies, rather than from any one of them exclusively. To act otherwise would be to disregard one portion of the Church's teaching which may throw light on the remainder.

Independently, however, of these objections, we cannot but look with the greatest uneasiness and alarm at an attempt, emanating, apparently, from the secular power, to interfere with the tests of doctrine hitherto recognized in the Church of England. We do not dwell here on the obvious unfitness of the secular power for such attempts, without the previous sanction of the Church; nor on the scandal of debating such sacred matters in a popular assembly, including religionists of all classes. But what we do look with still greater jealousy upon is any attempt whatever, in this age of indifference and latitudinarianism, to make alterations, without any obvious reason, in the system of religious tests which has hitherto, amidst various divisions, preserved so great an amount of real agreement in the doctrines of the Gospel. True it is, that these tests may be evaded by persons who can satisfy their consciences by sophistical reasonings and strained interpretations. But we have seen that the tests of the Church of England have been sufficiently effective to procure the expulsion or voluntary retirement of parties who are really and distinctly opposed to them. We allude to such cases as those of the Socinians and Unitarians in the last and the present century, of various Antinomian and Calvinistic teachers in the present century, and, recently, of the Romanizing party.

If alterations are, in a spirit of recklessness or of irreverence, now to be introduced in the system of tests hitherto in force in the Church of England, without even the slightest pretence that such alteration is likely to promote the union of Christians who are now separated from us, it is impossible to say what may be next attempted. The Articles themselves may be hereafter set aside in the same summary way in which it is now proposed to



deal with the other formularies of the Church. In the present day, the secular power must generally be expected to be favourable to any removal of restrictions on liberty of opinion, and therefore the very hands which would now strike down the authority of one portion of the Church's teaching, would most probably hereafter be willing to aid in subverting the remainder.

If, however, any such attempt should be made, as the Church has had reason to apprehend, there can be no doubt, we trust, of so strong an opposition being offered to it by the bishops, the clergy, and the great mass of Churchmen, as to render its success impossible. We may surely ask of all men who have really at heart the continuance of the doctrine and principles of the Church of England, whether *this* is a time in which we ought in conscience to make rash experiments upon the doctrinal tests of the English Church; and whether it is desirable to excite additional controversy and agitation on so momentous a topic. We do not remember any proposal like the present, which attempts to interfere directly with the doctrinal formularies of the English Church. It is altogether a new feature in the times. Hitherto we have been preserved by the indifference, the discretion, or the right feeling of politicians, from innovations of this character. Any interference with the doctrines of the Church of England has been always disclaimed by those who have been most anxious to exercise the power of Parliament over her temporalities. But if any such a proposal as this should be adopted, it opens the door to further interference with the sacred deposit of Christian truth. Whatever may be the motive of those who have attempted to introduce so serious an innovation, or who may be led indiscreetly to support it, the precedent for alteration thus set, may lead to results which they would contemplate with dismay.

If a precedent were to be established for tampering with the formularies of the Church, the consequence would probably be, that persons with various objects might be induced to combine for the purpose of putting an end to subscription to the Articles. Persons may be found who regard the Articles as an unnecessary restraint on private judgment. Others, again, would wish to be freed from their positive statements on the subject of the Holy Trinity; others would not regret to be relieved from the necessity of pronouncing a condemnation of Romish doctrines or practices. Thus, if any persons who might regard the Articles as more perfect expositions of doctrine than the other formularies of the Church of England, should be induced on any account to lend their aid to a design apparently calculated to give the Articles exclusive authority, they might find that they had only been

preparing the way for the downfall of the Articles themselves. The same political convenience or necessity which would interfere to restrict ecclesiastical courts to the letter of the Articles in judging persons accused of heresy or error, might at any moment render it imperative to remove subscription, which is undoubtedly an interference with private judgment, and which may sometimes be found an inconvenient hindrance to the enjoyment of ecclesiastical benefices. To the statesman, who generally is taught to look on the controversies of Christianity with impartiality, the strong declarations of the Articles in opposition to Socinianism and Romanism must necessarily appear to be unsuited to the tolerant and liberal views which prevail around him; and as a general rule, such men must be expected to be favourable to any measures for relieving the minds of men from any tests which interfere with the freedom of thought and speculation.

We do not say that either the interference lately attempted with the tests of doctrine in the Church of England, or the abolition of subscription to the Articles would in themselves essentially alter the character of the Church; the one being chiefly an impediment to the due exercise of discipline, and the other a removal of a safeguard for sound doctrine; but in their practical results they would be found deeply injurious, as promoting the increase of extreme doctrines, the strife of rival theories, and the unsettlement of the popular mind on these great truths of Christianity which all now receive with firm and unhesitating faith.

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ART. III.—*Reginald Vere, a Tale of the Civil Wars. In Verse. With Notes historical and illustrative. By the Rev. FREDERICK WOODS MANT, B.A., Author of the ‘Rubi.’* Oxford: J. H. Parker.

IN the year 1682 was printed at Dublin a remarkable book, with a remarkable title. The title is, “Foxes and Firebrands.” The object of the book itself is to prove, by well-authenticated evidence, that, from the time when Queen Elizabeth was excommunicated by the Pope, down to its date of publication, the Jesuits and Friars of various orders had, under the disguise of dissenting preachers, been labouring to promote separation from the Church of England, as the most effectual means of introducing Romanism. The book is not very skilfully put together, and the style not very clear, not always grammatical. And perhaps the writer lays himself open to the charge of credulity, being, together with almost all the rest of the nation at the time, an undoubting believer in the Popish plot, professedly revealed by Titus Oates; and being also persuaded that the attainder of Lord Strafford, the execution of Abp. Laud, and the death of Charles I., were all brought about by the machinations of the Romanists. Still it brings forward several striking facts, supported by evidence apparently incontrovertible<sup>1</sup>. Several of these facts, and the evidence by which they are supported are given, or alluded to, in the notes to the poem, which stands at the head of our article, the subject of which almost seems to have been suggested by “Foxes and Firebrands.”

Of the poem itself, perhaps, the leading characteristics are

<sup>1</sup> One of these anecdotes derives additional interest from its connexion with Hammond, certainly one of the holiest and most learned men that this Church has ever produced, one of her ablest and most successful defenders.

“Anno 1656, the Reverend Divine Doctor Henry Hammond, being one day in the next shop to John Crookes, and there reading the works of St. Ambrose, a red-coat casually came in and looked over this divine’s shoulder, and there read the Latin as perfect as himself, which caused the doctor to admire that a red-coat should attain to that learning: then speaking unto him, he demanded how he came to that science? The red-coat replied, By the Holy Spirit; the doctor hereupon replied, I will try thee farther, and so called for a Greek author, which the red-coat not only read, but construed. The doctor, to try him further, called for the Hebrew Bible, and so for several other books, in which the red-coat was very expert. At last, the doctor recollecting with himself, called for a Welsh Bible, and said, If thou beest inspired, read me this book, and construe it; but the red-coat being at last catch’d, replied, I have given thee satisfaction enough, I will not satisfy thee further, for thou wilt not believe though an angel came from heaven.”

*vigour* and *compression*; the latter sometimes carried so far, as to occasion a degree of obscurity. Mr. Mant has great command of the language of poetry, and his adaptation of the variety of metres, which he employs, to the immediate subject, is generally managed with great felicity. Perhaps we were still more struck by this felicitous change of rhythm and cadence in his former very beautiful poem, the "Rubi." In the structure of his lines he is more attentive to vividness and strength, than to smoothness of versification, and sometimes the reader does not immediately *fall in* to the often changing rhythm of the composition. We are not about to forestall the interest of the reader, by unfolding the general plot of the poem, or by anticipating the incidents which mark its progress, but it may not be amiss to give a brief outline of its opening.

Reginald Vere, it appears, has recently lost his mother, by whom he had been tenderly and carefully educated, and from whom he had imbibed a strong sense of religion, and a deep heartfelt attachment to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England. A little before the battle of Lansdown, he is suddenly recalled by his father, Lord Staunton, from the gallant army of the west, led on to victory by the Marquis of Hertford, and required forthwith to give up the command of the three hundred retainers of the family, whom he had hitherto led in support of the royal cause. The Lord of Staunton Vere is represented as a selfish, proud, overbearing sensualist, professing great attachment to "Church and king," but with a limited intellect, and governed by self-will, knowing nothing of the principles on which such attachment ought to be founded. His ear has been gained by two Jesuits, Napper and Commin, disguised,—Commin as a soldier, and Napper as a Puritanical preacher, the intrusive rector of the adjoining parish of Compton. These men have contrived to instil into Lord Staunton's mind a conviction, that the attachment of Reginald Vere to the ritual of the Church, especially his attendance at daily prayer, is an indication of a leaning to Popery, and have mixed up with this impression some dark suspicions of his loyalty to the king, and of his filial duty to himself. The insidious but successful arts of these two practised deceivers give occasion to the following stanzas on slander, which furnish an instance of the vigour and compression which we have spoken of, as characterizing the poem. In fact, the *compression* here is such, that the substance of a long sermon on slander seems to be compressed in these two pages.

" Oh, slander ! thou malignant art !  
True test of the corrupted heart !

Thou coward hater's coward tool !  
 The brave may foil the brave man's brand,  
 The prudent shun the midnight hand.  
 The slanderer's tongue what care can rule,  
 When on its victim's name it brings  
 The asp-like venom of its stings ?  
 The skilful leech may soon allay  
 The wounds received in open fray ;  
 Remorse may stay the felon's knife,  
 And spare the cowering victim's life ;  
 Remorse or leech's skill in vain  
 To assuage the slanderers ceaseless pain ;  
 No time the injury can bound,  
 The poison festers in the wound.

" Say, hast thou slandered ? Dost repent ?  
 Be this thy clinging punishment !  
 Thou wouldst recall the coward ill,  
     Thou wouldst thy crime confess ;  
 Exert thine efforts, try thy skill  
     Thy victim to redress.  
 Retract thy words, re-write the tale :  
 Think'st thou thy rhetoric will prevail ?  
 Will half of those, who heard the lie,  
 Hear thee retract the calumny ?  
 Thy one tongue spoke, but it has spread  
 By hundred tongues the lie it bred ;  
 And couldst thou speak with hundred tongues,  
 Thou couldst not clear thy victim's wrongs.

" Will half of those thou hast deceived  
 Renounce the tale they first received  
 Upon thy credit, and believed,  
 Nor deem some fresh deceit is meant ?  
 The slandered can't be innocent.  
 But thou prevailest ; years glide on ;  
 All good remembrances are gone,  
 But evil recollected stays ;  
 And there will aye be room to raise  
 The evil tale of other days,  
 Long after the defence is dead,  
 To whisper "such and such" was said ;  
 Death only sets thy victim free  
     From the old sore of calumny.

As the blood of the murdered returns not again,  
 As the sand of the desert sucks up the light rain,  
 As the snow of the winter-storm melts on the river  
 The good name of the slandered one sinks, and for ever.

“ If thou hast hurt thy brother's fame,  
If thou hast kill'd his honest name ;  
Taught by the warning, oh, beware !  
Thou canst not now thy wrong repair ;  
This canst thou do, thy crime deplore,  
And, taught by sorrow, sin no more.”

In consequence of the suspicions thus artfully instilled, Reginald is most harshly treated by his father in a short interview, and then peremptorily ordered by “ break of day” to carry a letter to Sir Ralph Hopton, announcing that the command of his retainers was taken from his son and transferred to Commin. With this order the noble leaders of the royalist army refuse to comply, and Reginald heads his men with distinction in the hard-fought fight which followed. The battle of Lansdown is given in a most spirited and interesting manner. The Poem keeps close to the narrative of Clarendon, merely assuming the poetic licence of giving a name to the traitor, hitherto anonymous, by whose hand the two most calamitous events in the victorious army, the death of Sir Bevil Greenvil and the disabling of Sir Ralph Hopton, were brought about. As another instance of compression, we must be permitted to give a single stanza on the evils of war, *even* after a victory.

“ The battle is over, now muster the host ;  
Bear gently the wounded and bury the slain.  
Now reckon in blood what the conquest has cost,  
Ere you boast of its glory, or count on its gain.  
Sum up the sad hearts and the desolate tears,  
That the fatherless shed, by your conquest bereft ;  
And number the hopeless, the wearisome, years  
That the widow must toil for her charge that is left ;  
And number the groans of the wounded ones lying  
Stiff, smarting, and cold on the fight's bloody scene ;  
And the agonized memories, that rush on the dying,  
Of the life that will be, and the life that has been :  
To whom, all unwean'd from earth's pleasures and sins,  
Eternity opens, and judgment begins.  
Then the balance be struck ! then the heart may decide  
The loss or the gain of war's misery or pride !”

This reminds us of the reported reply of the most illustrious and successful commander of modern times—whether truly reported we know not—to a lady, who remarked, “ What a splendid thing must a victory be !” “ Splendid ! Madam ; the most dreadful thing I know, except a defeat.”

We cautiously abstain from marring the reader's interest in the story of the poem, by mentioning any of its stirring incidents,

but having given one or two specimens marked by force and vigour, we must beg permission to bring forward a very few passages of a softer and gentler character, which seem to be peculiarly in unison with the mind and deep feelings of the writer. We are persuaded that very many of our readers will sympathize with the following stanzas, when they have got over the somewhat encumbered rhythm, and perhaps awkward construction, of the first line.

“What is home? in the thoughts of awakening spring,  
When the green buds burst, and the glad birds sing,  
And the garden breatheth its honied scents,  
And puts forth its sweetest blandishments,  
And each flower looks up with clear bright eye  
Into the face of the glowing sky,  
And the buds, and the birds, and the bright flowers come  
To the wanderer’s dreams : but they are not home.

“For there lacketh the music of merry tongues,  
That rang through the garden like fairy songs ;  
And there lacketh the patter of happy feet,  
That filled the haunts of each loved retreat ;  
And there lacketh the glitter of laughing eyes,  
And the joy of the young heart’s gaities,  
That gave to the scene its living soul,  
The inward spirit that named the whole.

“Remove that charm, and in vain you come  
From distant regions to seek for home ;  
Though it beareth the old familiar name,  
And its scenes of beauty remain the same  
With those of the well-remember’d spot  
That memory cherish’d, that place is not  
What our fancy shadow’d in years gone by,  
When we spoke of the home of our infancy.

“Such is the change, in lapse of years,  
That over every home appears ;  
And it is well the heart should know  
That all such pleasures come and go ;  
Lest clothing any human tie  
With thoughts of immortality,  
We give to earthly things a love  
That the soul owes to realms above.”

A similar tone of feeling, sensitively alive to all the best emotions of family and social attachments, and to all the innocent enjoyments of life, sobered and chastened by the solemn teaching of religion, pervades the whole of the poem.

We have almost exceeded the limits which we had proposed

for extracts, but we must crave the indulgence of just introducing the heroine. Both hero and heroine have lost their mothers. The touching dedication prefixed to the poem shows how deeply Mr. Mant feels a similar bereavement, a feeling which seems to have suggested several passages of much beauty. After an engaging portrait of Marion's person and loveliness of character, and an allusion to the death of her mother, we have the following just observation :

“ Well it is by Heaven design'd,  
That in mortal scenes of sorrow,  
Ever the elastic mind  
May in occupation find  
Soothing comfort, and may borrow  
Even from the source of grief  
That which gives the heart relief.  
Thus it was with Marion's heart.”—

Her “occupation” was to supply, so far as she could, the place of her mother in the care of her father and his family.

“ And, except that somewhat slower  
Was her foot upon the green,  
And her voice was somewhat lower,  
Somewhat sadder was her mien,  
Scarcely could the world have known,  
That affliction's wintry hour  
With so keen a blast had blown  
On so delicate a flower.”

All readers must have remarked, that it is the usual practice of our ablest writers of fiction, whether in poetry or prose, to introduce their most bustling and stirring events by some picture of calmness and quiet. The following picture of Marion, in her lonely seclusion, is followed by an animating scene of excitement, turmoil, and alarm :

“ Skilfully fashion'd by Marion's side,  
Frame of embroidery work was spread !  
But carelessly there her fingers plied  
With listless needle the silken thread ;  
And slowly and slowly formed to view,  
Figures and faces and landscapes grew.  
For Marion's thoughts were far away  
From silken thread of embroidery frame,  
And sometimes she thought of battle fray,  
And sometimes of one she dared not name ;  
And her form that trembled, her cheek that glowed,  
The varying tone of her visions shewed.

For sometimes her small white hands were clasped  
 Over her knees in calm distress ;  
 And sometimes her silken thread she grasp'd,  
 But the needle's point was motionless :  
 And within her blue eyes' liquid cell  
 The tear drops trembled, but never fell.  
 And then she sung some mournful air,  
 Scarce knew the maiden what she sung ;  
 But the music, like a secret prayer,  
 Soothed the heart as it flowed along :  
 And then she smiled on her saddening strain,  
 And strove to bend to her task again.  
 And then did her taper fingers range  
 Over the web so light and fast,  
 As if she thought to work a change  
 In her mournful thoughts : and it came at last."

In describing the spoil and devastation perpetrated on the churches of this country by the misguided zeal and ignorant fanaticism of the Puritans, Mr. Mant draws largely upon Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, and in the notes are given many curious and interesting facts from that valuable book. Perhaps some persons may be of opinion that those religionists are treated with too much caustic severity, and that in sometimes adopting the metre of *Hudibras*, Mr. Mant has caught something of its spirit. We are persuaded that such an opinion is unfounded. The poem is pervaded by a tone of deep religious feeling, and we think that a *really* irreverent expression is not to be found in it. It must be remembered, that Napper is a Jesuit in the disguise of a Puritan ; and that though among the Puritans there were very many men actuated by sincere and fervent zeal, yet there were many also influenced by a wild and misdirected enthusiasm ; many also who made religion a cloak for maliciousness.

It has occurred to us, from some features in the poem, to suspect that Mr. Mant may at some time have contemplated taking a wider range, and constructing a more extended narrative. As ground for this suspicion we would mention the very spirited description of the rapid progress, the almost railroad speed, of the express sent by Napper to Rome, which reminded us of the fiery cross of Sir Walter Scott. The description is given with great force and vivacity, and the despatch is delivered, but nothing seems to come of it. *Quid dignum tanto ?*

But we must draw to a close. We have little hesitation in expressing our opinion, that Reginald Vere is a very interesting tale, the work of a well-informed and highly poetic mind, actuated by the kindest of human sympathies, and ever alive to all

the beauties of external nature. It abounds in passages of great beauty, and of great vigour and animation; and many of those of a more meditative or moral cast might be beneficially stored up in the memory. The writer is evidently thoroughly conversant in the history of the time in which the events of his poem are supposed to have taken place. Our readers will not be the less disposed to think favourably of the poem, if we add, that it appears from every part of it, that Mr. Mant is most zealously and devotedly attached to the religion which it is his duty to teach, and to the Apostolical Church, of which he is a minister.

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ART. IV.—*Loss and Gain.* London: Burns. 1848.

Who could affect to deny that allurements for some minds are possessed by the Church of Rome in the present day, in which the Church of England is deficient, and which may form a trial to the faith of those who suffer themselves to be guided by impulse, or impelled by an impatient craving for the ideal? Let us enumerate some of the specific attractions which operate variously on various dispositions. First, then, the tendency of the humble and faithful heart to implicit confidence in its teacher this, in itself, most Catholic instinct, is encouraged and developed to the utmost possible extent by the system of Romish infallibility. And this obedience, we may remark, is not alone to be tendered to the Roman Church, as a whole, but further to every individual priest as its representative or embodiment who may be consulted in all cases of difficulty as an oracular voice which must yield "right counsel." We have said that there is a certain charm in this possibility of unrestricted reliance and obedience, for many humble hearts; and that a Catholic instinct prompts the desire for it: yet assuredly, there may be a sinful excess in such desire, even in the pure of heart, if it be carried to the limit of self-abandonment: for each man must answer for himself to his God, "and not another;" and Scripture expressly charges us to call no man "father," in the sense of infallible judge and absolute lord and master.

But the attraction in this case is perhaps even stronger for the mind which has lost all hold on objective truth, or which is at least tossed about on the waves of every controversy, than it has been acknowledged to be, for the lowly of spirit and pure of heart. Those, who have argued and worked themselves out of their nearest and dearest convictions; who, by indulging a controversial habit of mind, combined with irreverence towards their mother church, have finally arrived at a state of indefinite negation; who no longer realize the primary verities of Christianity; these, we know, feel attracted by the prospect of an external and visible infallibility, under which they can take refuge: they exaggerate the difficulties of their own position; they even resolve to doubt all things, and persuade themselves that they act virtuously in so doing, in order to constitute a necessity for flight to this presumed external certainty claimed

by Rome. But whatever be the motives of those attracted, the attraction exercised by the assertion of infallibility and absolute dominion, over humble hearts and servile hearts, vacillating minds and weak minds, is certainly not to be questioned.

Again, an attraction of another order possessed by Rome, is the external splendour of her rites and services; what may, at first sight, appear "the beauty of holiness." To the class mainly assailed by temptations to apostasy, Rome proffers Daily Communion, or, more correctly perhaps, daily reception of the Mystic Presence of our Lord and Saviour. This alone constitutes a mighty charm for many spirits. Every morning this wondrous visitation of the Lord of glory is renewed, accompanied by all external symbols of power and majesty. The host is uplifted, the incense ascends on high, the worshippers kneel as in awe-struck terror, the presence is received. Further, all appliances to the senses are in these services combined; music, painting, splendour of the altar, dimness of the aisle; and again, constant variety in the form and nature of the services constituting a possible medium for perpetual excitement. We can only indicate the chief allurements pertaining to this class; yet, enough has been said, even here, to warrant us in the assertion, that Rome does externally possess such pomp of public worship, as may possibly attract even simple hearts to her communion; but cannot fail to operate by way of magnet on all those who think more of form than of reality, and are easily dazzled by glitter and glare.

Once more, Rome, through the forbidden medium of creature-worship, encourages and further developes, to an excess, that admiring love for saints and martyrs, which is in itself most catholic and praiseworthy. By directing our attention to the special virtues of holy men she affords so many channels of devotional feeling; she yields, at the same time, so many sources of recreation and delight. Much of evil, of deadly evil, is blent with this, we know: but we speak at present with reference to the actual temptations presented to unsound Anglicans, by those attractions of the Church of Rome, of which we do not wish to question her possession. And we repeat therefore, that the development of love for the Virgin and saints, which appears naturally to accompany creature-worship, or what we cannot but designate idolatry (though it may undoubtedly, and does exist without it), is another source of allurement to those, who have never fully realized the gifts and graces of their own spiritual mother.

Finally, for we must not linger longer over this branch of our subject, the mediæval character of the Romish Church consti-

tutes a potent attraction for some minds. We have in our mind's eye the advantage which Rome possesses, in being able to claim an uninterrupted succession of traditions, in accepting, without restriction, all the wonders of the middle ages; boasting the saints and martyrs all her own, and encouraging that affection for their memory which should be the natural heritage of every Christian heart. We know well that all these are in a due sense our own also; we know that the Fathers are hostile as a body to the system presented to us by modern Romanism; we know, even, that the expertest Romish controversialists have been compelled to acknowledge this fact, to abandon the argument from Catholic tradition, and to take refuge in the terrible theory of development. But this knowledge does not affect the consideration which we would wish to express; that Rome possesses the *externals* of communion with all ages of the Church. She is thus likely to appear, to the uncritical eye, as possessed of the reality of Catholicity; and this fact must exercise a potent influence over all who are liable to be drawn within her sphere.

We have now enumerated, very briefly, some of the real and apparent advantages and consequent attractions possessed and present by the Church of Rome; various others might be named, but those quoted suffice for the occasion. We deny not, nay, we admit, that the Church of England, though possessed of all the requisites necessary to constitute a true branch of the Church Catholic, though further entitled to the praise of far higher doctrinal purity than pertains to Rome, is deficient in some departments of practice and discipline. There is a question, however, which may be said to lie at the very root of this inquiry, and on the solution of which the entire controversy betwixt Rome and England must be allowed to pend; and this is, does our Lord's promise that his Church should not be overcome by evil (a promise, the existence of which will scarcely be questioned), involve the absolute infallibility of that Church, or no? If it does, if that Church cannot partially fall, nay, even partially apostatize, at least as far as the *addition* of idolatry is concerned (as did the Jewish Church of old), then must all those who recognize the application of that promise to the visible, and not alone the invisible Church, abandon resistance to Rome, and acknowledge that her theory of her infallibility and spiritual impeccability, realized as she declares it to be in her actual existence, is alone consistent with the declaration of the Church's Divine Founder. But if, as we contend, nay, should almost assume, that promise be perfectly consistent with the partial fall and degradation, not only of branches of the Church Catholic but even of the Church Catholic herself; *then* a sure ground is gained, from which we can advance to the exposition of our

Anglican theory on Church unity. Let then this primary position be well considered by those who follow the argument. Is it tenable? Divine grace must accompany the visible succession of the Church. This is acknowledged. Does that grace involve absolute infallibility? The examples of Judas and Peter alone may surely suffice to settle this inquiry in the negative. Nevertheless, we shall be told, the Spirit does conduct into all truth. We reply, into all saving truth; such truth, at least, as shall suffice for salvation; but not, necessarily, to dogmatic infallibility; or, what becomes of the doctrine of "invincible ignorance," which, it is admitted, may consist with the gifts of the Spirit? But surely, the respondent will tell us, the Spirit is not so bound to the visible channel of succession, that It may not withhold itself where there is deadly heresy, or denial of the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. This may and must be granted; for we cannot conceive the Apostolic succession of any validity in Unitarian bodies. Our Lord has provided against this difficulty: He has specially declared, that his visible Church is founded on *this* rock—faith in his Godhead, or rather in the Godhead of the man Christ Jesus; the fundamental verity, which will be found on consideration to involve the whole mystery of the blessed and eternal Trinity, and all other Catholic truth: and He has further promised that the Church, founded on this rock, shall not be overthrown; in other words, He has constituted it an unfailing mark of his Church's presence, and has declared that the Church possessing it shall endure for ever. He has further constituted two mystic rites or ceremonies, as generally necessary for the salvation of all men; as the two great and abiding channels of Divine grace; and, finally, He has committed the faith in his Godhead, and consequently in the blessed Trinity, and the communication of these pledges of his presence, of these means of conveying Him, of conveying even Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to the soul, to a visible and divinely-constituted body, governed after a certain appointed fashion, and continued from age to age through the transmission of grace, conveyed by the imposition of hands, after the pattern first set by our Lord, and closely followed by his Apostles and disciples.

And now we have arrived, as it were, suggestively and by implication, at the three infallible marks of a Church's Catholicity; that is, of its being a true and visible branch of that one Church Catholic which, in the spiritual "communion of saints," at least, must enjoy undivided unity. These are, then, as has been already inferred, faith in the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, and implicitly in all that is revealed by God, communication of the two great Sacraments as the visible sources,

and channels of grace, and possession of the Apostolic succession and government. These are the only *indispensable* marks, and, there is no doubt, have been ever possessed, and are at present possessed by all visible branches of the Church Catholic. And consistently with the possession of these marks of God's inheritance, there may be marks of human error, in the actual neglect of ordinances, or their corruption, or in practices which have no warrant in God's word, but are rather repugnant to it—in superstitions, and even in idolatries. Thus it was under the former Dispensation, and thus it may be under the latter.

Having stated what the indispensable requisites of a visible Church, or branch of the Church are, according to the Anglican theory or belief, it appears scarcely necessary to draw the conclusion, in so many words, that the Anglican Church must be such a branch. But if this be true, it is further obvious that allegiance is generally due to our spiritual mother, as such, from her children; we say *generally*, because we will not affirm that no cause whatever could possibly excuse a baptized Christian in seceding from a body which possessed the requisites above enumerated. This is, no doubt, a difficult question to decide, and we wish not to speak strongly; but it does appear to us, that the adoption of certain corruptions, although they may not invalidate a Church's hold of fundamental verities, may yet possibly justify her children in deserting her communion. We will confine ourselves to the case of idolatry. Surely those who believe prayers to any creature to be positively sinful and idolatrous, are bound to *protest* against them. The language of Scripture on this subject cannot be mistaken. Are they to allow their children to be contaminated by partially idolatrous instruction, even if they could, in as far as themselves were concerned, escape its ill effects? Besides, the Church of Rome accepts no divided allegiance; you must submit altogether and on every point, or you cannot be truly a Romanist at all. Could a man remain honestly in the Roman communion who rejected that tenet of infallibility, on which Romanism, as distinguished from Catholicity, is erected; without which that communion declares there can be no salvation? What follows? Simply, that members of the Church of Rome may be justified in leaving her communion, even whilst they continue to recognize her as a possible channel of salvation. Nevertheless, to resume the thread of our argument, so much is certain; Anglicans are generally bound to yield allegiance to their spiritual mother as a Church; and, unless they believe that they cannot be saved in her, they commit a most deadly sin in leaving her.

We must be permitted a passing allusion to those Lutheran and Calvinist, or rather Presbyterian bodies, whom we appear to have

left altogether on one side, as unworthy of classification. Their case is undoubtedly peculiar, and it would be most painful to decide against them ; to deny, that is, that they *can* be possessed of the ordinary means of salvation, including Sacramental Grace. Rome upbraids us for our indecision, and hesitates not to fulminate her anathemas : but does not absolute necessity palliate much, if not all ? If, as we have striven to show, conscientious men may be wisely impelled to leave the Roman Communion, to protest ; may be driven so to do ; can we make them responsible for the unavoidable fatality of their positions ? Can we believe that Providence will hold them so ? And yet it is safer, perhaps, and wiser, to believe that grace, where it is communicated to them (and that so it is we doubt not), is extraordinary rather than ordinary ; that it flows because God wills it, but not in the appointed channel.

To resume, the Church of England has her distinctive excellences, which may be more than set off against any practical deficiencies. Her faith is that of the Catholic Church of all ages : we have therefore absolute, we may truly say infallible, warrant for the correctness of her teaching, both from Holy Writ itself and universal tradition. Her Creeds are those of the Church Catholic, and express all the fundamental verities of the faith. He who realizes these alone may well rejoice. But again, her Articles, against which such an outcry has been raised by Romanists, alas ! that we must add, by Romanisers also ; what do they say that can be reasonably construed as inconsistent with the Creeds ? Indeed they specifically affirm the absolute correctness of those Creeds. They further confirm, individually, all the leading tenets of Christianity,—the Trinity, the Godhead of our Lord, his Descent, his Resurrection, personality of the Holy Spirit, universality of original sin, incapacity of man without grace to please God, justification through Christ's merits applied by faith, the indispensable manifestation of that faith in good works, the possibility of repentance and pardon for sin after baptism, foreknowledge and assent of God to the salvation or perdition of men, called, in a certain sense, predestination, but most carefully guarded ; nature and requisites and authority of the Church ; grace conveyed in Baptism and the Lord's Supper, &c.

We are ashamed to deal seriously with the general futile objections ; that man's freewill is denied ; that Baptism is not declared to be regeneration, but a sign of it ; that the Presence in the Lord's Supper is not called real ; and more of the same flimsy nature, which we may have occasion to refer to more specifically by-and-by. Meanwhile, suffice it for the present to state our convic-



tion, that whether judged by her Creeds, her Articles, or her Services, the faith of the Church of England will be found pure. This in itself should be an all-sufficient attraction for those who believe salvation possible out of the Roman Communion, and possible for them ; and this we see not how any can question who rightly understand our Lord's promise, "The gates of hell shall not prevail." But she has other special excellences. She commends herself equally to the intellect and the heart ; she claims no blind worship, but the allegiance of love ; she does not bid her children *seek* truth, in the first place ; but she gives it them, and bids them receive it. Only she does not affirm that she is infallible ; she does not command them to cease to be reasonable creatures. Her services are at once catholic and beautiful. On this head we have yet much to say. For the present we content ourselves with the general assertion, the truth of which her loving and earnest children will not question : her government is apostolic. Her practice and discipline, though defective, may well bear comparison *in their fruits*, as a whole, with those of any branch of the Romish Church, in the social, moral, and religious state of the nation submitted to her care.

Yet, despite all this, and far more than we can at present even allude to, it cannot be denied that the Church of England is still, in some respects, in an abnormal position. Wherefore this ? Because in her actual development she may be said to be, in part, the consequence of a Reformation, or rather Renovation, at all events, of a mighty change. And a re-action against that practical system which had prevailed within the Visible Church of God, accompanied by whatever doctrinal errors, for many centuries could scarcely fail to occasion the temporary loss, nay, the loss for a long time, of some good and holy practices, more especially in matters of discipline.

But we must go somewhat deeper here. Here again a fundamental question suggests itself, on the solution of which (as on that of the one before propounded) we believe the whole controversy betwixt Rome and England to depend. Has, or has not, as a matter of fact, a Great Development of Error arisen within the Visible Church, which has received its most distinct embodiment in the system known to us as Romanism ? If this question be answered directly in the negative, we scruple not to confess, that "*tendimus in Latium*" would appear to be the destiny of the respondent. The existence of a Development, either good or evil, can surely not be questioned ; and it must be one of the twain. We must either recognize modern Romanism as the result of the working together of all the lawful elements of the Church, originating on the one hand in the early, though partial,

deference shown to the See of Peter, developed into unqualified submission; the early reverence for relics and intimate reliance on the merits and prayers of saints, developed into their invocation and worship; the early celibacy of hermits developed into the ascetic system of modern Rome; or, on the other hand, we must admit that the principle of partial corruption was in the Church from the beginning, and developed itself into Gnostic asceticism, into a belief in human merits, into idolatry of various orders, into slavish submission to a fallible individual, &c. We repeat, there is no alternative. Now, without going into the subject, if we may so express ourselves; without setting forth an array of texts, or inquiring in how far those texts may be held to apply to Romanism and the Roman Church, so much we might be permitted to say: if we knew nothing of existing facts, if having died in the first, we were to wake up suddenly in the nineteenth century, we should have strong antecedent reasons for presuming that great corruptions would at least partially prevail in the Church, because Scripture has distinctly foretold their existence; ay, has even specifically denounced some one future system of error as arising within the Church of God itself and seducing the saints. Without going too far, then, we think we may, as Churchmen (assuming the general validity of our position and the orthodoxy of our doctrines, on the authority of Scripture and Catholic tradition), we think we may further assume, that that specific system which denounces and anathematizes us, which teaches what we are bound to consider idolatry, which usurps sway over various national churches, is in itself anti-Christian, and may safely be condemned as such. We are fully aware that its existence within a Church, nay, its partial supremacy over it, is perfectly consistent with that Church's *being*; for otherwise the Church of England, which was for centuries subject to this yoke, and only three centuries ago emancipated itself, would have long ceased *to be*. But the fact remains: Romanism, as a distinct development, is in our eyes not of God. It therefore must be of Satan.

And now we can ask with yet greater force, how was it possible to cast off a system such as this, which had interwoven itself more or less with every good and holy thing, without losing much that was precious? The only wonder must be, that we have kept *so much*; that we have retained all essentials. As instances of our losses, Daily Communion and the due use of Discipline may be especially referred to. But could such defects, or any others, which leave fundamentals intact, justify our Church's children in deserting her? Surely not so. Nevertheless,—and this is the point at which we wish to arrive at present, the failure of the



perception of which has probably led to the defection of many :— this is distinctly a period of trial and perplexity, of loss and trouble, in the Church's history. We are not now justified in demanding absolute infallibility, unlimited authority, perfect catholic communion, in fine, millennial glory ; all which our converts, as a class, have sought for unjustly in the Church of England, and have finally imagined to discover in the Church of Rome. The hour has not yet arrived when it can be said, "Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself ; for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended." This, on the contrary, is a season of affliction. We must endure unto the end. "In quietness and confidence shall be our strength."

It is, we repeat, a matter of great doubt, whether this central verity has at any time been duly realized by Mr. Newman and his immediate followers. They have indeed used language, here and there, which might appear suggestive of this truth ; but could they, if they had realized it, have sought for an actual Ideal in the Church of Rome, have recognized her as already possessed of all millennial gifts of perfection, have abandoned *faith* to obtain *possession* of the impossible ? The very remarkable book which lies before us, and the perusal of which has in some degree suggested the peculiar line of argument assumed in the foregoing observations, namely, the tale, if we may so call it, of "Loss and Gain," is now generally supposed to owe its existence in every sense to the author of the "Essay on Development," the teacher of Littlemore, Mr. Newman. We adverted, but very briefly, to this tale in our last Number, as at once odious and insolent, and a closer examination has by no means modified our opinion in this respect. On the other hand, we have learnt to see that the book may be of more practical importance than we at first anticipated, and may exercise a wider and more pernicious influence than we imagined possible. We spoke in the natural disgust inspired by its marvellous flippancy of tone and painfully irreverential and unloving spirit : but this tale is undoubtedly clever ; nay, it is even extremely subtle, and calculated to work extensive injury amongst young men at our Universities. Therefore do we consider it worthy of a more detailed criticism and a more determined exposure than we have as yet bestowed on it.

Whether fame errs in attributing this work to Mr. Newman we venture not to decide. So much, however, we may say, the book has some of his cleverness, and much, alas ! too much, of his spirit. We have his cold sneers, his politely-hinted calumnies, his general coldness and deadness of heart, as evinced in the "Essay on Development," his rationalistic hints and queries, and

finally, his exaggerated demonstrations of fervour with respect to the beauties of Romish worship and Romish service. We may seem to speak too unkindly ; too severely. God is our Judge, that we would yet weep, yet pray for our brother. But "a spell is on us," to speak the truth in Christ : we dare not lie to our own souls. If this book then be not Mr. Newman's, despite the many almost infallible marks that it is,—if it be not his in the sense of direct authorship, it has surely been written by one of his nearest and closest disciples. It indubitably bears the Littlemore stamp.

Leaving this point, let us proceed to show why it is not only a most dangerous, but, in many respects, even a most wicked book ; first, as tending to suggest, in an underhand way, a hundred vile calumnies which its author had not the daring to bring openly against us ; secondly, as promoting the spirit of irreverence ; thirdly, as explicitly and purposely teaching the youth of our Church to close their eyes to those merits and excellences which the author of this book is well aware that she possesses. Its utter unspirituality of tone, contrasting as it does with a few sudden bursts of almost theatrical devotion, is the least charge we have to bring against this work. Where there is so much to urge, we might afford to pass it over altogether.

We have said that "Loss and Gain" suggests calumnies in an underhand way ; let us quote some instances in confirmation. And, first, we must remark, that one very common mode of proceeding here adopted is to plan attacks on the English Church, which are left unanswered in the mouths of persons of professedly loose principles, or otherwise unsound, so as to escape the responsibility of them, and yet communicate all their venom ; to throw them out as if of little moment, as if not worthy to be dwelt on amidst such a multitude of testimonies ; which is just the way, as every sensible person knows, to make them produce the greatest effect, especially with the young and thoughtless, who are likely to be mainly influenced by the book. Another course is to place the most extraordinary confessions, involving calumnies respecting their own community, in the mouths of those, who are represented as ideals of their Church's members.

First, then, for the former class. An average Oxford student, Sheffield, a little free and easy in his notions, but a sensible fellow and tolerable churchman, is made to say (p. 24), quite as a matter of course, that preaching is the highest ordinance in the English Church, whereby it is implied that such is the average Oxford and English view, yet so that the author may turn round upon us and explain, he only meant Sheffield to speak in jest. On

the next page we find in the same speech: " ' NEXT comes the *Sacrament* ' (i. e. next in order after the Sermon), ' and has the surplice and hood. And hood ! ' he repeated, musing ; ' what's that for ? No, it's the scarf. ' " This appears earnest enough, and can scarcely be converted into a joke. A more striking instance perhaps, will be discovered pages 110 and 111, where it is suggested that Anglican clergymen may, and pretty commonly do, reject all creeds, more or less openly contenting themselves with "*principles*." " The Dean of Oxford " would say, " The Athanasian Creed was a mistake, " "*not* in Scripture, but a scholastic addition. " And this, we are given to understand, is quite natural, and even usual. And here let us remark on this author's frequent and cunning substitution of one *word* for another, which easily escapes attention, and yet makes an all-important difference. There *are* Anglican divines who *might* rightly or wrongly say, that the substance of the Athanasian Creed was in Scripture, but that its wording was a scholastic *definition*, *not* a scholastic "*addition*." This makes all the difference. Again, it is mentioned incidentally in the course of talk (p. 173), that an English Bishop *makes a rule* of bestowing his best livings on clergymen as marriage portions " for deserving young ladies, "—one of those vague calumnies which, however absurd, do not fail of their effect. On page 187 we find a still more serious suggestion again placed in the mouth of the lax Sheffield, that Anglicans, clergy and laity, are generally speaking Arians ; further, the laity, Sabellians : and this in such bold, unprofitable, apparently aimless chat, as defies controversy. Advantage is here taken, in the most jesuitical manner, of a possible prejudice or slightly unfavourable feeling towards St. Athanasius, supposed to exist in the minds of some of the English clergy, whence their Arianism is plainly inferred ; though it would be obvious to any candid and reflecting mind, even if the thing itself was true, that it could only be attributed to a misapprehension of the anathema in the Creed on the part of these clergy, as too sweeping in its range. Remove this anathema, and we scruple not to affirm, that even simpletons—that is, well meaning but weak objectors—would no longer object to the use of the Creed. Heaven forbid that it ever *should be* removed ; for it says no more than that those are self-condemned who reject the primary essentials of the Christian faith ; by no means interfering with the universal exception of " invincible ignorance, " or, more clearly expressed, of that ignorance which is consistent with Christian love. And here we may be permitted to observe incidentally, that the bare word Trinity, or Tri-Unity, involves the Co-equality, the Distinct Personality, the Oneness,

and, in fine, the entire definition of the Athanasian Creed; and could not, as far as we can humanly see, be substantially expressed in any other form.

To resume our theme or list of calumnies, we find it suggested on page 189 of "*Loss and Gain*," that "good old clergymen" of the Church of England care nothing for doctrines, nay, hold no substantial doctrines whatever; and on page 193, that they never "make an act of faith in the Trinitarian mystery;" and all this is suggested in the same loose talk of Sheffield's, so that the author cannot be held responsible for such assertions. On page 213 it is inferred, from the language and conduct of the Vice-Principal, "Mr. Jennings," that the English Church confounds the Invocation of the Saints with their Intercession for us; the latter of course an indisputable fact to him who knows from the Revelation of St. John that the souls of the righteous cry "beneath the altar," for their brethren on earth, for the hastening of the day of the Lord. On page 235 it is most adroitly suggested, that Anglicans think little or nothing of the Eucharist; for in a summary of the Church's services there given by an earnest and good churchwoman, all allusion to it is omitted; surely *not* accidentally. But this belongs rather to another category. In the usual calumnious fashion, Willis, a Romanizer, and White, another of the same class, both very young, the latter flippant, are made to suggest in their speeches, that the Church of England services are cold and heartless. Finally, however, not contented with this, the author of "*Loss and Gain*" makes the same assertion directly, on his own account. We shall deal with this in its place.

Meanwhile we have seen that general infidelity, Arianism, and Sabellianism, ignorance, and disorder, are thus flippantly laid to the charge of the Church of England, or rather suggested, in speeches which may or may not be taken in earnest. Is this to be palliated? But we proceed. Professed representatives, nay, ideals of Anglicanism, are introduced as making confessions, if possible, yet more injurious. Let us look at some of these. On the very first page a remarkably sound and earnest clergyman is made to deplore, in a soliloquy, his utter ignorance of the hearts of his parishioners. The implication not expressed is, that without the use of the confessional, there cannot be an operative ministry. But what sensible observer among the clergy *could* make such a confession or remark? On page 103 it is assumed as the Anglican rule, and subsequently a model Anglican, Carlton, is made to say, that Protestants of the Church of England should and do *begin* with *inquiry*. Artfully put as this is, young men may thoughtlessly presume it to be true; but could the author of

this book have failed to know, that Protestants of the Church of England *begin* with *faith* as much as Roman Catholics; that they are taught this implicit faith in childhood; that it is the first lesson conveyed to them; that the Anglican Church gives her entire doctrinal teaching as so many positive facts, not as problematical possibilities.

Again, on pages 113, 114, 115, &c., Mr. Upton, a staunch Anglican, is made to lay down, that "divine truth" is "not given," but only "proposed;" that "our highest state here is one of doubt;" that the Athanasian Creed only exists as a sort of "*protest*," not an affirmation; that the Articles say nothing on the subject how sins after baptism are to be forgiven; that Christ is present in the Eucharist "in effect," *not in fact*, which is of course tantamount to a denial of his Presence altogether; with other decisions of the same order. Is it worth while to answer these implied or expressed calumnies? The first has been already dealt with; the second, that our highest state is one of doubt, is simply monstrous to any true member of the Church of England, though it may not appear so to the author of "*Loss and Gain*!" that, for which we have catholic consent, the voice of Scripture, and the assent of conscience and intellect, is rather beyond a doubt; the third, that the Athanasian Creed is not felt to be affirmative as well as negative, is meaningless; the next, that the Articles say nothing about "how sins after baptism are to be forgiven," is simply grotesque, inasmuch as the sixteenth Article expressly states, that they *are* forgiven *through grace and by faith*, of course assuming the ordinary and universal means,—prayer, reading of Scripture, confession and absolution, and reception of the Eucharist; the next, that Christ is not present, in fact, in the Sacrament, is so utterly at variance with our Services, and even with the spirit of the twenty-eighth Article, that it may safely be dismissed without further comment.

But we must resume our list of instances. On page 117, the hero of the book, Charles Reding, an earnest-minded youthful Anglican, who, singularly enough, never appears to consult a single Anglican authority, and whose intellect seems rather below than above the usual average, is made to say, that the Articles are to him unintelligible; whereupon the hero of the book, a certain Bateman, who with remarkable adroitness is used to represent the closest approach permitted in it to High Church Anglicanism, rejoins that the Protestant sense of the Articles is no doubt heretical; as for instance, the assertion that we are justified by faith only, in Article XI. Now, it is perfectly true that a weak man, in slipshod talk, might say any thing even as silly as this; but when this is represented as a fair sample of Anglicanism,

we feel the monstrosity of the calumny. We know that justification, or "being accounted righteous before God," is only for the merit of our Lord, received by faith, and manifested forth in works, as the next Article declares: not for our own merits or deserving, nor in any sense *for* our own works. But we shall return to this subject when we treat of this author's sweeping calumnies on so called Evangelicals. This same worthy, Bateman, is made to suggest seriously, also on page 119, that the Articles are meant to have no sense at all,—a notion conveyed with his usual adroitness by our author, so as to leave its sting without being fixed on him. The same Bateman talks (p. 120) as if the most monstrous errors were confessedly common among our clergy. In the next page we learn from the ingenuous Charles, that the Articles are "*avowedly* ambiguous," and have no one sense; and a little further on we learn from Bateman, that they can only be rightly held in a *catholic* sense, so as to force their meaning; while it is suggested, at the same time, that it is, practically speaking, impossible to hold them in any such catholic sense. All this loose talk is far more mischievous than a serious attack would be; it may mean any thing or nothing, you know not where to lay hold of it. But we explicitly deny that the ambiguities alluded to exist, at least to any degree or in any evil sense. It is true that the seventeenth Article, for instance, on Predestination, is *so* expressed that even the ultra-Calvinist could not refuse to sign it; but this is only because it goes with him as far as Scripture goes, and no further. The anti-Calvinist can sign it also; for Predestination, explain the term as you will, is distinctly asserted in Scripture. So no doubt is Free-will also in the baptized Christian. He who only holds half the truth is likely to end in error; but that half is not the less truth on that account. The very tenth Article which denies absolute free-will for good, *independent* of God's grace, plainly declares that we *have* power to will and do good works *with* the grace of God. Thus understood, it supplies the remaining half of the truth, which is not fully expressed in the seventeenth Article. And what more can be required?

The Articles, then, do not need to be read in any unnatural sense. When we are told that Charles "cannot make out their doctrine about faith, about the Sacraments, about Predestination, about the Church, about the inspiration of Scripture," we can only deplore his want of capacity, but really know not how to give him sense. Their doctrine is, that faith justifies; that active faith, or faith in action, in works, sanctifies; that the Sacraments are the great appointed means of grace, and convey God's Presence,—the Holy Ghost in baptism, the Son in the Lord's Supper,



consequently God ; that Predestination is set forth in Scripture, which whoever doubts must be unable to read or think ; that the Church is visible, organized according to Christ's ordinance, orthodox in essentials, minister of the Sacraments ; that holy Scripture is of undoubted and absolute authority. But why answer these silly cavils, or rather suggestions of cavils, which might as well have been raised on any other of the thirty-nine, from the first to the last ? We repeat, if any thing can be complained of in the Articles, it is an occasional absence of perfect definiteness ; but taking them as a whole, we hold them, in their natural sense, to be self-consistent, orthodox, and highly valuable.

But we must proceed with our list, passing over much nugatory cavilling, which is too void of purpose to be met. On page 147 it is incidentally and adroitly suggested, that Anglicans cannot be logical.—Carlton, a model Anglican, is made to say (p. 173), "In the Church of Rome great good, I see, comes of celibacy ;" while he goes on to declare, that it would be a blunder to introduce it into the Anglican Church : which is obviously wrong both ways ; for while the greatest doubt may be entertained as to the propriety or good effects of *compulsory* celibacy, there can be no doubt whatever that it may have its uses in individual members of a clergy who, as a body, follow another rule. Was celibacy a blunder in St. Paul ? Yet it was not obligatory. But the impression here intended to be conveyed, (as also on p. 174,) by Carlton's speeches, is, that celibacy *can* have no place at all in the Anglican system ; whence it would follow that that system must be deplorably defective. Again, the same Carlton is made (p. 179) to deliver this opinion. Charles Reding asks whether a sinful man 'on saying the confession, (saying it with that contrition with which such persons ought to say it,) is pardoned at once, *AND has nothing more to fear about his past sins ?*' 'I should say, *Yes,*' answered Carlton. 'Really,' said Charles thoughtfully.—We cannot quote the whole ; but the impression conveyed is, that our public absolution either does nothing, or does a great deal too much. Remark the "*and*" above, and what follows it. The penitent is, no doubt, pardoned at once, *if* he has fully and entirely repented ; *but* contrition is not so easily attained. Attrition, or mere sorrow and wish for pardon, will not suffice ; but *if* contrition is attained, *then* no doubt the pardon is absolute *for the time being*. But, in how far can it erase the past even then ? Only, as far as that past is not afterwards renewed by sin ! This is why we can never discharge our old sins, and simply leave them behind us ; the first new sin will recall all the old to life with their penalty of guilt, though they appeared erased before. Thus, as we advance, we

constantly accumulate sins, if we again fall into sin; though true penitence may procure us pardon on each occasion. We cannot dilate on the subject; but it is obvious that Carlton is made to state the Anglican doctrine after such wise, as would render it altogether untenable and uncatholic. The question of penance is closely connected with this. Carlton, as the representative of Anglican theology, rejects it altogether. *Can* our Church do this? Surely not, for one moment; if penance mean the working of repentance, repentance in action; not “a make up” for sin, as the author of “Loss and Gain” heretically calls it (p. 180), but an imperfect medium of realizing sorrow for sin. In this sense, penance is not only natural, but necessary, however it may be expressed. Who can question that a man who should in a passion have slain a fellow-creature, say his own brother, but this in time of war or otherwise, so as not to render himself amenable to law, might be right in inflicting on himself a life-long penance, possibly even of the severest nature? There would be nothing un-Anglican,—in a right sense, we may even say, nothing un-Protestant, in this. If such a penitent fancied indeed that his penance were “a make-up” for his sins, he would destroy all its possible virtue as a means of realizing his grief, and all its beauty; nay, he would convert it into something essentially low and base, something destructive of his own soul. The bare idea is Romish, in the worst sense; consequently, anti-Christian. When Carlton, then, is made to reject all suffering for sin, *because* human suffering cannot be *meritorious*, he altogether misrepresents our Church. Were this her doctrine, she would indeed have lost hold of the very essence of Christian sorrow. Repentance, it is true, *true* repentance suffices for pardon, and that alone; penance cannot stand in lieu of it: so regarded, it is accursed; but penance is a fruit of repentance, and as such is blessed.

This same Anglican, Carlton, denies explicitly (p. 195) that Christian theology and Christian polity came from heaven, like the Jewish. There is an ambiguity, as usual, about the terms employed; but the inference to be drawn from the passage is, that the Anglican Church never receives doctrines as positively true, but only as problematically so. We have already dealt with this calumny. It is obvious, that Christian theology and polity, being established by our Lord and his Apostles, and confirmed by Scripture, did come from heaven; at least as far as all essentials are concerned; but, as a law of liberty has taken the place of the Jewish letter, there is undeniably more latitude in the Christian covenant as to minor details of doctrine and practice. There is a moral certainty, not an external absolutism, in the Church’s mani-



newed in the speeches of Charles Reding, (p. virtually yielded to by Carlton. They are said to Lutheran doctrine of justification, which is elsewhere be monstrous, as implying that faith justifies without "the Prayer Book opposes in every one of its offi passage alone would seem to betray the authorship ( who always thus confounds justification and sa nay, explicitly declares, that the one is the other. expose this error more fully when we come to on the Evangelicals. Again, Reding says, the fer to the Homilies, yet do not tally with them on "The Articles about Ordination are in their spir to the Ordination Service." We deny it utterly fight with shadows! Again, "One Article on the speaks the doctrine of Melanchthon, another that Both, we reply, speak the doctrine of Scripture, and tradition. Once more, "One Article speaks of tl authority in controversies of faith, yet another make the ultimate appeal." We answer, there is no c here; the ultimate appeal for each *individual* mus conscience, which must be guided by the authority of 1 yet not despotically so. Authority need not be abs real, or every constitutional monarchy is a delusion. suggested as self-evident, by an Anglican, (p. 201,) tha senger from Heaven in any sense must be infallible, o senger at all. This is simply begging the question quiet were, unobtrusively; which is frequently done thro book. Again, we are informed, through Charles Redi Articles no where define what justification is; al

Campbell, a clergyman, who is made to affirm with the utmost coolness, (p. 269,) that the Calendar and Rubrics are in no sense binding on the churchman; not even morally so, where higher laws do not supervene; but may be treated with contempt. This champion of the English Church, who is represented as quite a model, takes occasion to condemn all fasting as quite out of date. A little further on, he is made to affirm, that the Church *shall* absolutely fail, and "the gates of hell prevail against her." Page 281, even Bateman, the bore, is made use of, for the purpose of conceding, "as an Anglican," that an educated Romanist may worship the Virgin, because he will not yield divine worship to her; though the author of "Loss and Gain" must well know that the standard authors of the Church of England reject all creature-worship as idolatrous, and refuse to admit the distinctions of *latria*, *dulia*, and *hyper-dulia*. And here we terminate this list of concessions, confessions, or heretical statements, placed in the mouths of men represented as more or less worthy champions of the English Church.

Have we now shown, or not shown, that vile calumnies on the English Church are suggested in this book in any underhand way; that is, either by implication, and as it were accidentally in the light speeches of flippant people, or by extraordinary concessions, confessions, and statements placed in the mouths of presumed sound and earnest Anglicans? We proceed. We have said that the author of "Loss and Gain" has further sinned in provoking irreverence, and in denying those excellences to the Church of England which he must know her to possess. We hope that our readers will not find these unavoidable details unprofitable; we have to cover a vast space of controverted matter within, say, from some thirty to forty pages. The main object of this mischievous book appears to be to unsettle the minds of Anglicans on almost all subjects; and having once undertaken to attempt the supply of an antidote, we should not omit any points of consequence. To resume then. On the score of irreverence, it may fairly be said, that the whole work breathes its spirit in an eminent degree. The most sacred subjects are treated of as a jest, or at least jestingly; but what we especially refer to under this head, is the evident wish on the author's part to promote the most besetting foible of Englishmen and English society in the nineteenth century; the tendency to look at the worst or most earthly side of all things, and employ a tone of ridicule in treating of all dignities, ceremonies, and institutions. Men constantly do this among us, who love and honour what they talk most lightly of: it is the fashion to affect a silly superiority to all the forms and shows of government and order, whether in the capital or the

university. Those who most respect and value the Peerage will talk habitually of them as "old fellows," or in some other exquisitely humorous phrase. It seems to be held next to impossible to speak seriously on any subject, attributing that importance to things which they in reality possess, without being vulgarly or commonly considered "a snob." The expression of earnest feeling or the confession of principle is unworthy of an Oxford man. Now there is no doubt a noble instinct at the root of this fear or shame; for nothing is so odious as false enthusiasm; and as people cannot be perpetually enthusiastic, or ready to sympathize with those who are so, it is better to speak moderately and temperately, as a general rule. But this virtue may be carried to excess, and then becomes a vice; and a vice it is amongst us. Humour and even ridicule are well in their due stations; for there is a time for all things: but it is eminently undesirable to encourage that tone of mind, which speaks evil of dignities, and looks at the ridiculous side of all things; and such a side can almost always be discovered, because humanity is imperfect, and the contrast of the real with the ideal may ever give occasion for a sneer. Thus, for instance, it need scarcely be said, that there is a natural tendency amongst young men at an university to ridicule their heads and teachers, the representatives of order and government, and to look with a satirical eye on all university ceremonies, &c. This is encouraged and developed by the author of "Loss and Gain," to the utmost extent of his power; and as Oxford is closely connected with Anglicanism, he thus strikes at the latter through the former. Thus we find him placing the procession of heads at St. Mary's in a most ludicrous point of view, (p. 8,) and representing Charles as somewhat mawkish for the natural desire on his part to appreciate its ideal, as a manifestation of dignity and authority. A yet more offensive instance of the same general endeavour will be discovered on page 66, where Vincent, a junior tutor, a sincere Anglican and a good man, is thus discoursed of: "He preached good sermons, read prayers *with unction*, and in his conversation sometimes had even a touch of evangelical spirituality. The young men even declared they could tell *how much port he had taken in common-room by the devoutness of his responses in evening chapel*; and it was on record that once, *during the confession*, he had, *in the heat of his contrition*, shoved over the huge velvet cushion in which his arms were imbedded upon the heads of the gentlemen commoners who sat under him." A fit subject for humour truly is this odious suggestion! Who sees not that Oxford men are here taught to regard the *unction* of their tutors' prayers with distrust and ridicule, if not contempt? Who sees not that the effect of such a

suggestion might also be to restrain future symptoms of what is so devoutly entitled *unction*? Nay, remark even the slight, and as it were the accidental, references to the huge velvet cushion, and the gentlemen commoners sitting beneath. This is pious jesting; likely, certainly, to promote a spirit of reverence and devotion. On page 90, we have all manner of by-gone stories respecting the misdoings of heads in "three-bottle days," raked from the dust again, to effect the same object,—the suggestion of contempt for the university. On page 209, the Vice-Principal of a college is introduced, whose speeches and proceedings, given as things of course, tend to make the heads appear alike odious, ignorant, and ridiculous. On page 113, we are most flippantly informed, that it was but a "toss-up that Anglicans at this day are not Calvinists, or Presbyterians, or Lutherans, equally well as Episcopalians;" as if Episcopacy had for a moment been a matter of question among our greatest reformers, a Cranmer, a Ridley, a Latimer, or with the sovereigns who, by divine right, swayed this realm; because some foreign reformers were consulted as to the wording of articles respecting predestination and justification by faith.

But we must refrain from further citations, for simple want of space, merely referring to this author's adroit ridicule of Anglican interpretations of prophecy, and of the by no means unweighty theory, that the Church of Jerusalem, not the Church of Rome, is destined to be the future centre of Catholic unity. And we pass the more willingly to our next division, the affectation of denying such excellences to the Church of England as this author must inwardly recognize, because it is so nearly connected with that just treated of. We must be brief also in our remarks on this branch of calumnies, and content ourselves with a few instances. We find our author then very cleverly suggesting that Anglican fasts are a farce, on page 72, where Vincent, a good Anglican, is made to deliver a grossly absurd and even ludicrous speech connected with this subject. We shall not quote it. It is clenched, however, by the subsequent declaration, already referred to, of Campbell, a positively model Anglican, that fasting is quite out of fashion, and can find no place in the Church of England. Now does not the author of this book well know, that fasting does find a place? that many thousands of Anglicans do fast regularly, after some fashion, on the vigils and days of abstinence appointed by the Church? Our Church has laid down no explicit rule as to the due *method* of fasting; and this is therefore left, as it appears to us most expediently, to the good sense and good feeling of individuals. But to suggest that there is no real fasting in the Church

of England, is to suggest a notorious untruth; to assert or imply that it can have no natural place in the Anglican system is grossly unjust; nay, monstrous. The words of our blessed Lord, "And then shall they fast in those days," must be surely as applicable to the Church of England, as to all other Churches. At page 75, we find an even more mischievous suggestion; a species of underhand sneer at the greatest Anglican divines, who are praised by a superficial man after a fashion equivalent to the weightiest censure. "'Our great divines, and he stood upright, 'were models; there were giants on the earth in those days, as King George the Third had once said of them to Dr. Johnson. They had that depth, and power, and gravity, and fulness, and erudition; and they were so racy, always racy, and what might be called English. They had that richness too, such a mine of thought, *such a world of opinion*, such activity of mind, such inexhaustible resource, *such diversity too*. Then they were so eloquent; the majestic Hooker, the imaginative Taylor, the brilliant Hall, the learning of Barrow, the strong sense of South, the keen logic of Chillingworth, good honest old Burnet, &c. &c.'" It is difficult to castigate, some would say unjust, to censure this; yet is not the whole passage studied ridicule? Is not its undoubted tendency to make *young men* especially, neglect the very authors thus praised? Is it not a kind of covert attempt at a denial of those beauties and excellences which the author of "Loss and Gain" well knows, and dares not explicitly deny? Further, it is suggested that Anglicans think little of the Holy Communion; not only in a passage adverted to, in which a good Anglican enumerates the Church's services, omitting the greatest, but also, by inference, in a passage, where even a commemorative sacrifice in the English Communion, corresponding in an orthodox sense to the Roman Mass, is "ignored," or treated as having no existence, as well as in Sheffield's quiet declaration that "the Sacrament" comes next in order after preaching. Again, what a gross injustice as to a matter of fact is knowingly wrought us, on page 266, where we learn that the soundest Anglicans may treat the Calendar and Rubrics with contempt, and habitually do so. Finally, for though we might cite much more of the same kind, we have proved the truth of our charge sufficiently, it is contended on pages 292 and 381, after various fashions, that there is no beauty in our English Church Services. We shall return to this matter, and will only ask here, whether the author of "Loss and Gain" can really have not felt the beauty of our services? If he have not, we leave our readers to decide what his habitual state of grace must be.

We have now shown that the three main charges brought by

us against this book, were individually and collectively well founded. Before we proceed to view the main bearing of the entire work, we must still direct our attention to some calumnious and erroneous suggestions of various orders, which do not come under either of the categories already treated of. Thus, a chapter making a violent attack on the so-called Evangelicals should be noted, both for its unfairness, and the ignorance of sound theology manifested in it. Therein, imaginary average Evangelicals are made to declare that there "can be nothing holy in Baptism," that sin is permitted to the elect, that theology "should be altogether swept away," &c. The simple truth is, that this author, as already suggested, confuses justification and sanctification, despite the great distinctions, that the first is wrought for us, the second, in us; the first, for the merits of Christ only, by faith; the second, through the medium of faith in action, or good works; the first, perfectly; the second, always imperfectly in this life. When Luther asserts that faith justifies without love, he can and does only mean, that faith lays the foundation of the Christian life, is the medium of receiving Christ's merits, *as faith*, and not *as love*; though in a certain sense, true faith must include love. Still love is built upon it; love sanctifies, love does not *per se* justify, which faith does, according to the explicit declaration of St. Paul, and of the English Church. We see then, that whilst we are justified through Christ by faith only, we are sanctified, though never wholly sanctified, by the *works* of *faith*; while we may be said to be *saved*, in various senses, through grace, through faith, nay, even through works, or such holiness as shall be accepted *in Christ*; but meritoriously, through Christ alone! This is the explicit doctrine of the Church, which, for the avoiding of future cavils, it might perhaps be as well to add, in equivalent phraseology, to one of the Articles. Evangelicals, we cannot but admit, dwell too prominently on justification; other churchmen may make sanctification a too exclusive object of teaching; but all classes of English churchmen are obviously agreed, as to essentials, if they will only understand one another in charity, and are all diametrically opposed to the Romish and heretical tenet of human merit; betwixt which and our Church's doctrine, a wide gulf may indeed be said to interpose. We are afraid that, despite the explicitness of this statement, we shall not have conveyed our meaning to the author of "Loss and Gain," who makes Charles Reding spontaneously arrive at the conclusion, that faith "may be the reward of previous obedience!" However, even here, a half-truth is indicated; for the faith which first justifies by God's grace, and receives the blessing of baptism, may undoubtedly be strength-

ened and confirmed, though it cannot be created, by the obedience *which springs from faith*. Again, "Evangelicals," if we are to use this expression, do unfortunately fail to appreciate the nature of baptism, and that in this respect; they do not question that it *may* convey regeneration, but they deny that it always *must*. In the case of adult baptism, they are of course correct; there faith, justifying faith, must be present in the heart of the baptized person as a condition; but they do not see, that in the case of infant baptism the passive receptivity of the child is graciously counted for active faith by God. And yet, without this, would not infant baptism be a snare and a delusion? Nay, if we make it dependent on the prayers of the godfathers and godmothers, or on the will and *intention* of the priest, do we not run into that terrible error of Romanism, which, as the author of "Loss and Gain" remarks, almost constitutes a new religion; the doctrine of intention? Still, "Evangelicals" *do* admit, that grace may be, and constantly is, conveyed in baptism: they never could or would ask, "What is there, *can there be* spiritual, holy, or heavenly in baptism?" Nor could they declare, "an Antinomian holds that he may break the law; a spiritual believer only holds, that he is not bound to keep it:" though there is a sense in which there would be no law for the perfect Christian, if such Christian could be found.

But what shall be thought of his truthfulness, who in cold blood brings such sweeping allegations against a body of men that have been for many years his brethren, and many, very many of whom, surely, to his knowledge, "love the Lord Jesus" in all sincerity? We leave this painful subject. A few more suggestions of evil must be hurriedly adverted to. It is stated at page 59, that the Anglican *must* believe, that he who prays to saints is an actor in a sham, mistaking words for things, that is, necessarily effecting nothing, if he further believes that the saints do not hear. The inference is,—inasmuch as the heart's devotion of those who thus pray is undoubted, nay, as it cannot easily be questioned that their prayers have sometimes been heard,—that Anglicanism, which denounces the whole matter as "a sham," cannot be Catholic. But this is not so. Saints, indeed, cannot hear; for they are in Paradise, removed from the turmoil of this noisy world, at rest in Jesus, yet conscious of the existence of suffering to the Church militant on earth, and uniting with it in the petition that the kingdom of the saints may be perfected: they are not omnipresent to see, nor omniscient to read the heart, nor gifted with that Divine boundlessness which can at once distinguish and appreciate myriads of separate petitions, at once uplifted: and not only can they not hear, but prayer to them,



direct invocation of them, is expressly forbidden as idolatry ; even to our guardian angels who perchance might hear us, we dare not bow the knee. Nevertheless, the prayer of humble and loving *ignorance* to the creature may be heard by the Creator ; and, by *ignorance*, we here understand the *conscientious* ignorance of *love* : such prayers may be heard, and may be answered, no doubt often have been so, by God, and therefore need not be regarded as “an absolute sham.”

“ Martyrs and saints do *these* adore ;  
And angels worship *they* :  
Yet reigns God's love their spirits o'er,  
And thus to God they pray.  
He hears alone, He deigns to hear,  
Whilst they insult his throne ;  
And claim from others' love, in fear,  
What flows but from His Own.”

We resume. Page 101, it is suggested that impulse should be blindly followed when leading in the direction of Rome. He who consults reason and authority is compared to St. Thomas. Page 107, the need of an infallible earthly judge is assumed to be naturally felt by all. Page 177, we find obligatory celibacy adroitly advocated, on the ground that there must be great danger of sin in marriage, if it be not absolutely inevitable ; because an Old Testament saint said, “ In sin hath my mother conceived me ;” as if all things had not been hallowed in and through Christ, marriage included ; and as if there were not the same danger of sin in the employment of every human faculty, in eating, drinking, seeing, hearing, thinking, &c. Page 191, we are told that Unitarians hold a Trinity, because they believe the Son to be a prophet, and the Spirit an essence ; whence it is implied that Anglican Trinitarians may believe about as much. Page 192, it is hinted that the doctrine of Apostolic succession was lost when the Oxford school arose ; as if *that* could be lost, however imperfectly realized, which was stamped on every formulary of the Church, and solemnly recognized and renewed at every ordination. Page 202, it is suggested that the Romish doctrine of Indulgences is not understood ; as if all did not know that it is a release of so many days or years from purgatorial suffering, conveyed through the merits of the saints, in reward for certain acts or prayers ; the further presumption being, that those who die in external homage to the Church must escape hell. Page 278, we find it suggested that faith ought to be opposed to reason ; so that the manifest corruptions of Rome become rather an attraction than otherwise to the believer. Page 331, excusing



Romanists from the accusation of vulgarity, it is hinted that the charges of our bishops may be placed on a par with Roman Catholic public proceedings; such as the articles of the "Tablet," we presume, and the fulminations of a Higgins and a Cantwell. Page 343, it is further laid down, that Englishmen have *no faith*; a charge, certainly, somewhat inconsistent with facts, when the faith of the educated portion of her population is contrasted with that of the corresponding class in any Roman Catholic country. Page 349, it is asserted, that there should be a standing order of Apostles *above* bishops, represented by the Pope; *because* St. Paul appears to have acted as the Metropolitan of Timothy. No doubt, a sound and weighty argument! We may further advert to the bold assertions and confessions, that Romanists do worship images, "as having moved their eyes, or bowed their heads," &c. (p. 23); that the dogma of Intention involves "a new religion;" that Penance is "a make-up" for sin; and that every individual priest is the voice of the Church; together with the commendation of Passionists, for scourging themselves for the benefit of souls in purgatory (p. 377).

And now we are at last able to do what the reader may think should have been done at an earlier period. We can proceed to inquire, what may be regarded as the special bearings of the work, beyond the general design to injure the English Church, and advance the system of Romanism. Charles Reding, then, the hero, is represented as studiously avoiding controversy and controversial works, with the steadfast resolve to serve his own Church, but as being drawn on against his will, and half unconsciously, to hold the various tenets of Romanism, or rather of Popery; for it is the Infallibility of the Romish Church, as guaranteed by papal absolution, its presumed possession of absolute authority and of all truth, which appears to operate as the main attraction upon this youth's mind. We are told, indeed, somewhat mystically, though effectively, that, as one of the Romish elect, he could not escape his destiny; that "even before that blessed hour" (when he was to become a Romanist), "as an opening flower scatters sweets, so the strange unknown odour, pleasing to some, odious to others, went abroad from him upon the winds, and made them marvel what could be near them, and made them look curiously and anxiously at him, while he was unconscious of his own condition" (p. 185). But, leaving out of the question this odour of future Romish sanctity, this presumed spiritual affinity with modern Romanism, in all its ways and works, the following appear to have been the three main causes of "Charles Reding's" defections to Rome; and they are interesting, because we have reason to believe that the imaginary

Charles Reding is in these respects the type of many a real pervert from our Anglican communion. First, then, the craving for an absolutely definite dogmatic system; secondly, the desire for an Infallible Authority to enforce that system; thirdly, a tendency to false Asceticism, or rather, to speak plainly, to Gnosticism. These things, it appears, present the "great difficulties," the non-solution of which leads men from Oxford to Rome. It is not here, towards the end of a long article, that we can hope to dispose satisfactorily of such questions: much, also, has already been said in the course of these remarks, which bears upon all three. Nevertheless, though some little recapitulation may be unavoidable, and the satisfactory attainment of the end sought for is impossible, the subject is too important to be abandoned without a cursory examination, such as may enable us to arrive at some result.

First, then, for the first difficulty, the craving for a definite dogmatic system; we are unable to see that this is not presented to us in all essentials by the Anglican Church. In what respect is its system not definite? It would be difficult, after all, to name a doctrine on which a decisive opinion affirmative or negative might not be drawn from her Formularies and Articles. It is not true that she propounds doctrines as problematical; she always does give them as absolute and undoubted truths. What are the Creeds, what are even the Articles, if not distinct dogmatic statements? But shall we be told that her faith is not self-consistent? Wherein, we demand, is it otherwise? The Trinity, the Incarnation, Visibility of the Church, Apostolic Succession, Salvation through Christ alone, Justification by faith manifested in works, Free-Will, Predestination, Sacramental Grace—where is the contradiction here? We see none. But let us go further. This first difficulty being found on inquiry vague and meaningless, the second presents itself—the want of assumed Infallibility. Without this, we are told truth is no longer truth, but only probability. But here there is a confusion both of terms and ideas. Truth is infallible, and is held as such. It is only not dependent on the Church, but the Church on it. But in reality these complainers would know truth as truth, without the slightest effort, without the least responsibility. Christianity must be written for them in the stars, or they cannot believe it. They will not "walk by faith." And yet, as we before remarked, this is manifestly an era of probation. Does our trial only consist in the recognition or non-recognition of Papal Infallibility? This we presume is the view taken by Mr. Newman and his followers. Conceivable it is, indeed, that the seeming divisions of the English Church, combined with the influence of external infidelity, should frighten

a simpleton, like poor "Charles Reding," to take refuge in the presumed certainty of Rome ; but it is a melancholy symptom indeed of deeply-rooted faithlessness, of the loss of all hold on objective truth, when men like a Newman can put their heads into the Roman noose, and cast their all upon the tenet of Romish Absolutism.

The same craving for material possession in lieu of faith, which can scarcely be too severely stigmatized, is shown in the demand for Visible Union in the Church. It is apparently forgotten, that those who adopt the Romish theory of Unity (as expounded in this very "Loss and Gain"), are simply bound to exclude the Greek and Anglican Churches, all, in fine, but those of "the Roman Obedience," from the Church Catholic. How much more reasonable, charitable, and catholic, to conclude, that the Visible Church is one Kingdom under Christ; though with reference to its viceroalties and stewardships, it may *here* assume the aspect of Absolutism, and *there* of Constitutional Monarchy. And here we may add, that we have omitted to notice Sheffield's flippant logic (p. 46), tending to prove, that unless the Wesleyans and the Church of England are One, the English and other Churches cannot be, because "unity is oneness of government." We answer, it is oneness of government, of faith, of practice, but only in essentials! What are essentials? In government, the Papists say Popery, and we Episcopacy. If they are right, their Churches are alone Catholic; if we, the Greek, Anglican, Swedish, and American, are so also. "*Utrum horum mavis accipe.*" We have no space to notice the very pointless string of questions, on the same theme, propounded by a certain Willis (p. 259). But, we resume, as the Anglican Church's system is definite, so is its authority also: neither is absolute, any more than an external system of morality, or the right of parents to command children. The application of no earthly rule should be absolute; there is not a human perception of right which would not become wrong, if pushed to an excess. It might be convenient to the slothful, were no ground afforded for the exercise of conscience or of reason; but God has willed rather to allow of the possibility of Evil through the medium of Liberty, than to create a world in which Knowledge and Bliss should be perfect and universal. It is the primary law of the universe of which these men complain, who would here materially possess the Absolute.

And now for the third "great difficulty" of Anglicanism: its discouragement of "counsels of perfection," or the ascetic life. Very briefly shall we here treat of this important subject. It is suggested by the author of "Loss and Gain," in the fourth and

fifth chapters of Part II., very cleverly suggested, and yet without a thorough appreciation of the bearings of the argument, from apparent unspirituality of heart and mind. We may remark, incidentally, that the Romish view in connexion with this subject is far more completely and more feelingly brought out in "*Geraldine*,"—a work which altogether displays more power than "*Loss or Gain*," but in the form of three cumbrous volumes ; though it is also written in an uncatholic tone, which would scarcely recommend it to the sympathies of Anglicans whom it might otherwise injure, being generally flippant and irreverential. To return to the subject of asceticism ; we have already suggested in how far we consider penitential works and labours to be expedient, in special cases, regarded as fruits of repentance, not in any sense as a "make-up" for it. But all this does not touch the main question here involved, whether in itself the use of this world is not of evil ; whether the most innocent enjoyment of God's gifts and graces is not, at the best, a secondary inferior thing ; whether absolute abstinence, as far as it is at all consistent with the condition of humanity, be not the only road to "perfection ;" whether, in fine, the course pursued by the last of the Law's prophets, John the Baptist, who was less than the least in the kingdom of heaven, be not more holy (the inquiry is indeed impious) than that of the Incarnate Deity, our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Who came "eating and drinking with publicans and sinners ?" The world and the flesh are in a certain sense accursed ; but is there not another sense, in which they and their all are hallowed in Christ ? This will surely not be questioned. What follows ? That the highest examples of holiness may be found in the walks of every-day life. The Christian father and husband is not to be identified with the best of Jewish patriarchs, as is attempted in "*Loss and Gain*." "Be ye pure, as your Father which is in heaven !" "Be ye perfect !" were precepts addressed to married and unmarried ; to those who used the world and the flesh. That state therefore which is consistent with the highest purity, the most absolute perfection attainable by man, cannot be inferior to any other earthly state. Celibacy cannot go before marriage, but both in their due places may consist together. True it is, that a man may devote himself to lifelong celibacy "for the kingdom of heaven's sake," not by a vow, but a holy resolution ; if he is morally persuaded that his call is to advance his Master's service after such fashion ; and this he may do in the Church of England, labouring in extensive parishes in manufacturing cities, or going forth as a missionary to savage lands, where a wife might possibly be a hindrance and a burthen, or where death might be the inevitable result of a few years'

exertions. But no one merely external state is higher than another state. All depends upon the motive which impels us, and the spirit in which our task is executed.

The craving for the ascetic life, for something higher, greater, than the use of God's gifts, operates thus: men learn to cherish the profoundest admiration for Rome's ascetic saints; aspiring to follow their example, they yearn for perfect fellowship with them, for the external recognition of their *merits* in making such a choice; and thus they depart! This virtual condemnation of the rightful use of the world and the flesh is, we affirm, Gnostic, and so of Satanic origin; though we question not that thousands and tens of thousands of good and holy men have yielded credence to this seductive theory,—seductive, that is, to those who aim at a high degree of holiness,—and have yet treasured saving love for the Lord of Life and Glory. Here, as in the two former instances, the material is taken for the spiritual, the external for the real. It is strongly stated by the author of "*Loss and Gain*," that the body, being corruptible, should be treated as "a body of death;" rather as a body of life in death. That flesh which was shared by our blessed Lord in his humanity, cannot be all unholy now. In fine, body, soul, and spirit are all Christ's alike, and must be equally devoted to his service. We will say no more at present on this head. Rightful asceticism, as it may certainly exist in the Visible Church, selecting either an active or contemplative life, and assuming no supremacy or superiority, may find its due station unquestioned, nay, regarded with love and reverence, in the English Church. It will not be canonized or idolized, but simply received as a special development of the love of God. Abstinence from the enjoyment of God's gifts may thus have its advantages; but surely as noble, and as pleasing to God, is their natural use. Yet no Anglicans need desert their mother Church from the desire to lead a severe and sternly-sober life. If their hearts are true, they will find a due sphere for exertion within her.

Finally, we have now examined the main bearings of the work under our consideration, which we recognize as important, not in itself, but as expressive of the general motives to the late "*perversions*." Want of true faith and doctrinal error appear to have been both instrumental agents in this fall; both urging the need of external infallibility, and of what we have not unduly called the material possession of the absolute. We have striven to demonstrate the sinfulness of these desires; we have further striven to supply a plain and simple exposition of the Anglican theory or belief as to the unity of the Church, the true means of salvation, and the moral infallibility of the Church's Creed. Further, we

have castigated, and surely not too severely, the author of "*Loss and Gain*," for his many grievous calumnies expressed or implied against our Church and her members, his irreverence of tone and spirit, and his disposition to ridicule those excellences which he dared not openly deny.

We have said also in the course of this article, that he represents the Anglican Services as cold and heartless. We have reserved a few words on this subject for the last. The Roman Services then, it is true, have much to attract and dazzle; they are in so far popular, as they supply all attractions to the senses, and make little or no demand on the intellect of the worshipper. At moments, indeed, in the course of the service, the congregation is united in one feeling of awe, of sorrow, or of joy; but nothing approaching to catholic communion of prayer and praise, as understood by us, may be said to be attempted. There are, no doubt, occasional liturgies in which the people join in the cry of "Pray for us!" at stated intervals: but enter a Romish church, as we have done abroad, during high mass, will you see communion of prayer? No; individuality is the rule. Some use one book of prayers, some another; some are repeating so many Pater Nosters, others so many Ave Marias. And all this while the office is proceeding at the altar. In this country, we believe, from rivalry with the Anglican Church, liturgies are more frequently used than elsewhere, the mass-book is more in request for the laity, and a greater effort is made to attain our unity of prayer. Nevertheless, the system remains one of comparative isolation. We question not the imperfection with which the Church of England's Services are carried out; too often the voices of the people are not heard; too often the poor content themselves with mere assent, and will not use the spiritual and intellectual exertion requisite for catholic communion; nor can we now pause to canvass the means of redressing these great, these fearful evils. But to those who have only once realized the beauty of our Anglican Services,—who have once felt the spiritual glow derived from communion, not only with those around us, but with tens and hundreds of thousands of worshippers at the same hour and in the same accents, must it not be cause for wonder indeed, and grief, and pity, that a fallen Anglican should speak of our Liturgy as something in which "the people are nothing," "a hard form of prayer from beginning to end, painful and hopeless to follow?" And the blessed Eucharist! even for this no word of recognition, no hallowing blissful memory of that solemn hour when first he knelt before the altar, nor of the renewed engagement of his service when the Lord of life and light deigned to descend and visit him. O could we indeed conceive ourselves as

seduced from the fold of our spiritual Mother, as a wanderer to Papal Rome, even there and then could we, without love, and awe, and endless gratitude, remember the mighty blessings thus bestowed on us, for which no speech has language, which thought cannot grasp, which love cannot realize ! And he who has received all this for many years, who has expressed the purest delight in these spiritual treasures, who has inspired others to seek them where they could indeed be found, leaves the Church of his baptism, of his first communion, of his heart's love, and remembering her from afar, he uplifts his voice,—to wail for her ? no ; but to upbraid and to deride. What shall we think of this ? What conclusion does Christian charity bid us draw ? Surely, that he who can thus act is “given up to delusion,” so that he is no more his own master ; that he has, though unconsciously, sold himself to the service of evil ; and that we can only pray for him in fearful doubt and tribulation. Let us look to that extraordinary passage of the book before us, in which it is said of the priest in the Roman Mass, in the presumed Material Sacrifice, that he should *hasten* to his goal : “They are awful words of sacrifice : as when it was said in the beginning, *What thou doest, do quickly.*” Can we fail to remember, and with horror, that this was said to Judas ? What power prompted this unhappy man to use such words as a warning and a sign ?

But what will be the end of these things ? For the clouds are gathering fast around us. Insubordination and despotism, infidelity and superstition, assail the Christian world. Surely this is “the beginning of the end.” And it hath been said, “The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light.” Shall the Sun of Righteousness be overclouded ? Shall the Church awhile cease to beam ? Let us fast, and weep, and pray ; but let us also act and hope, for “the gates of hell shall *not* prevail.” And when all things are at worst, when evil rejoices, and the Church seems humanly lost, then may we look for the spiritual fulfilment of those words of comfort and of grace, “Surely *I* come quickly.” “Amen. Even so come, Lord Jesus !”



- ART. V.—1. *A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter.* By HENRY, Lord Bishop of Exeter, 1842. London: Murray.
2. *A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln.* By JOHN, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, 1846. London: Rivingtons.
3. *Church Courts and Church Discipline.* By R. J. WILBERFORCE, Archdeacon of the East Riding, and Canon of York. 1843. London: Murray.
4. *Religious Liberty and the Church in Chains.* By JAMES BRADBY SWEET, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Woodville, Leicestershire. 1847. London: Cleaver.
5. *The Restoration of Corrective Discipline. A Circular.* By J. B. SWEET. 1848.
6. *Rules of the "Church Union" Society.* See the English Churchman of August 24 and 31, 1848.

It has been a matter of very painful remark for years past, that whilst the greatest zeal was manifested to restore our ancient Sanctuaries to somewhat of their original splendour and purity, and to secure in the newly-erected Churches a style of architecture hallowed by association, and harmonizing with their high purpose; whilst, moreover, the Conscience of our priesthood was wonderfully awakened to a sense of its obligations to Ritual conformity, and louder claims were being made for the supremacy of that tribunal, as well by the opponents as by the advocates of Rubrical observances, than had been heard within our pale since the controversy of a doubtful allegiance,—no sufficient jealousy seemed to be felt for the due qualification of the Worshipers; and no proportionate anxiety was expressed to vindicate the Services themselves, to which Rubrics at best are simply ministerial, from profanation and contempt. We are far from desiring to depreciate the value of any Christian art, much less of one so eminently beneficial as Church architecture; nor shall we be suspected of under-rating any efforts, whether successful or not, to stay the tide of puritan self-will, and to re-assert for unity the bounden duty of uniformity; although we are not so wedded to our own convictions, as to be blind to the existence of the many valuable qualities which lay at the bottom of that unhappy bitterness, and even rancour of opposition, with which in some quarters the architectural, and in most quarters the Ritual, revival has been greeted.

But, with the Scriptures and the Church's formularies in view, it was impossible to shut our eyes to the fact, that all this fierce



contest with established usage was concerned only with the externals of religion; and that a far worse foe to purity of faith and morals would remain behind, after every mark of *church-wardenism* had been erased from the fabric, and every trace of latitudinarian laxity had ceased from the mode of ministering, unless the same spirit which was jealous for the house of God, should be jealous likewise for the *holiness* which *becometh that house for ever*. We could not but suspect the soundness of that Conscience, which would risk the Church's peace to promote, or to oppose, the use of the prayer for the Church militant, whilst it groaned under no burthen from the legal degradation of Christianity, felt no self-accusing goads from acquiescence in the abeyance of Discipline, and sought no relief at the hands of others, nor attempted to free itself<sup>1</sup>, from a system of forced profanation, to which history affords few parallels.

There were, however, some noble exceptions to this general rule. Amidst the wide-spread clamour directed against that portion of Discipline which regulates the externals of time, place, manner, and dress, solemn testimony and energetic appeals were heard at intervals, demanding consideration for the Corrective part of the subject; and pleading urgently, in God's name, for a revival of scriptural sanctions, to promote internal conformity of life and doctrine. Witness the following admirable passages in the Charge of the Lord Bishop of Exeter, in the year 1842:—

“Glad as we should all be to see civil consequences of Church discipline over the laity removed, yet the right and duty of spiritual discipline we may not, we dare not, surrender. To do so willingly, would be to betray the Church; to force us to do so, would be an act of direct persecution.”

“That it (spiritual discipline) is absolutely necessary to the well-being of a Church, I need not say. Our Church declares ‘the right use of ecclesiastical discipline’ to be one of the ‘three notes or marks’ (pure doctrine and the sacraments administered according to Christ's holy institution, are the other two) ‘whereby the true Church is known.’”

And once more :

“If excommunication, rescued from all degrading application of it, but excluding absolutely from the benefit of all the offices of the Church,—if excommunication, the greatest judgment upon earth (these are the words of Lord Bacon), be restored to the true dignity and use

<sup>1</sup> The exceptions, of clergy preferring the risk of suspension before the certainty of profanation, are not more than enough to establish the rule: their number, however, in cases of suicide and notorious unrepented profligacy or infidelity, is gradually increasing; and must eventually call attention to the cause of so irregular and painful a proceeding.

thereof, the Church will be indeed restored to as much of its ancient vigour as may be necessary. We might then be more than content to see the disuse of open penance, and other details of discipline of the primitive times. *But nothing can be truly said to justify our acquiescence in the continued abandonment of all discipline whatsoever.*"—pp. 75—77.

The Bishop of Exeter certainly stands clear of the blame which is due to those who assign to an orderly ministration a higher value, than to a pure communion.

Similar in purpose was the *Church Courts and Church Discipline* of Archdeacon R. J. Wilberforce, published the year following, as an exposure, not only of the defects of the abortive Ecclesiastical Courts' Bill, then under discussion in Parliament, but also of the evil influence of a long line of statutes tampering with spiritual prerogatives—at one time, arming episcopal censures with earthly terrors, in order to make them a state engine for the suppression of disloyalty; at another, as unscrupulously limiting their action, and virtually forbidding their use. Well and truly did he point out the bounden obligation laid upon every branch of Christ's Church by the Holy Ghost, to put away the unclean liver, and to reject the heretic; and painfully he exposed our departure from the scriptural rule. And we lament to think what an accumulation of guilt attaches to us, for turning a deaf ear to his evidence, and so coldly receiving his singular labours for the Church's benefit, over and above the Erastianism, and virtual betrayal of trust, the rise, progress, and nature of which were little understood by the clergy generally, until he threw light upon them in a plain and accessible volume.

In 1846, the Lord Bishop of Lincoln followed upon the same track; and thus summed up an inquiry into the reformation of the Church, effected at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, under the three heads of doctrine, worship, and discipline:—

"Comparing its state, as then settled, with its present state, we find that the standard of doctrine remains the same; that the offices of Divine worship remain nearly the same, the alterations which have since been made being few and unimportant; and that the discipline, with respect to which the Reformers were not permitted to carry out their own views<sup>2</sup>, is now, as to the lay-members of the Church, wholly inoperative."—p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Alluding to the non-acceptance of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* by the Queen and Parliament, though it had been prepared by a royal commission, directed to a mixed body of divines and lawyers, in the time of Edward VI. At p. 28, his lordship had said, "The national Church is now practically deprived of a power, of which the possession is involved in the notion, and almost essential to the existence, of a society—the power of cutting off from the privileges of membership, offenders against its authority and laws."

His lordship forcibly illustrated the injury done to the cause of spiritual censures<sup>1</sup>, by their prostitution to worldly purposes under papal jurisdiction; and showed their loss of power over the consciences of men to be no less traceable to that system which "converted the State into a mere executioner of the decrees of the Church," before the Reformation, than to the precisely contrary more modern abuse which made Church courts mere instruments of civil polity: upon which latter point his judgment perfectly coincided with the opinions of those who had preceded him.

"The very aid which has been invoked to give effect to ecclesiastical censures—the aid of the State—has caused them to fall into disuse. The civil penalties consequent upon a sentence of excommunication, have prevented the ecclesiastical authorities from proceeding against offenders. They shrink from the attempt; not more from an apprehension of the clamour which the infliction of those penalties would create, than from a sense of their unsuitableness to accomplish the true end of spiritual censures—the awakening of the conscience of the transgressor. My conclusion therefore is, that in order to restore to those censures their due authority, we must disconnect them with all civil penalties. The offences against which they are directed are transgressions of the Divine law; and the motive which the Church ought to propose, to deter men from offending, is fear not of the temporal penalties inflicted by human laws, but of the eternal punishment denounced in God's law against sin. To pronounce an offender excommunicate, and then to call in the civil power, is to confess at once that the Church is not invested by its Divine Founder with any external coercive power, and that it is desirous to obtain that which He never intended to confer upon it."—pp. 29, 30.

"The appeal to the offender's conscience would be more effectual if the judgment to come, and all the momentous transactions of the day of account, were brought exclusively before his view, separate from all considerations of human tribunals and temporal punishments."—p. 31.

The pamphlet whose startling title occupies the fourth place at the head of this article strikes the same chord, and echoes the

<sup>1</sup> The true nature and proper limits of ecclesiastical discipline are thus described by Bingham: "The discipline of the Church consisted in a power to deprive men of all the benefits and privileges of baptism, by turning them out of the society and communion of the Church, in which these privileges were only to be enjoyed; such as joining in public prayer, and receiving the Eucharist, and other acts of Divine worship; and sometimes they were wholly forbidden to enter the Church, so much as to hear the Scriptures read, or hear a sermon preached, till they showed some signs of relenting; and every one shunned and avoided them in common conversation, partly to establish the Church's censures and proceedings against them, and partly to make them ashamed, and partly to secure themselves from the danger of infection or contagion. Thus far the Church went in her censures by her own natural right and power."—*Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book xvi. c. ii. sect. 2 and 3.

same sound. It contrasts the liberty allowed to other religious bodies, with the restrictions laid upon the Church, especially in respect of Corrective Discipline; and, after a severe exposure of the contradiction between the Church's written laws (which are shown to be strictly scriptural), and the too ordinary practice, and of the manifold evils to religion which result therefrom, it concludes with an earnest appeal for the co-operation both of clergy and laity, to remove so great a scandal.

Of the four writers now mentioned, Archdeacon Wilberforce alone proceeded to discuss the necessity of superseding our present Ecclesiastical Courts<sup>4</sup> in the cognizance of all purely spiritual matters (leaving to them their testamentary and matrimonial jurisdiction), and of the mode in which their office and the labours which ought to attach to it, may be advantageously discharged by local, unpaid tribunals, much more closely resembling the scriptural exemplars. On this branch of the subject, however, we do not now propose to enter, our object being to add our own testimony to the necessity for an effective restoration of spiritual discipline, and to enlist the learning, piety, and prayers of our readers in its behalf, rather than to offer any scheme for its execution, or prematurely discuss the plan propounded. Faith and hope ought indeed to characterize those who put their hand to the work of recovering freedom for the spiritual power, in so lax an age as the present; when clear and uncompromising convictions of duty, on all questions concerned with divine right, are very rare; and when young men, with awakened consciousness of the inconsistency of many traditional practices, and keener apprehensions of responsibility, being too often deserted by their natural guides, their elders, are apt to be betrayed into an air, or at least exposed to a charge, of lording it over God's heritage; which engenders unmerited suspicion, and endangers the success of any effort calculated to rid religion of its scandals. We observe, therefore, with the liveliest satisfaction, that "the promotion of Corrective Discipline" forms one of the four chief objects of the "Church Union Society" recently instituted at Bristol; a Society which, combining laity and clergy, and already numbering amongst its members many of the most active, experienced, and attached Churchmen in all parts of the country, and aiming at strictly legitimate results, cannot fail, with God's blessing, to forward the cause it advocates. We have heard too with a similar feeling, that Mr. Sweet's circular has been largely dis-

<sup>4</sup> It will be well both for himself, and for the Church and State generally, if the honourable member who has undertaken to introduce an Ecclesiastical Courts' Bill in the next Session of Parliament, will lay Archdeacon Wilberforce's arguments to heart, before attempting the fulfilment of his promise.

tributed by him, and wholly or in part reprinted in several dioceses, by co-operating clergymen; and that its subject and suggestions have furnished matter for many deeply interesting discussions in ruri-decanal chapters and other clerical assemblies. The adherents thus gained, and the sifting which the subject thus meets with, cannot but hasten the time for a strong expression of Church feeling on a matter so vital to Christianity: meanwhile it is well, we think, that the two experimental forms of petition, given in the Circular <sup>5</sup>, differ so entirely in character, though one in aim; for the strict and consistent details of No. 1, grounded as they are on Scripture and our own Canons, are calculated to *test* the exact sentiments of the clergy; whilst No. 2, omitting details, and simply urging a restoration of "wholesome and scriptural discipline" for the removal of offences, would probably attract a larger number, who not having carefully weighed the matter, but more or less realizing the defect complained of, prefer to leave all details to the sole consideration of their spiritual rulers, or such synod as may be empowered to act with them. For ourselves, we can see no reason why the proposed petitions may not be almost as various as the petitioners, in mode of expression, provided only the *one object*, a restoration of spiritual discipline, be aimed at by all; and that we may contribute our quota to the promotion of so desirable an end, we propose to assist the systematic discussion of the subject by offering our views, under certain heads (τόποι), upon each of its chief aspects, according to the most natural division of, I. Arguments in favour of a restoration of Corrective Discipline; and II. The difficulties urged against such a restoration. A division, of which it is obvious to remark that, if the first part should amount to a moral demonstration, if, *i. e.* it can be shown that our duty to God and man, embraces the vigilant and active exercise of Discipline, then the first harsh aspect of the second part is wonderfully softened, its heavy weight immeasurably lessened, and the practicability of overcoming all obstacles is a foregone conclusion. For whatever Providence, Almighty and Allwise, imposes as a *duty* is, *ex vi termini*, *practicable by us*: one essential element of duty, is feasibility. To deny this, were simply to deny God's attributes; to question it, were to loosen the keystone of Christian morals. Oh! how do Christians cast away their privileges, and trample on the most precious jewels of their

<sup>5</sup> No. 1. is, "A form of petition agreed to by a large body of Clergy in the Deaneries of Ackley and Sparkenhoe, Diocese of Peterborough, in Lent, 1847;" and is addressed "to the Most Reverend and Right Reverend the Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland." No. 2. is, "A form of petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury, originated in Lancashire, in 1847."

creed ; how do they throw down the rod and staff of the good Shepherd, and take for their support a broken reed, when they neglect this consoling axiom, that *there is nothing binding upon man from God, which may not be effected by a holy perseverance*. By such a faith mountains are cast into the sea, the dead are raised to life, the dumb speak, and the lame walk : he who so believes, and sees distinctly the precept, or the beckoning hand, walks on the waters, stills the waves, and overcomes the world. It was *this*, which animated Apostles, in their conflict with Athens and Rome, with earthly wisdom and power. It was *this* which sustained protesting Luther ; and *this* which made for Loyola and Francis Xavier, with all their faults, a name and place among the mighty dead. Without this graven on their hearts as the inspiration of all energy, none can be great, none good : and they who begin their inquiries touching any debated line of conduct, by investigating its feasibility before they have established and accepted its obligation, go far to distort their moral sense, and to forfeit God's blessing at the outset : they invite hindrances, paralyze motive, encourage Satan to oppose them, and court timidity, indecision, and doubt ; because they postpone the oracles of God, and have no heaven-born impulse, no sufficient spring of action to maintain them, should they subsequently muster courage to begin. But, alas ! how prevalent this habit has become ; and how thoroughly has it leavened the majority of men in power. Where can we now look to witness the refreshing spectacle of an uncompromising allegiance to ascertained duty ? The days of heroism in the field of Christian faith and morals, seem well-nigh numbered ; and every one is prepared to yield ! Princes and Prelates, Premiers and Parliament, all who should lead, are followers. The baneful influence of a false expediency threatens death to the influence of divinely-sanctioned principle ; and every other man you reason with, expects you to be ready at once to wave your claims, or to defer your project, provided only his coward heart enables him to conjure up some bugbear of *popular opposition*. He has no *locus standi* for any action of his own, beyond the ease with which it may be effected, and is utterly incapable of appreciating any higher title to respect.

It will be thus with some of the opponents of a restoration of Corrective Discipline : they will reverse the due order of inquiry in all moral questions, and shrink from the analysis of duty, under cover of their fears of impracticability. Not daring to dispute the obligation, they will denounce the scheme as one subversive of peace, and beset with unknown peril, forgetting that the Apostle's language is limited : "*If it be possible, live peaceably with all men.*"



With such opponents to improvement, we cannot cast in our lot. But we are ready to allow that there are difficulties in the way of restoring Corrective Discipline (as in the way of a return to *any* good, but neglected, habit), and that they are great, and should be calmly weighed ; but we decidedly protest against entering upon such a subject on the modern system ; and whilst we deprecate exaggeration of the obstacles, we will not knowingly overstate the favourable arguments. Their topics may be arranged as follows :

I. The right use of Ecclesiastical Discipline is “a note, or mark,” of the true Church.

II. It is a divinely-ordained instrument for the vindication of Christianity, the recovery of offenders, and the preservation of the faithful.

III. It is an integral part of episcopal functions.

IV. It is essential to purity of conscience, and consistency of ministration, on the part of the parochial clergy.

V. The want of it is a great scandal chargeable upon us, and a constant source of schism.

VI. The general moral state of England especially demands its restoration.

VII. Reason itself proclaims the necessity of it.

I. The first of these propositions in the second part of the Homily for Whit-Sunday ; from which, however, since few persons are now ordained but with a licence as allowed preachers, and it is therefore not so often read or heard as aforesaid, we will extract a comment upon the term *ecclesiastical discipline*, to show that it is there used in that sense which is alone applicable to our present argument. Having contrasted the notes of the true Church, as concerning doctrine and sacraments, with the traditions and customs of the Roman Church, the author of the Homily proceeds, thirdly, to a similar contrast with respect to ecclesiastical discipline, and says,—“ Christ ordained the authority of the keys to excommunicate notorious sinners, and to absolve them which are truly penitent : they abuse this power at their own pleasure, as well in cursing the godly with bell, book, and candle, as also in absolving the reprobate, which are known to be unworthy of any Christian society.” Alas ! with how heavy a weight of censure do these words now fall upon ourselves ; and how justly may the Romanist turn round upon us, and taunt us with our own reproaches. We must confess it, we are in this matter condemned out of our own mouth. A single glance at the results of the oftentimes excellent “Articles of Inquiry,” proposed to Churchwardens at a Visitation, would prove to demonstration,

that our ecclesiastical discipline is reduced, from a practical system, to little more than a legal fiction.

But it is not from the Homilies alone that the written sense of the English Church is to be gathered, as to the importance and essentiality of Corrective Discipline. Evidence, equally strong after its kind, is afforded by her Book of Common Prayer, her Ordinal, Articles, and Canons. The Prayer Book, as might be expected, simply taking for granted the constant exercise of a power which its companion, the Ordinal, ever testifies to be inseparable from the office of bishops and priests; and notifying accordingly what portions of its sacred rites should be withheld from such as have fallen under its condemnation<sup>6</sup>; the Articles defining the proper spiritual penalty which the highest exercise of that power involves, and the duty of the faithful towards the subjects of it<sup>7</sup>; whilst the Canons minutely regulate and provide for the application of the said power, to the various offences against faith and morals, which Holy Writ arraigns before it<sup>8</sup>.

Here, therefore, is available a mass of concurrent testimony, from all the witnesses to which reference in proof of our Church's mind and intention is wont to be made, speaking trumpet-tongued in condemnation of our present state, and sufficient of itself to convict of a most palpable dereliction of duty, as many of us as acquiesce in its continuance. But will it do so? If our experience were limited to books, and conversant with what ought to be, to the exclusion of what is, we may be excused for concluding that Churchmen, having satisfied themselves of the scriptural character of their Church's laws, would require nothing more for their enlistment in favour of a restoration of Discipline, than proof, such as we have given from her own mouth, that it is essential to her integrity, and that the spirit and system of her Services is contravened by its abeyance. But we are too familiar with the disposition and habits of the age, to dream of

<sup>6</sup> See Rubrics before the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, and the Burial of the Dead.

<sup>7</sup> Article XXXIII.

<sup>8</sup> The Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of the Church of England—*passim*. In the first instance, and by primary legal obligation, the duty of making presentments is imposed upon churchwardens (though, by Canon 113, ministers may, and are required to, present in case of their neglect of duty), and it would appear from the substitution of a general declaration for the specific oaths formerly taken by wardens (see 5 and 6 William IV. c. 62), that they felt the guilt of *perjury*, as charged upon them in the Canons, for forbearing to present offenders. Alas! that either they should think themselves absolved from making presentments, by such a change; or that bishops should have sat in the Parliament which passed the substituting statute, without a righteous effort to render the correction of presented persons practicable, by rescuing ecclesiastical discipline from its thralldom under previous enactments.



satisfying all our brethren by any argument whose force depends merely upon their reverence for the voice of the Church. In the abstract, and on points which involve no self-sacrifice, they both suppose and maintain the entire harmony of our Prayer Book, Ordinal, Homilies, and Canons, with Divine truth; but no sooner is some portion of them brought prominently forward, which neglect had cast into the background, than men at once give up the premises, in order to evade the inconvenient conclusion. It follows, that not only is it useless to claim from the laity, at least, a ready acceptance of, and respect for discipline, on the ground of their Church's written rules and doctrine, but that there is little prospect of a fair hearing at first for the very Word of God. We do not, however, doubt that if the clergy, as many of them as understand the subject, will press upon their flocks the abundant scriptural authority for the exercise of discipline, after the same persevering manner by which they have successfully promulgated some other forgotten truths, they may ere long create a sufficiently strong sense of its necessity, to ensure an effectual removal of the fetters which encumber it. And therefore we proceed to show, secondly,

II. That it is *a divinely-ordained instrument for the Vindication of Christianity, the Recovery of Offenders, and the Preservation of the Faithful.*

This threefold purpose will be sufficiently evident from the texts themselves, which we shall allege, in proof of the Divine institution of Corrective Discipline; we shall not, therefore, arrange the texts under the three several objects which they imply, to do which would frequently involve the repetition of the same text under each head; but shall take the scriptural exemplars and precepts in their scriptural order of relation, and leave the intelligent reader to test our assertion, by the materials with which we furnish him. To allude, very briefly, to what have been considered the earliest patterns of the sacred rite of excommunication; we observe that the expulsion of Adam from Paradise, which was a sort of excommunicating him from the place where he enjoyed the Divine Presence in the most immediate manner, has been of old regarded in this light. But the sentence passed upon Cain for fratricide, was a more exact type; for, first, he was to be turned out of the assemblies for religion (no longer to worship with his parents), which he calls being *hid from God's face*; secondly, he was declared unworthy to converse with the innocent, which is expressed by his being *a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth*; thirdly, he was devoted to destruction, so that it would have been no crime to kill him, (until God expressly forbade it,) as he complains when he saith, *every one that findeth me shall slay me.* All

this plainly foreshowed that God would have all wilful and obstinate offenders separated and excluded from the sounder part of his Church'. The introduction of Japhet into the tents of Shem, the designed High Priest of the true God; and the omission of the accursed Ham from that blessed privilege, by Noah; and the language of Jacob towards the blood-stained Simeon and Levi—"O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly mine honour, be thou not united," have both been quoted to the same purpose. But we pass on to the provisions of the Mosaic law, that Σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν (Heb. x. 1), which signified, with increased distinctness, the future discipline of the Christian body. For the carnal ordinances, suited to the *genius* of the Jewish people, and to those ages and parts of the world, were undoubted types of more spiritual observances, which were to succeed them in Gospel times; and the exclusions which were then incurred by ceremonial pollutions and natural diseases, were unquestionable signs of subsequent moral disqualifications. The persons who were legally unclean, under the Mosaic dispensation, being unfit for that legal worship, were justly shut out from it, and were, to all intents and purposes, in the state of excommunicate persons, as far as concerned the loss of their external privileges; and no marvel if, in a more spiritual religion, the spiritual sword cut deeper, when it is used on greater offenders. But if any are disposed to inquire how it comes to pass that we have, in the Old Testament, so few instances of excommunication for moral offences, like that of the tribe of Benjamin publicly denounced in a religious assembly, and all conversation with them cut off, for their abetting the lust and cruelty of the men of Gibeah (Judges xx. xxi.), two satisfactory replies are furnished by the sacred history; namely, first, the *immediate infliction of Divine judgment upon the criminals*, by *death*, as in the instances of Korah, Numb. xvi.; the Bethshemites, 1 Sam. vi.; Uzzah, 2 Sam. vi., which was equivalent to the highest sort of excommunication, the *Schammatha*; or by loathsome *diseases*, which *involved* exclusion from the congregation, and cut off the sufferer from civil and religious conversation, as in the instances of Miriam<sup>1</sup>, Numb. xii.; Uzziah, 2 Chron. xxvi.; Gehazi, 2 Kings v.; whence arose the ordinary notion of the Jews, that diseases betokened sin; according to

<sup>9</sup> Comber, from whose Discourse on Excommunication we borrow freely in this section of our subject, notes that learned men have found in the case of Cain, all the kinds of excommunication used afterwards among the Jews; viz. 1, the *Niddui*, or separation; 2, the *Cheren*, anathema or curse; and, 3, *Schammatha*, or exposing him to Divine vengeance.—*Discourse*, p. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Numbers xii. 14; the LXX. render ἀφωρισθήτω ἐπὶ τὰ ἡμέρας. Ad hoc exemplum instituti ἀφορισμοὶ à Synagogâ, et inter Christianos ab Ecclesiâ. Grotius in loc.

which, Jesus assured them of his power to forgive sins also, by his miraculous cures on men's bodies (St. Matt. ix. 6); and in the infancy of the Christian Church, God proceeded in the same way with the Corinthians, who profaned the holy communion (1 Cor. xi. 30), at a time when, as St. Chrysostom notes, and St. Paul's own language elsewhere implies, by reason of their schism there was no exercise of discipline amongst them. Now these methods sufficiently showed it was the will of God that notorious sinners should be excluded; they did the work, and served the ends of excommunication. They bound up the parties so that they wanted, if not commerce with men, yet, however, converse with God; for they could not go to the tabernacle or the temple, till both the sin was pardoned and the sickness removed together; and that restoration was their absolution, and also a warning not to offend again (Isa. xxxviii. 22; St. John v. 14). These miraculous visitations were therefore one cause of the infrequent use of excommunication for immoralities, under the law of Moses. But a second reason is derived from the peculiar form of government which Moses was employed to establish, which, being a *theocracy*, did not admit of two laws, one sacred and the other civil, nor two tribunals, as there are in other nations; but under it, the priests, as God's governors, had the chief authority in the Sanhedrim and in all other councils, and the power of temporal punishments (2 Chron. xix. 8). The high priest was the first person in the Sanhedrim; and the determining of all controversies, and punishing all offences, was principally in their hands (Deut. xvii. 9—13). The king himself was to advise with the priest in all matters<sup>2</sup>, and it was a capital offence in any of the people to disobey the priestly orders. Now while the priests had this power, and the nation was governed by God's law, and its own magistrates of divine appointment, all moral evils and impieties were, if small, expiated by chargeable sacrifices, and so the offender was reconciled by the priest to God and the congregation; or, if the crimes were great, and done presumptuously (Deut. xvii. 12), they were to be *punished with death*. And here it is especially to be observed, that capital offences were not such only as Infidels and Heathens would view with horror, as murder, manslaughter, robbery, and the like, which human laws take cognizance of; but they were also sins whose sinfulness, if not exclusively arising from their violation of God's will, was yet punished exclusively for that violation, such as *adultery*, Levit. xx. 10, Deut. xxii. 22; *incest*, in all its varied forms, Levit. xx. 19; *rape*, or *fornication* with a betrothed person, Deut. xxii. 24—26; drunkenness, and dishonouring of parents, Deut. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph. in App. lib. ii.

18—21, for “so shalt thou put evil away from among you, and all Israel shall hear and fear ;” *idolatry*, or seducing to idolatry ; *witchcraft*, or *pretence of prophecy*, or *dreams*, against God’s honour, Deut. xiii.; *blasphemy*, Levit. xxiv. 16 ; *Sabbath-breaking*, Exod. xxxi. 14 ; defilement of the Tabernacle, by neglect of purification, Numb. xix. 13 ; and *presumptuousness*, Deut. xvii. 13. In all these cases, though person and property might be uninjured, and no private prosecutors might be disposed to act, on grounds of their own interest, one obligatory sentence was imposed by God, and that the severest mark of his displeasure, inflicted too in the most awfully impressive manner, namely, death, by the hands of the multitude, acting openly and avowedly as God’s executioners. Little need was there then of spiritual excommunications, for their place was occupied by the carnal penalty of a forfeiture of life ; God suiting the punishment to the people, and visiting with condign judgment, not alone such crimes as are arraigned by the ordinary laws of civilized or Christian nations, but those also which no court, save the ecclesiastical, can or will adjudicate upon. But since the whole of the Mosaic law was doubtless typical, we must not entirely pass over those lesser, but not light, penalties which were inflicted upon other classes of spiritual misdemeanour, viz. the heavy fine and stripes for *slander*, Deut. xxii. 13—19 ; the fine, and reparation by marriage, for *seduction* of an unbetrothed woman, Deut. xxii. 28, 29 ; the exclusion of *bastards*, and their children to the tenth generation, from the congregation of the Lord, Deut. xxiii. 2 ; and the similar exclusion of the Moabite and Ammonite, because of their fathers’ opposition to the passage of Israel into the Holy Land, 3—6 ; there was also the typical exclusion of the ordinary leper ; of the mother after child-birth ; and of him that had touched a corpse ; and, distinct in kind from all the other processes and types of Corrective Discipline among the Jews, was that fearful ordeal, known as the *trial of jealousy*, the consequence of which, to the guilty party, were the swollen belly, and the rotting thigh, Numb. v. At a later period, when temporal power had been in part withdrawn from them, we find the Jewish authorities having recourse to a substitute for the Mosaic capital sanctions, much more immediately resembling excommunication. Thus, after the Babylonish captivity, Ezra threatened all who should not appear within three days to put away their strange wives, *that he who did not come up to Jerusalem, all his goods should be forfeited* (which seems to be the civil sanction), *and himself should be separated from the congregation of the captivity* (Ezra x. 8). And during our Lord’s ministry, we have an instance of this excommunication, inflicted upon the poor blind man, whose sight he had restored (St. John ix. 34) ; and both in that place and

at xii. 42, the expression "lest they should be *cast out of the synagogue*," was translated in our old English version *excommunicated*.

We proceed to inquire, in the next place, what evidence the New Testament contains, to show that a power of inflicting censures analogous, though not similar, to that exercised by the Jewish priests, was committed to those who "have the rule over us," and who "watch for our souls," in the Christian dispensation. And we doubt not that a minute comparison of the passages which will be brought forward, would reward the diligent student with this result; that for every ceremonial, or other offence, subjected to punishment under the law, there is an antitype under the Gospel, the sins differing, after the same manner as the sanctions; of which St. Augustine says, "*Hoc nunc agit in Ecclesiâ Excommunicatio, quod agebat tunc Interfectio*."<sup>3</sup> For corporal offences and punishments will be found spiritual offences and punishments not less real; for destruction of the body of flesh, excision from the fellowship of Christ's Body; for stripes, admonitions; for witchcraft, heresy; and for contact with the dead, a denial of the death to sin. And we may add, that no application of a non-miraculous spiritual power could approach nearer to the trial of jealousy, for the clearing of persons unjustly suspected, or the conviction of secret criminals, than the oath of compurgation, so long practised in the Church.

The disciplinary commission which our Lord gave to his Apostles, and in them to all their successors to the world's end, is contained in three passages of the Gospels (St. Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18; and St. John xx. 21—23). When St. Peter had in the name of all the Apostles confessed Christ to be the Son of God (St. Matt. xvi. 15, 16), our Lord declares that he had made good his name of *Peter* (signifying a Rock) in laying this sure foundation; and assures him He would build his Church upon this Rock, i. e. this confession of Christ, the Rock of ages<sup>4</sup>, so that it should stand for ever in despite of all the opposition hell could make against it (verse 18). And since so well-grounded and durable a House ought to have some to rule it, our Lord shows in the next verse who shall have the government of it, saying,

<sup>3</sup> Aug. Quæst. in Deut. lib. v. c. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Comber here gives several references to the Fathers (and might also have quoted one of the earliest decrees of the Council of Trent), in proof that *πέτρα* meant the confession of Peter, and not Peter *πέτρος* himself. But whether or no the Apostle was alluded to, as about to be founder of the Church Christian by his sermon at Pentecost, and by his baptism of Cornelius, matters little to the argument; since the Roman abuse of the personal interpretation sometimes resorted to by them, is shown to be groundless in Scripture, by the subsequent commissions to all the Apostles, in the same Gospel, and in St. John's, and by the universal testimony of the early Church; whose bishops ever exercised an independent disciplinary jurisdiction.

“And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven” (verse 19). Here the metaphor is continued, and the Church being compared to a House (its usual emblem, 1 Tim. iii. 15; Ephes. ii. 20), the power of ruling this house is set forth by giving the keys, which are given to those who are chief stewards and managers of the family. So, when God would express his committing the government of the house of David to Eliakim, He saith, “And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder” (Isa. xxii. 21); and our Lord’s having “the keys of death and hell” (Rev. i. 18), is to manifest his power to condemn thither, or to save from thence. And these keys here granted are called the “keys of the kingdom of heaven,” as well because the Church and kingdom of grace on earth is called by that name (St. Matt. iii. 2), as because the Church is the gate to the kingdom of glory; and we cannot regularly come into the kingdom of heaven above, but by and through this gate of the Church on earth; and so, by consequence, the power of the keys of the Church contains in them the right to admit men into this household of God by baptism, so making them heirs, on certain conditions, of the kingdom of heaven; and to exclude men out of this household by excommunication, if they neglect those conditions, and are guilty of notorious and scandalous offences; and consequently to deprive them of the privileges which belonged to them while they were regular members of God’s family. And as a Prince, when he makes a deputy or viceroy, usually declares in his commission that what he does in such a province in his name, and by his power, the Prince will ratify and confirm; so our Saviour here tells Peter, and in him the rest of the Apostles, that whatever he binds or looses upon earth, shall be bound or loosed in heaven; meaning that He will hold their judicial acts to be good and valid, so long as they keep to the law and rules which He has left them to govern by. And St. Chrysostom thus accounts for the change of metaphor (from “keys” which are to open and shut, to “binding and loosing”): he supposes the power of a viceroy to be here signified; and as he can lock up men in prison, or release them according as they deserve, and hath the power of the keys committed to him to separate the innocent from the mischievous, so Christ here gives his Apostles like authority in order to the well-governing of his Church; only there is no temporal coercive power, as many other texts of the New Testament declare, but a spiritual power, suitable to the nature and ends of this spiritual household. Thus did our Lord here give to



his Apostles a commission, as well to exclude notorious criminals out of his Church by excommunication, as to re-admit them upon their repentance; promising to confirm their acts so long as they judged by his rules. And thus is Corrective Ecclesiastical Discipline shown to be of Divine institution.

The truth of this ancient interpretation will be further confirmed by considering the second passage of the New Testament, in which this power is mentioned, viz. St. Matt. xviii. 18, "Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven:" the very same words with those before addressed to St. Peter. And if we look back to the occasion of them here, it will be evident they can be meant of nothing but of ecclesiastical discipline. For in this eighteenth chapter our Lord first labours to prevent the doing injuries and offences to the meanest of his disciples (verses 1—14). But, secondly, in case injuries be done, or any scandal or offence given, He teaches the offended person what method to take; viz., first, privately to admonish the offender (ver. 15); and if that prevail not, the grieved party must rebuke him before witnesses (ver. 16); and if this also prove unsuccessful, then he must complain to the Church, which is supposed to rebuke, and if need be, to censure the stubborn criminal; and if he do not "hear the Church," (*i. e.* submit to its sentence, and make reparation,) then private Christians are to renounce all communion and commerce with that man, and behave towards him as the Jews did to a heathen or publican, with whom they would not discourse, nor eat (St. Matt. ix. 12; Gal. ii. 12); nor yet suffer them to come into the court of the temple, where they were wont to pray (Acts xxi. 28); for on the gate was written, "Let no stranger go into the holy place<sup>s</sup>." That is, they must no longer count this man a member of the Christian Church, nor call him a brother, but esteem him as a pagan, and one who never yet was admitted; or a publican, who, for living in open sins, was cast out. And lest this sentence should be despised, as though it were only a human act, our Lord promises that it shall be confirmed in heaven: "Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind," &c.; and yet further assures his Apostles, that if only two of them agreed on earth in any sentence or matter of the kind, it should be done for them of his Father. The third passage in the Gospels relating to the apostolic commission to exercise Corrective Discipline, is in St. John xx. 21—23, which plainly shows, as was *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus* maintained, that by "tell it to the Church," we are

<sup>s</sup> Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 14.

to understand, tell it to the *governors of the Church*; to those “which have the rule over you.” The Apostles and primitive Bishops exercised their power in and before the assembly of the Church, and with their approbation, for the greater solemnity and warning; but the power itself was vested exclusively with them. And so when our Lord, after his resurrection, ordained the Apostles to be governors of his Church, He sent them with authority, *as his Father sent Him* (xx. 21); and to give them inward ability to exercise this high and holy office (of which the two passages previously considered contained the promise, even as Holy Baptism and the Supper of the Lord were also largely spoken of, previous to their formal institution), He gave them the Holy Ghost, by the ceremony of breathing on them (ver. 22); and to oblige all the society which they should gather together to revere and obey them, He granted them the power of “binding and loosing,” without any metaphor; saying, “Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained” (ver. 23): which place evidently makes them judges under Christ concerning such offences as are committed by those in the Church; so that if they should find any man obstinate in his evil ways, they might “retain his sins,” i. e. *declare him unfit for, and unworthy of, pardon, and consequently of the Church’s communion*, wherein forgiveness is to be obtained; and while the offender remains impenitent, Christ declares his guilt remains in him, and his sin shall not be pardoned. But if the party submit and repent, so that the governors of the Church judge him sincere, and take off this sentence, by declaring him penitent, then his sin shall be forgiven him in heaven; which promise, no doubt, our Saviour makes good, as often as his stewards do judge by the rules and measures He has given them. And since Christ gave his Apostles and their successors no temporal power, nor any other way to punish offenders but this, they who would rob them of this power, do what they can to strip them of all authority, and *to bring the Church, by anarchy, into confusion*.

In availing ourselves of the work of Comber in the foregoing remarks upon the Gospel evidence for a Divine institution of Ecclesiastical Discipline, we have purposely omitted his elaborate replies to the false glosses, as well of Papists, as Puritans and Erastians, in their perversions of the several texts; and we allude to them here for the sole purpose of directing our readers to the original discourse, in case any of them should have to contend with similar objections, cavils, or evasions. It remains for us to examine into the application or use of this divinely-instituted discipline, as it is described, alluded to, or provided for, in the other portions of the



New Testament: in two of which, we may here observe, St. Paul (as it were anticipating the heresy of Erastus) thought it right expressly to declare that the power of which we speak was committed to him, not by man, but by Christ (see 1 Cor. v. 4; 2 Cor. x. 8); and is, therefore, of *divine right*. The Apostles' principal work was to bring converts into the Church; but when need required, they also exercised that other power of casting offenders out of it. Thus St. Peter retained the sin of Ananias and Sapphira, censuring their sacrilege; and God interposed to sanction this first exercise of discipline, by smiting the offenders with death; so that *great fear came upon all the Church*. (Acts v. 1—11.) The next instance was that of Simon Magus, who had pretended to believe, and was baptized; but soon manifested his worldly motives, by expressing a desire to purchase spiritual gifts and the apostolic office (whence *Simony*); whereupon St. Peter declares him accursed, saying, "Thy money perish with thee." By which phrase he intimates, he was, as the Jews speak, under *Cherem*; and that he might separate him from the Church, he adds, "Thou hast neither part, nor lot, in this matter<sup>6</sup>." And further, as a reason of this destruction denounced, and this separation inflicted, on Simon Magus, the Apostle shows he is still *εἰς σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας*, *under the bond of his sin*; which by this declaration was "retained" according to the power given by Christ; yet he does not so cut off this sinner, but that he shows it was done for his amendment, by still exhorting him to repentance: upon which the offender immediately submits, and fearing some judgment would follow his apostolical excommunication, desires the Apostles (as the primitive penitents did the faithful afterwards) to *pray for him*. (Acts viii. 12—24.)

The next description of the use of the spiritual sword concerns the *incestuous* Corinthian (1 Cor. v.) who had married his father's wife; and whose sin the Corinthian Churchmen had connived at, instead of mourning over it, and causing him to be *taken away*: where *ἐξάλπειν*, and at verse 13, does not signify to take him away by death; but to drive or take him away from assembling with them, which would be a kind of *spiritual death*. St. Paul, therefore, since schism had there relaxed their discipline, himself decrees his excommunication, and describes the process of it: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." As to which phrase of *delivering to Satan*, it is certainly meant of

<sup>6</sup> Compare the same expression, and its use, in Josh. xxii. 25; St. John xiii. 8.

excommunication, both here and at 1 Tim. i. 20 ; for, as by Baptism men were delivered from the power of Satan (Acts xxvi. 18), so when apostates and evil men broke this covenant, and were cast out of the Church again, they were, as it were, delivered back again to the kingdom of the prince of this world ; they became as heathens, and were under the dominion of the prince of darkness. Yet, to show that this discipline was not to destruction, but to edification, the Apostle declares this delivering to Satan was not for the damnation of their souls ; but that Satan (by God's permission, and as God's executioner) might torment their bodies by some grievous disease, whereby they might be humbled and brought to repentance, that their spirits might be saved in the day of the Lord<sup>†</sup>. And though now, when the Gospel is sufficiently attested, these miraculous proofs of Christ's presence and approval are withdrawn, as being no longer necessary for the confirmation of faith ; yet still, those who are justly cast out of the Church are really exposed to Satan's malice, until they submit, and, with hearty repentance, are received in again. But the Apostle proceeds, that they must not glory of their purity while such contagions and spreading vices remained uncensured ; but must clear themselves from these vicious persons, that they might be fit to communicate with Christ their passover. He also adds, that in a former epistle he had enjoined them "not to company with fornicators ;" and he now explains that he meant not this to extend to Jews or Pagans, who, not professing Christianity, were not liable to its discipline, and by whose faults no scandal could fall on the Church ; but only to those who, whilst they called themselves *brethren*, were "fornicators, covetous, idolaters, railers, drunkards, or extortioners ;" and with these the faithful people must "not so much as eat" a common meal, much less admit them to their religious worship, and eat with them at the Lord's Table. *Those that were without*, neither he, nor any other Apostle or bishop, had authority to pass sentence upon ; but from among their own fellowship and society they must, by the charge and authority given to the Christian ministry for that very purpose, "put away the evil."

This chapter (1 Cor. v.), then, contains a clear and positive direction for the exercise of the severer part of Ecclesiastical Discipline. But since Christ gave his Apostles not only a power to "retain," but also to "remit" sins, we have a further account in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, of the exercise of the milder part of the same office. For the incestuous person being

<sup>†</sup> See the interpretations of this expression given in sect. 15, chapter ii. of book xvi. in Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*.

exceedingly grieved, and in danger to be swallowed up of overmuch sorrow, St. Paul desires that his punishment (or censure, ἐπιτιμία), which was inflicted of many, should be taken off; declaring that the public reproof, and severe sentence, in the presence of the whole congregation, having brought him to repentance, was a sufficient penalty; and he requires them to “forgive” him, and grant him absolution: expecting their ready obedience in this also; first, because in all his orders he had respect unto their good; and, secondly, because he commanded them by the authority, and as the ambassador of Christ; who acted by his representatives, the Apostles, to whom he had given the commission to “bind and loose:” for so the Fathers explain his expression, “For your sakes forgave I it in *the person of Christ*.” By the “power of the Lord Jesus Christ,” he had ordered the man’s excommunication; so now “in the person of Christ” he orders his restoration; the people being only witnesses of, and accessories to, the authoritative sentence of the Apostle.

There are several other expressions contained in these Epistles relative to the same subject; those e. g. which speak of “coming to them in sorrow,” and “making them sorry,” 2 Cor. ii. 1—3; that is, by ordering offenders to be censured, which was always done with sorrow, as the receiving them in again, was with joy. Compare also vii. 8; x. 6—8; xii. 20; xiii. 2 and 10.

But besides the descriptions of the exercise of corrective discipline in the three cases now cited, we have to note those allusions to, or provisions for, its exercise in other cases; as in Rom. xvi. 17, “Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them:” which being to be done by all the Christians of that Church, it must amount to an excluding them from their religious assemblies, and civil conversation also<sup>8</sup>. The introduction of heretical opinions into the Church of Galatia, led St. Paul to give a decided order for excommunication there also: “If we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be *anathema*,” or accursed: Gal. i. 8. And to show that this was no rash, but a deliberate judicial act, he repeats it, at verse 9<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Grotius is of opinion that there was yet no fixed government of the Church at Rome; for that, if there had been, St. Paul would have ordered these schismatics and heretics to be excommunicated; but since the people could not pass this sentence, all they could do was to *avoid them*. For a sound interpretation of the disciplinary allusions in 1 Cor. vi., see Hammond in loc.

<sup>9</sup> Comber gives a learned dissertation upon the force of the word ἀνάθεμα in this and other places of Scripture (see 1 Cor. xii. 3; Rom. ix. 3; 1 Cor. xvi. 22), and fully establishes its meaning to be the same with the delivering to Satan and

And at chapter v. verse 12, he says of the same disturbers of Christian unity, "I would they were even *cut off* which trouble you;" regarding them as dead branches of the vine, or gangrened limbs of the body, which should be speedily removed. But, lest after such exhortations to the exercise of discipline the "spiritual" rulers should be tempted to too great severity, he cautions them (vi. i.) to "*restore*" a fallen brother, "in the spirit of meekness."

The Ephesians are desired to "*have no fellowship* with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather to *reprove them*;" and *not to be partakers* with such as practised them (v. 7 and 11). And the Thessalonians are first bidden to "warn them which are unruly" (1 Thess. v. 14); and afterwards, upon the ordained principle, that they who would not hear the Church, should be unto them as heathen men and publicans, St. Paul "commands" them "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to *withdraw themselves* from every brother who walketh disorderly" (2 Thess. iii. 6), which being pronounced so solemnly in Christ's name, and by his authority, is a kind of general sentence of excommunication, upon which they were to avoid such men's company. So again (verse 14), he who obeyed not the Apostle's orders, they were to signify his name to St. Paul in an epistle of complaint<sup>1</sup>; and, by forbearing to hold any communion with him, shame him into amendment; yet not to hate him during this his separation and exclusion, but to admonish him, that if possible he might be recovered, before he was utterly cut off from being a brother. For these admonitions regularly preceded the solemn excommunication, as appears from the injunctions given to St. Timothy, Bishop of Ephesus (1 Tim. v. 20—22), who is ordered openly "before all" the congregation, to "rebuke them that sin, that others also may fear." And if this should not prevail, but he were compelled to excommunicate them, St. Paul then enjoins him, as in the presence of God and Christ, and the elect angels, to proceed impartially, and not hastily to absolve them again (by the ceremony of laying on of hands), before they had repented, lest he should make himself partaker of other men's sins. In this same epistle he alludes to his own excommunication of the heretics Hymenæus and Alexander, "whom I have delivered unto Satan, *that they may learn not to blaspheme*"

excommunication.—Discourse, &c., pp. 45—47. The annexation of an anathema by the primitive Church, to the denial of matters of faith, or to certain unholy practices, arose from this apostolic precedent; and intimated that the maintainers of such doctrines and practices involved themselves in guilt, which merited separation from the body of Christ's faithful people.

<sup>1</sup> So Comber points and interprets the original Διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦτον σημειοῦσθαι.

(i. 19, 20), and charges Timothy to *withdraw* himself from such as taught otherwise than the Apostle had prescribed. (1 Tim. vi. 5.)

In like manner St. Paul advises Titus, his successor in Crete, concerning those Jewish seducers, who subverted many, and those Cretians who were seduced by them, to “rebuke them sharply, that they might be sound in the faith” (i. 13); and, more plainly, at iii. 10, “A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonitions reject,” which is a direction for depriving him of the communion of the Church, since whosoever the bishop rejected, he was necessarily excluded from divine offices, and all the faithful renounced his society. So also St. John expressly forbids the faithful to show any kindness, by way of common civility, to those who hold or propagate false doctrines; “If there come any to you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.” (2 John 10, 11.) And the same Apostle, in the messages committed to him for the angels or bishops<sup>2</sup> of the churches at Ephesus, Pergamos, and Thyatira, affords us an encouragement and a warning, very fit to be adduced by way of conclusion to this proof of the Divine institution of Ecclesiastical Discipline;—an encouragement to such amongst us as *cannot bear them which are evil*, to procure God’s favour by a speedy restoration of spiritual censures;—a warning, to such as say “Peace, peace, where there is no peace,” and suffer many a “Balaam” and “Jezebel” to go on in their sins and seductions unrebuked nor put away, to fear lest they provoke our long-suffering Father to remove our candlestick, and cast us off.

III. Our third proposition was, that *the right use of Ecclesiastical Discipline is an integral part of episcopal functions*. This view of the subject is especially important in that, whilst it is calculated to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of those eminent men who hold the episcopal office, in favour of any well-directed effort to recover freedom for the full discharge of its awful responsibilities; it also disarms those captious opponents of all Church reform, who screen their *statu-quo-ism* under a professed jealousy for episcopal prerogatives. The evidence which is at hand in support of this topic, is varied and voluminous; it includes Scripture, the Fathers, Councils, general Church History, our own authoritative Formularies, and other documents connected with our branch of the Church Catholic. As respects Holy Scripture, it cannot be necessary here to do more than direct the reader’s attention to the *persons* to whom our Lord conveyed the power of the keys; St. Paul, the injunction to reject heretics;

<sup>2</sup> See Marshall’s Notes on the Catholic Episcopate, c. 2, § 4.

and our Lord again, the rebukes for suffering false doctrines and corrupt practices in the churches of Pergamos and Thyatira. For though it be true, in the words of St. Ambrose, "*Claves illas regni coelorum in beato Petro cuncti suscepimus sacerdotes*" (which apply equally to the same commission repeated to all the Apostles), yet it is equally true, that to the bishops, as to the chiefest of the successors of the Apostles, has ever pertained the Tribunal of Ecclesiastical Discipline; as the same Father elsewhere says, "*Episcopi affectus boni est, ut oportet, sanare infirmos, serpentia auferre ulcera, adurere aliqua, non abscindere; postremò quod sanari non potest, cum dolore abscindere*." And as respects the testimony of the Fathers, Councils, and Church history, our space forbids us to do more than refer the reader to the ample proof of our assertion, which he will find in the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th books of Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*; and in the second chapter of Comber's *Discourse of Excommunication*, where also are given extracts from the confessions of several foreign reformed bodies, testifying their persuasion of the *divine right* of Corrective Discipline.

We are more concerned to establish our proposition from the evidence of our own formularies, and for this purpose we turn at once to the "*Form of ordaining or consecrating of an Archbishop or Bishop*," whereof the very first prayer asks grace "*for all Bishops, the pastors of the Church, that they may diligently preach the word, and duly administer the godly discipline thereof*." The first epistle enforces the necessity of a bishop "*having his children in subjection with all gravity*," that being a good "*ruler*" of his own house, he may "*take care of the Church of God*." The second epistle bids those who are overseers of the flock, to watch against the entering in of grievous wolves, and the existence of false teachers, who would draw away disciples from among them. The first gospel adduces the example of Christ's charge to St. Peter, wherein the bishop's office is especially likened to the shepherd's (who separates the diseased from the healthy). And the first prayer after the Litany beseeches God so to replenish

<sup>3</sup> S. Ambrose, *de Dign. Sacerd.* c. 1. quoted in *Theoph. Anglican.*, c. xiii. part 1. The learned Comber says, "'Tis true these words are repeated to every priest in his ordination, and the power is committed to him so far as may enable him to serve the necessities of single persons, whose faults are made known to him by private complaint, or voluntary confession: but for order's sake, where the offence is public, and the scandal evident, there the bishop only exercises this power of remitting and retaining; and it is this latter power which only concerns excommunication, and which was given originally to the Apostles as Governors of the Church: and while there are offences and offenders in the Church (as there will be to the world's end) this power must remain in the Church's governors, for the preservation of this holy society.'"—*A Discourse of Excommunication*, c. 1, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *De Officiis*, l. 2. cap. 27. tom. 4. p. 61.—quoted by Bingham, b. xvi. c. ii.



the candidate with truth and innocence, that he may faithfully serve Him in this office, "to the edifying and *well governing* of his Church," laity as well as clergy. The sixth question put to the candidate is as follows: "Will you maintain and set forward, as much as shall lie in you, quietness, love, and peace among all men," so far resembling the seventh question put to candidates for the priesthood, but then adding this peculiar and characteristic inquiry—"and such as be unquiet, disobedient, and criminous within your diocese, *correct and punish according to such authority as you have by God's word*, and as to you shall be committed by the ordinance of this realm?" Answer, "*I will do so by the help of God.*" The prayer following the hymn, "Veni Creator Spiritus," again asks grace for the candidate to "use the authority given to him, not to destruction, but to salvation; not to hurt, but to help;" evidently assuming that no bishop could suffer the spiritual sword to rust in the scabbard, when purity demands its

<sup>5</sup> It is *not* said "according to the *limitations thereof* by the ordinance of this realm;" or no man, it may be charitably presumed, would reply affirmatively. Yet such is the practical interpretation of these words; whose natural force, and sole religious meaning is this, "and according to such *other* authority as the civil law may give you, agreeably to the same." It is satisfactory to note the anxiety of our colonial bishops to fulfil their bounden duty in this behalf. (See, e. g., the Canons of the Church in New Zealand: Col. Ch. Chronicle, No. VII.) Would that we could add, "and their unfettered state, and freedom to serve God!" But no; the evil spirit which too often governs the movements of the Foreign and Colonial Offices, hampers even our missionary bishops, and forbids them, where it is possible, from discharging their Divine commission. (See the Charge of the Lord Bishop of Tasmania, for 1846: London, Rivingtons.) Bishop Wilson's (Sodor and Man) view of the *paramount obligation*, in case of any unhappy collision between temporal and spiritual authorities in a matter of spiritual jurisdiction, is given in the following extract from his Convocation Charge of November 24, 1724; the occasion which led to this passage being nothing less than a slanderous imputation of hostility to the temporal jurisdiction of the lord of the isle, arising from the Bishop's enforcement of Ecclesiastical Discipline: "We are, *in the first place*, obliged by our ordination and consecration vows to defend the laws of God, and to punish and rebuke gainsayers. We are, *in the next place*, sworn to defend the lord's (of the isle) just prerogatives, and the laws of this land; we pray daily for his health and prosperity, and for the prosperity of his government; we patiently submit even to fines and imprisonment, till relieved by a superior authority; at the same time we are not ignorant that we have an authority, (and which we are *bound by our oaths to maintain*,) as well as the civil magistrates; and, in matters spiritual, independent of the civil power, at least within this isle (his see). And if we must be reproached for asserting this, which is as plain as laws can make them (it is), *God's will be done*. It is better to suffer for well-doing, than for evil-doing." Life, p. 35, vol. i. fol. ed. 1782, London. Compare Acts iv. 17—21. The good bishop was not to be terrified by the greatness of his adversary, nor diverted from the path of duty by the fear of being *charged* with disrespect for the powers that be. No man strove more earnestly than he to give, and to procure that others should give, to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; but he also remembered God; and had not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons. Thus St. Chrysostom, Hom. 82 sive 83, in Matt. p. 705, *Κὰν στρατηγὸς τις ᾗ, καὶ ὑπαρχος, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τὸ διάδημα περικείμενος, ἀναξίως δὲ προσεῖη, κώλυσον· μείζονα ἑκείνου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις*.

use. Finally, the charge given to him by the Archbishop, together with the delivery of the Bible, contains this wholesome caution, as well against negligence as against severity, in the work : “ Be so merciful, that you be not too remiss : *so minister discipline*, that you forget not mercy ;” whilst the last collect but one entreats our Heavenly Father to endue him with his Holy Spirit, that he “ may be earnest to reprove, beseech, and rebuke, with all patience and doctrine.”

A general comparison of the above passages with the parallel portions of the order for ordaining priests will sufficiently establish this position, that in the estimation of the English Church, ecclesiastical discipline is an integral part of episcopal functions. But we shall be readily excused for introducing at this point the strong testimony of the apostolic Wilson, who, in his convocation charge of June 9, 1720, thus refers to the *suspension* of Mrs. Horne, wife of Captain Horne, governor of the island, for having falsely accused “ Mrs. Puller, a widow woman of fair character, of fornication with Sir James Pool,” and so caused that lady to be rejected from the Lord’s Supper by Archdeacon Horribin ; and for “ treating the bishop and his authority, as well as the constitutions of the island, with contempt<sup>6</sup>,” when required to ask pardon of the parties whom she had so unjustly traduced.

“ It is now two years since I had the happiness to meet you in Convocation. You all know what hindered us the last year ; and I am persuaded you are *all* satisfied, as many as were witnesses of our proceedings in that affair, which has been made the occasion of so much trouble to us, that we acted as in the sight of God ; for having called the presbyters of my diocese together, *according to primitive usage, we considered our consecration vows*. We knew very well the sin and danger of a rash excommunication ; we heard with patience all that was offered in favour of the person accused ; and we were not ignorant of the character of her accuser. And yet we could not but see too much reason to believe her guilty, and too much scandal given to be passed over without a proper censure ; especially, when to her other crimes, that unhappy woman added an utmost contempt of all Church authority over her.”—*Life*, p. 25.

The uniform requirement of our Canons, that presentments should be made to *the Ordinary*, the statute and common law interpretation of that term, and the fact that in some courts the archdeacon, and in others the chancellor, holds the office of Ecclesiastical Judge, or Ordinary *per hâc vice*, by deputation from the Ordinary *par excellence*, are further proofs of our assertion. But, moreover, we have a formal statement to the same effect in

<sup>6</sup> *Life*, pp. 29, 30.



that most genuine exposition of the intention of the Reformed English Church on matters of ecclesiastical law, the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* above alluded to, as having been prepared, after a commission from King Edward VI., directed to thirty prelates and lawyers, to supersede the Roman Canon Law in all our Church courts; but hindered from fulfilling its design, first by the death of the king, and subsequently by the jealousy of Elizabeth. Whereof chapter II., “De Excommunicatione,” entitled “Quibus Excommunicatio committitur,” stands thus:

“Ecclesia claves accepit a Christo, quibus ligandi potestas et solvendi continetur. Quoniam autem ad hæc rectè debet et ordine procedi, quemadmodum administratio sacramentorum, et ex sacris Scripturis concionandi munus, certis viris deferuntur; ita potestas excommunicationis in *ministris et gubernatoribus ecclesiarum* consedit, ut illi sacrarum Scripturarum sententiâ et regulâ disciplinam in sacrosanctâ Domini cœnâ sanciant, et dijudicent quæ personæ mensâ pellendæ divinâ, quæ sint ad eam assumendæ: nominatim verò moderatores et ecclesiarum duces sunt archiepiscopi, episcopi, archidiaconi, decani; denique quicumque sunt ab ecclesiâ ad hoc munus adhibiti.”—Ed. 1640, p. 159.

It is unnecessary to enter into any argument to show that the concluding words from “Episcopi” in no way invalidate our case: nor shall we delay to introduce corroborative evidence from the old Articles of Enquiry, issued previous to episcopal visitations, and from injunctions on synodal decisions, which may be found in Cardwell’s “Documentary Annals of the Reformed English Church, from the year 1546 to the year 1716,” and in other similar collections of Church records. We must pass on to our fourth topic.

IV. *The right use of Ecclesiastical Discipline is essential to purity of conscience and consistency of administration, on the part of the parochial clergy.*

We speak in measured language, and with a deep meaning, when we urge this topic as of paramount importance, and insist upon our mode of stating it. We will confine ourselves to two arguments in its support: *viz.* 1st, the actual abandonment of a sacred trust; and, 2ndly, the profanation of services and counteraction of doctrine arising therefrom. We say, then, that there is such unfaithfulness to a Divine commission involved in acquiescence in the abeyance of discipline, as is not consistent with a sound conscience in the parochial clergy. For, first, how can the possession of a power, given to us of God, not only to *loose* in the absolving of penitents, but to *bind* also, as in censuring and rejecting of offenders—an integral portion of the gift of

priestly orders—be *held innocently*, when one half<sup>7</sup> of it is in allowed and entire abeyance? Can it be safe, either for priests or their flocks, so to deal with an institution of the Son of God, as to accept for active use, and of Divine obligation, the power of dispensing the word and sacraments of God, but to *ignore*, or *secretly disown*, the power of the keys imparted with it? Is this to be the type of the ministration consequent? Shall the people be referred to our ordination as the source of our authority to reprove, rebuke, and exhort; and shall they be enabled to retort upon us that one moiety of the authority then committed to us, is as a talent wrapped up in a napkin, and hidden by us? and that, if we may relinquish *IT*, *they* may dispute its *FELLOW*? Or, is it unbelief which lies at the bottom of this practical disclaimer of a trust and duty? And have the blasphemous pretensions of Rome driven the opponents of her arrogant presumption to such extremes, that they fear to acknowledge and hold fast the extent and truth of their own commission? Or, once more, is it that by the aid of Rome's own dogma of *intention*, bishops are supposed to withhold, or priests to abjure and escape, the grave responsibility which our Saviour's words imply?

Answer these questions as we may, it will not do to plead, in defence of past supineness, the admission above made, that the priest's office in regard of public discipline, has been ever exercised in subordination to the bishop's tribunal; that the judge must weigh evidence and convict, before the subordinate officer can be called upon to execute sentence. The question for the consideration of the clergy is, rather, this: if the Church was right in investing us with the solemn office of binding and loosing, forgiving and retaining sins, using thereto the very language of our Lord Jesus Christ, when He instituted the Christian ministry; *can we be right* in raising no voice against those usurpations of the State, which effectually negative our commission, and hinder the exercise of those episcopal functions to which our office, though weighty, is subordinate? And the one answer of all sound consciences must be directly *negative*; followed by the one uncompromising resolution to work for the removal of every obstacle which prevents our superiors, or ourselves, from performing acknowledged duties; and, if need be, to suffer persecution rather than betray a Divine trust.

Not only, however, are the parochial clergy bound to labour

<sup>7</sup> The words of the bishop in the ordering of priests are: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of his holy sacraments; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

for a restoration of corrective discipline, because, to acquiesce in its abeyance is to be unfaithful to a trust; but also because the want of it (as being part of a *perfect system* of instruments for man's renewal, ordained of God, and perfect only as a whole) counteracts their teaching, weakens their reproofs, and leads to the constant profanation of Church offices; because, in short, its tendency is directly Antinomian. It is clear that an appeal founded upon such arguments, lies to the laity as well as to the clergy; that they, equally with these, are members of that body, whose purity should be an object of the jealous vigilance and zeal of all its parts; nay more, that if the clergy were utterly insensible to their obligations, they, the laity, for their own sake, ought<sup>\*</sup> to rise unanimously to demand freedom for the spiritual office, and to shame their very teachers into a sense of duty, deeming it their highest privilege to vindicate Christianity from all appearance of evil. But both because we cannot generally expect a higher tone, and keener sense of Christian obligation, to prevail amongst the disciples, than among the masters in Israel; and because we are more concerned at present with the topics of argument, than with the appeals which may be founded upon them; as also because the clergy are open to conviction, and desirous upon the whole to fulfil their office, we speak especially to *them*, and crave their indulgent attention.

No fact is more universally admitted than the paramount influence of example, and the inferior power of precept; and there is scarcely one, perhaps, of those to whom we more particularly address these considerations, who has not made this axiom the theme and point of many addresses to the parents of his school-children. Nor is it less proverbial that the Church occupies a parental relation to her members, and that the whole body, or, to speak practically, the representative of the whole in any one country, is to be regarded, by all the individuals of her communion, as a mother by her children. But analogy and experience equally bear witness, that precept yields in the spiritual, as in the natural family, to the superior force of example; and that,

<sup>\*</sup> We gladly notice the following acknowledgment by "a Layman," that Discipline is sadly deficient amongst us, the first step towards a cure being a knowledge of the disease. But we can by no means agree with him, nor suffer him to lay the flattering unction to his soul, that his own order is *free* from the guilt of allowing the present state of things to be, or to continue. "If these privileges are abused by some to their own hurt, the Church is not thereby intrinsically damaged, nor is its power or authority in any degree forfeited. If in the present day there are temptations to hypocrisy which did not then (in the Apostles' days) exist; and if, through lack of godly discipline, its members are suffered to disgrace the fold, it is still the Church of the living God, and the laity at least are not responsible for its impurity."—*The Church of the Scriptures, and the Duties of the Laity in relation to it*, p. 7.

before sermons or private exhortations, before even the most conscientious discharge of other pastoral duties, can tell with full effect, or can reasonably expect the full measure of God's blessing, the assistance of example must be added to them, by the Church cutting off unworthy members; and the Divine ordinance of discipline must confirm the sacred lessons of the word. The mother, speaking by her official voice, and acting by her official hands, must separate the contumacious from the privileges of her society, if she desires her children to abhor their practices and avoid their haunts. How deeply this was felt by the Reformers, may be judged of by the regrets expressed in the opening sentence of our Communion Office, for the decay of that "godly discipline" whereby, "at the beginning of Lent, such persons as stood convicted of notorious sin were put to open penance, and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord; and that others, admonished by their example, might be the more afraid to offend." It was not enough, they thought, to preach: nay, not enough to censure or excommunicate alone (though this be all that *we* want freedom for): these things they would do at will: but they longed to revive that primitive method of receiving back the lapsed, by which sin might be armed with new terrors, and expulsion from the Church be made shameful in the sight of all men. And has preaching become so much more effective in our hands, that we can well spare an accessory to holiness, which the reformers of our Church thought necessary? Are we so far their betters, that we can not only read without sympathy their testimony in favour of ancient penance, but can even afford to cast away a weapon committed to us of God; and, with the Lent humiliation, condemn, as a beggarly element, the whole power of binding and loosing? Is one side of the two-edged sword, when wielded by us, so all-sufficient against sin and unbelief, that the other, though it be equally the Word, and of the Spirit, may be safely blunted and disused? Alas! it is far otherwise; and if from the many tokens of God's favour, which the recent revival of religion has brought with it, we turn aside to consider the real state of the majority of souls in Great Britain, we must confess, that at no period of her history has a greater contrast existed between the written language and actual teaching of the Church, on the one hand, and the living condition of the people, on the other. With a Prayer Book and Ritual eminently calculated to secure, according to its measure, that holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord, and that faith, without which it is impossible to please Him; and with an amount of preaching strange to former times;

and the qualifications for happy dying, are popularly a death-bed confidence. Preaching, however important a work, is not the sole office of the Christian minister; the Word prosper whereto it has been sent, though with the tongue of angels, so long as they who bear it exalt it to the exclusion of an equally ordained instrument in their administration of the Church afford to men God's moral government and mind. Sermons, no heard only by those who frequent the sanctuary; the voice of Episcopal censure, and the thunder of Excommunication would reach the ears of the Sabbath-breaker, and infidel.

But this second argument addressed to purity of and consistency of ministration, in the parochial clergy, not only to the counteracting of sermons and as but also to the profanation of Church offices. For indeed it undoubtedly is, in a *Christian* country, to preach and error, and the danger of evil company, whilst toler sinners in the assembly of the saints, and suffering every imaginable shade of heresy, and unbelief, to count themselves entitled to the benediction of the Church, whenever be pleased to demand it; the actual profanation of Church in their application to individuals, is far more injurious in Such a profanation, we maintain, takes place in the language which faith alone suggested, and which pertain to those only whom faith has animated—language of truth in promise, purity in morals, and a blessing of heavenly happiness—the abuse of language such in the marrying and burying of persons whose and even their death, bears witness, that truth, purity

Wilberforce and Mr. Sweet; and that similar exposures have not been published in relation to the marriage service<sup>1</sup>, is, perhaps, traceable to the abuse itself; and is at once the effect and proof of its magnitude; men having become so accustomed to the more palpable misapplication of the burial service, that the profanation of the marriage office has been overlooked. But a moment's reflection will convince the conscientious priest that, in every case where he has been tempted to tamper with the marriage office, by reason of the character and condition of those to whom he ministered, its inapplicability arose wholly from their unfitness to partake so sacred a solemnity; and that this, again, was not improbably the fruit of that absence of discipline, which left them at liberty to conclude that the Church, when denouncing immorality, *does not mean what she says*.

"The great moralist demoralizes by connivance; the self-styled mother of the people, in sparing the rod, seems to show that she has no true love for her children; whilst by not correcting the evil-doers, she makes a mockery of her own ordinances, which require an engagement of faith and holiness, for all who are admitted within her pale."—*Religious Liberty*, &c. p. 17.

Such was the impression made by our present usage, upon one who may be taken as a type of the more conscientious separatists; and does it not prove beyond a question, that whatever argument lies against the restoration of Church Discipline, on the ground of its possible abuse, lies equally against Church Offices, and ministrations generally?

"If men," says Bingham, "are qualified for Baptism, or the Eucha-

<sup>1</sup> The following was the second Canon of the Manx Church, as accepted in the Convocation of February 3, 1703:—"That no person be admitted to stand as Godfather or Godmother, or to enter into the holy state of *Matrimony*, till they have received the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," &c., with the one exception of an orphan, under peculiar circumstances, to be approved by the bishop. Canon VI., relating to admission to the Lord's Supper, was proportionately strict: *and these were acted upon* in that island, of which the author of "An appeal to reason and candour," in behalf of a review of our Liturgy, said in 1750, "It will be unpardonable, after these (Scotland and Ireland) to mention the Isle of Man in any other expressions than those of gratitude, praise, delight, and joy. Happy island! may thy worthy bishop live, and continue, with the assistance of his God, to make thee an *example of religion and holiness* to all islands and kingdoms of the world." Life of Wilson, pp. 16 and 19, vol. i. ed. fol. 1782. We have not instanced the profanations of the sponsor's office, and of the Lord's Supper, simply because there is a power left to us of rejecting non-communicants from the former; though its enforcement, until the Lord's Supper is better appreciated, would be equivalent to a denial of Baptism to one-half of the infants born; and because it is thought that the law leaves it open to the priest to reject persons from the Lord's Supper, for fit cause, to be signified to the Bishop, provided he guards himself from an action for slander by not assigning his reasons! A very questionable privilege, when the *ends* of discipline are considered.

rist, it is not in the minister's power, properly speaking, to deny them the privilege of either; if they are utterly unqualified, it is not in his power to admit them to either, if he will be just to his commission, and faithful to his trust. So neither can he, with an equitable judgment, declare the impenitent to be absolved, nor retain the sins of the penitent; for this is slaying the souls that should not die, and saving the souls alive that should not live; it is making the heart of the righteous sad, whom God hath not made sad; and strengthening the hands of the wicked, that he should not return from his wicked way, by promising him life; as God complains of the false prophets, by the prophet Ezekiel, xiii. 19—22. All this is a manifest abuse of the ministerial powers, tending directly to discourage virtue, and encourage vice; and all such judgments God Himself will reverse, and punish the maladministration of his unfaithful stewards."—*Second Sermon on Absolution.*—See *Appendix to Eccles. Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 1113, ed. 1846.

So long as these things continue to be done, and *acquiesced* in, as at present, the parish priest can have little right to complain that his faithful warnings are slighted, and his denunciations of Divine wrath explained away; for by ministering in one and the same tone to those who have walked after the flesh, and to those who have walked after the Spirit, the moral code is virtually withdrawn, (in the eyes of the ungodly at least,) and the ground yielded to the universalist, or infidel, who denies point blank the Apostle's dogma, that "they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Gal. v. 21.

Such conduct contrasts strangely with the acknowledged character of the English clergy. Whilst, therefore, we thankfully venture to say of them, that, as a body, they are never surpassed, and seldom equalled, in truthfulness, ingenuousness, simplicity, and godly sincerity; whilst we know them to shrink with abhorrence from every approach to falsehood, subterfuge, and evasion, in all the manifold relations of private life; we are not prepared to turn away with any triumph of conscience, from such a reflection as the following:—

"By nothing can the deadening effects of habit, or the inferior influence of godly zeal, when in conflict with mere human motives, be more clearly evidenced, than by the matter of fact and purely routine kind of way, in which men of high devotion in other parts of their work, have suffered themselves to prostitute our saintly burial service; trying, as it were, to sanctify therewith the graves of persons whose more fitting sentence had been that passed upon Jehoiakim, to be 'buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem.'—*Religious Liberty, &c.* p. 19.

Other and prior causes, however, may be assigned for this sad inconsistency, over and above mere habit, and those (abstractedly)



better human motives, the love of peace and a good name, pity for survivors, &c., to which allusion seems to be made. It is traceable, for instance, in one point of view, to a high respect for temporal authority and law, to a praiseworthy dislike of agitation, and a dread of evil consequences from exposing defects in the Church, in days of rebuke and blasphemy; and on such grounds, perhaps, many who think that they have realized our want of discipline, with all its attendant evils, have been accustomed to comfort themselves in inaction, and to compromise the matter with their scruples. But, viewed from another point, it is to be referred to the existence of a mass of *legal fictions*, overlaying the system of our ritual and constitutions; and mainly owing to the great change in the relations of Church and State, brought about by State tyranny during a century and a quarter, in which the Church has not been suffered to adapt her language and laws to her ever-varying circumstances. Hence, have been devised modes of defence, for palpable acts of profanation, founded on no firmer basis than a grammatical construction of the nicer sort, such as in private life would be deemed little better than jesuitical evasion, or mere sophistry<sup>2</sup>; and apologies have been republished *usque ad nauseam*, drawn from no higher source than a supposed necessary latitude, miscalled charity, contingent upon the *establishment* of the Church: an assertion which, if true, would simply prove that the enemies of a State connexion are better judges of what tends to the glory of God, than those who advocate its maintenance.

Before quitting this topic, we will adduce one more extract from the sermon of Bingham already quoted—an extract which will both show how essentially characteristic of the priest's office, corrective discipline appeared to that learned and pious man, and also how important is its relation to the personal holiness of its

<sup>2</sup> A remarkable example of the extent to which this method influences and warps minds commonly ingenuous, is given in the late Charge of the Bishop of Exeter, 1848; where an advocate for altering the standard of orthodoxy, is convicted upon his own confession (or boast) of having accepted the orders, ministry, and offices of the Church, not with an unfeigned "assent and consent" to the things themselves, but only to their "*use*:" as though their voluntary "use" might be innocently approved, apart from an approval of their contents; or as if the Church, which requires that assent in such plain and decided terms, had foreseen and purposed this novel interpretation of her language. Surely, such handling of sacred things is no less than putting a premium upon prevarication; and, to a conscience unhardened by traditionary fictions, would be as offensive as sheer dishonesty! The annual dumb-shows of disciplinary intention enacted in Visitation Courts, is but a remove better; and when it is carried out to the *farce* of admitting notorious schismatics to the office of warden, on the plea of the archdeacon's office being "simply ministerial," (a plea which we are glad to see controverted by the highest legal authority,) it is *quite as bad*.



agent ; how close the connexion between the exercise of that divine trust, and high sanctity in its possessor.

“ But, above all, such a man cannot, with any tolerable decency or freedom, discharge the office of punishing and correcting others, who is himself most justly liable to rebuke and censure. With what face can he debar others from Baptism or the Eucharist, who is himself unqualified to receive either ? or exclude others from the church, who is himself unworthy to enter into it ? Nothing, therefore, can be a greater engagement upon ministers to lead holy and pure lives, than the consideration of the commission which Christ has given them to retain or remit other men’s sins, whether in a sacramental way, or a declaratory way, or a precatory way, or a judicial way ; because, without purity, they can by no means answer the end of this office, and the nature of their trust ; but their mal-administration will rise up in the judgment against them and condemn them.

“ 2. A second thing which this office of retaining and remitting sins requires of ministers, is great diligence in their studies and labours, without which they can never be able sufficiently to discharge it. The Church, indeed, has made some part of this work tolerably easy, by a prudent provision of many proper general forms of absolution ; such as the forms of administering the absolution of the two Sacraments, and many general forms of declaratory and precatory absolution ; to which, in her wisdom, she may add proper forms of excommunication and judicial absolution. But when this is done, there still remains a great deal more belonging to the full discharge of this office, for which the Church can make no particular provision, and therefore that must be left to the industry and diligence of ministers in their particular studies and labours. And this requires both a diffused knowledge and great application to be able to understand the nature of all God’s laws, and the bounds and distinctions betwixt every virtue and vice ; to be able to resolve all ordinary cases of conscience, and answer such doubts and scruples as are apt to arise in men’s minds ; to know the qualifications of particular men, and the nature, and degrees, and sincerity of their repentance, in order to give them a satisfactory answer to their demands, and grant or refuse them the several sorts of absolution, as they shall think proper, upon an impartial view of their state and condition. He that thinks all this may be done without great labour and study, and a diligent search of the Holy Scriptures, the rule and record of God’s will, seems neither to understand the nature of his office, nor the needs of men ; nor what it is to stand in the place of Christ, and judge for Him between God and man. ‘ The priest’s lips should preserve knowledge ;’ and a man that considers the large extent of that knowledge, together with the great variety of cases and persons to which he may have occasion to apply it, would rather be tempted to cry out with the Apostle, ‘ Who is sufficient for these things ?’ And if this be not an argument to engage a man to industry in the office of a spiritual physician, it is hard to say what is so.”—*Sermon II., on St. John xx. 23, in Appendix to Christ. Antiq.*

V. The fifth topic which we proposed to urge in behalf of a restoration of Corrective Discipline was, that *the want of it is the greatest scandal chargeable upon us, and a constant source of schism.*—It is evident that this and the succeeding propositions are only subordinate and accessory to the four already discussed; but they are sound arguments notwithstanding; and this, the fifth, is especially important as being calculated to correct that error which makes the lamentable prevalence of Dissent a reason for *not* restoring Discipline.

To prove this in detail would involve voluminous reference to the writings and published speeches of the leading Separatists of the last half century, and such a rehearsal of railing accusations as ourselves and our readers may well be spared, when the notoriety of the fact is considered: it is as notorious, as it is both illogical and yet consistent with a zeal which is not according to knowledge; and far as we are from defending secessions upon such a plea, we can perfectly understand with what power, when skilfully handled, such a plea must tell upon tender consciences, ill instructed in the nature of the visible Church, and in that *scriptural* casuistry, which would teach them that unity is *not* to be violated because unfaithfulness on the part of ministers or people is painfully realized; but that offences must needs come, and that a *sense* of them is a true call from God to attempt their remedy. Many of our readers will have witnessed and lamented the secessions of which we speak; secessions, not unfrequently, by the most earnest of their flocks; who have plunged into schism from a persuasion that to remain with us were to partake the guilt of acquiescence in our apparent apathy to discipline, and without a conscious difference from the Church in doctrine. The lack of discipline, and its consequences, once brought home to them, they become deaf to that reasoning which would previously have preserved them from falling upon this stumbling-stone; nor is there any mystery in this, for they are the exception rather than the rule, among religious people, who grasp, with all the energy which prompts to independent action, more than a single principle. One beautiful truth keenly apprehended too often absorbs the mind, and eventually perverts the conscience: thus one sacrifices purity for unity, another unity for purity; each so exclusively possessed by the transparent truthfulness of his own conviction, as to overlook its connexion with other and harmonious ordinances. Persons in whom no vivid and heart-stirring apprehensions of religious duty ever kindled an emotion, whose even tenor of compromise forbids the existence of an inspiring sense of any sacred thing, may stand aghast at the inconsistency of the seceders, and affect a pious horror at their

blindness: *they themselves* have “never been so tempted:” but, in place of being proud thereof, let them rather take shame that no sacred jealousy for the honour of their Lord, and for the souls of men, ever brought them within reach of trials so purely spiritual, —*their* temptations are of a lower range and nature; and let them reflect, whether they are not verily guilty concerning their brother; and whether the woe denounced against the offenders of Christ’s little ones may not apply to them, for suffering this handle of reproach to be still within Satan’s power.

Souls of higher tone, and greater zeal, will prefer to pity and compassionate the fallen ones; and being themselves not ignorant of a struggle for the submissive acceptance of truths which our present evil state gave occasion to the enemy to present to them as being incompatible, will bless God that by grace they stand, whilst others equally sincere have lapsed, and are no more with us. Of this latter description, there is reason to believe, are many of the Plymouth Brethren; a sect which seems to attract more seceders from the Church than any of its contemporaries, not excepting the Romanist; and evidently depends for its continuance rather upon the continuance of the great scandal amongst us, than upon any original heresy of its own. The prime motive to their schism has been (as we judge from cases known to us) their ideal of a pure communion; an ideal which is not less surely the exaggeration of a truth professed but not practised by the Church, than certainly impracticable, to the extent of their exaggeration, so long as “tares and wheat” are a fit emblem of the Church Militant: for the Church proclaims it to be her solemn duty to exclude all open rebels against God from her communion, and to disown those who by their works disclaim their baptism. For such as these she holds are not as tares to wheat, but as thistles to figs: there is no similarity in their appearance, no danger of mistake in eradicating them; they are not the plausible hypocrite, or the man of merely suspected Mammon worship; but open and presumptuous offenders against faith and morals: and Scripture, and Christian antiquity, attest no single article of the Creed, not excepting even the Incarnation, more distinctly and peremptorily, than the duty of the Christian ministry to purge the Visible Communion of Saints from such spots in their feasts of charity<sup>3</sup>. The Plymouth Brethren first

<sup>3</sup> The force of our argument in no way depends upon the correctness of the illustration, the right or wrong interpretation of the tares and wheat. It is enough for our purpose to have adduced abundant proofs of the power and obligation of discipline, both from Holy Scripture and our own formularies: but having alluded to this parable, we think it right to give in this place two ancient expositions of it, with reference to that power and obligation, for the purpose of meeting a cavil not unfrequently raised upon it. St. Jerome, on Matt. xiii. 28—30, says,

realized this whilst with us; next compared it with our practice, and felt a shock of holy indignation from the contrast; and then, with every habitual feeling of attachment estranged, and every traditional tie of regard relaxed, were an easy prey to that Deceiver, whose favourite conquests are of high-strung souls. The transition from a conviction of ministerial unfaithfulness to a denial of ministerial commission,—from horror at unapostolical conduct to utter disregard of apostolical descent,—was not difficult for erring mortals; and when to this weakness of nature was added the well-timed suggestion of a tempter, and pride of heart unconsciously mingled with infirmity of judgment, the fascination was complete; the whole mind was engrossed by the one desire to be separate from sin, and schism assumed the new aspect of a departure from the world to the Church. Their distinctive heresies have been of after growth, the spawn of schism, or the loud echoes of false doctrines, whose sound was heard in their former home; such, for example, as denial of the grace of baptism, which itself also might be shown to have been helped on by the same cause, forasmuch as the whole ground of corrective discipline is the fact that baptized men sin against grace received, and ought to be warned of the peril thereof; which peril, and by consequence *the reason of it*, is obscured, when the warning is neglected. Let it but be preached, for the time to come, that patient endurance of persecution, and even the awaiting of an unmerited excommunication (like that expulsion from the synagogues which our Lord foretold for his Apostles), is preferable to voluntary separation, and schism will cease to be a common sin: true and earnest spirits, who will otherwise fall before offences, real or imaginary, may be preserved in their allegiance, not to men but to God, within the circle of an ordained though ever unworthy ministry; and the zeal thus preserved to us, may secure the desired reforms.

“But this seems to contradict the command, *Put away the evil from among you*. For if the rooting up be forbidden, and we are to abide in patience until the harvest time, how are we to cast forth any from among us? But between wheat and tares (which in Latin we call ‘*lolium*’) so long as it is only in blade, before the stalk has put forth an ear, there is very great resemblance, and none or little difference to distinguish them by. The Lord then warns us not to pass a hasty sentence on an ambiguous word, but to reserve it for his judgment, that when the day of judgment shall come, He may cast forth from the assembly of the saints no longer on suspicion, but on manifest guilt.” St. Chrysostom says, “This the Lord spake to forbid any putting to death. For we ought not to kill an heretic, seeing that so a never-ending war would be introduced into the world; and therefore He says, *Lest ye root out with them the wheat also*; that is, if you draw the sword, and put the heretic to death, it must needs be that many of the saints will fall with them. Hereby he does not indeed forbid all restraints upon heretics, that their freedom of speech should be cut off, that their synods and their confessions should be broken up; but only forbids that they should be put to death.”—Cat. Aur. in loc.

What we have said of the Plymouth Brethren, seems true of Protestant secession generally; the amount of it primarily traceable to doctrinal differences, *bears but a small proportion* to that which has arisen from our disciplinary state. Large numbers, indeed, profess and believe that the ground of their separation is an abstract sinfulness in the connexion of Church and State; but were their motives analyzed, the real objection which has impelled them would be found to be nothing in the connexion itself, but in its present fruits<sup>4</sup>, and chiefly in its annihilation of discipline. In their own day, they behold the spiritual power fettered at least, if not also entrusted to its chief holders for reasons of mere State policy, owing to its relations with the temporal power; and they know that, in a former day, it was equally injured by the same power's support, given on the false principle of penalties, extending to imprisonment or death; and they infer that no middle way is practicable, that no scriptural basis can exist on which such a connexion can be beneficially maintained. From this error once forced upon the mind, and counteracted, as in the former case, by no apprehension of the Church as a divinely-ordered institution, schism follows naturally, and the State connexion becomes the prominent apology. And it is thenceforth regarded with new malignity, and impeached upon new grounds, as by a separatist impatient of all countenance given to a rival body, and driven by his first false step, before the scandal of deficient discipline, to the miserable expedient of denying that the responsibility of individuals to defend the faith and extend the kingdom of God, continues to attach to them when raised from a private to a public, or from a subject to a sovereign station, in the exercise of the influence which thus accrues to them.

Every reproach, moreover, which is hurled by ignorant and fanatical writers against our Occasional Offices, is really applicable only to that abuse of them which arises from the same cause. But the majority of their hearers, or readers, being incapable of detecting the most palpable fallacy, are carried away by the evident unfitness of the offices in certain individual cases, to a

<sup>4</sup> On the 8th of June last, at a meeting of the *British Anti-State Church Association*, a strong resolution condemnatory of the relations of Church and State in this country was "moved by Mr. C. Lushington; who said he belonged himself to the Church, and urged its separation from the State, because he wished the Church well, and conscientiously believed that the dissolution of the alliance between the Church and State, would be beneficial to the Church, advantageous to the State, and highly conducive to the welfare and promotion of Christianity. The Church was in a condition of thralldom which it was lamentable and humiliating to consider; the Church was not only allied to the State, but subjugated by it."—John Bull, June 12, 1848.

condemnation of the saintly sentences themselves, whose only crime is the misfortune of legalized misuse. When shall they behold the true remedy? And when shall they (and some amongst ourselves) learn this lesson, that *to modify the Church's language* so as to suit the world's standard, or at least to escape pollution of conscience in applying her offices to souls of little promise, in lieu of restoring discipline, *would simply be to withdraw the demoralizing use of words, but to maintain the yet more deceptive abuse of rites?* That separatists should do this, is perfectly consistent with those partial views of truth which schism must engender; but God forbid that we should adopt their error, if for no other reason (though there be many and great), yet for this, that, at present, the unsuitableness of the offices to certain persons is so glaringly conspicuous, as to lead to a common contrast between the high model which the Church proposes, and the low attainments, or degeneracy, of individuals; which contrast, however much it may reflect upon the clergy who *seem* to disregard it, or alienate the laity who are shocked that no ban is set upon it, still cannot possibly exert so baneful an influence upon religion generally, as would a *lowering of her tone, and an accommodating of her ministrations*, to the condition of men who measure themselves by themselves; which must necessarily result in one or other of the following effects, namely, a conviction or general impression, either that, first, the Church has hitherto been stricter than Scripture; or, secondly, that Scripture is more strict than it need be; that there will be, after all, some intermediate abode of happy souls *between* the right hand and the left; and that St. James was wrong when he wrote, "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." (ii. 10. conf. i. 26.) We have much, very much, more to say to the advocates of a *modified, or a double order* for the Burial of the Dead, and (if they are consistent) for Holy Matrimony, and such other Occasional Offices as are commonly misapplied; but, for the present, we must content ourselves with this single suggestion, and repeat our own remedy, instead of further examining theirs. Let the words of the Church be retained, and her rites only guarded from profanation; let devout men still, amid their lamentations, be assured that heaven is opened for the saints of God; but let Ananias and Sapphira be carried out without tear, or prayer, or praise, from the faithful; and let the same principle be applied to the other occasions, and all will then be as well as we can hope, or dare to wish for, in this world. Then would no room be left for such exaggerations (would that we could say, entirely groundless falsehoods) as the following:—



“ It (the Burial Service) guarantees impunity to the most ungodly mortals. However wedded to their sins, negligent of religion, and vicious in their lives, this Service (as necessarily construed and applied by themselves) indirectly assures them<sup>e</sup> that their salvation is certain, for men equally vile have been pronounced safe and happy by it. They have only to be assured that they have been duly baptized, to keep clear of the greater excommunication, and not to cut their own throats while perfectly sensible, and all will be right at last! This Service is the prolific parent of practical Antinomianism, which promises its deluded victims eternal safety and joy, notwithstanding the wickedness of their hearts and lives. Perhaps nothing beside can be found, in any sect or sentiment, more manifestly deceitful to the souls of men, or destructive of godliness in the world.

“ It cherishes infidelity and contempt of the Christian religion. When shrewd, unconverted lookers-on attend the funerals of the State worship, and witness the good and the bad, the vilest sinner and the devoutest saint, equally in favour,—treated, spoken of, and buried alike,—what can they infer from such manifestations, but that the ministers thereof are a set of the most arrant hypocrites and knaves!! When they hear what is called an evangelical priest, a learned Fellow of a college, a successor of the Apostles, or the assumed counterpart of the first disciples of Christ, a man professedly more holy and consistent than his orthodox brethren, denouncing hell and damnation on his congregation for some ordinary violation of the laws of God or of the Church, and then hear this same person at the grave sending the most impenitent wretch to heaven, what their conclusions may be, the reader may easily guess! Again, when they hear the Church bigot in the pulpit anathematize all Methodists and Dissenters, as infidels, schismatics, and apostates, doomed to eternal perdition, *and at the grave*, designate them as his dear brethren in Christ, and pronounce them *safe* for ever, they can only conclude that religion is all a farce, and unworthy of their serious adoption.”—*Thorn's fifty Tracts on the State Church.* Tract XII. p. 3.

Having forced upon our readers this nauseous extract, from one whose enmity to every thing savouring of the Church is undisguised, we hasten to make the *amende* by offering them the more acceptable and persuasive testimony of a spirit as far removed from the grovelling malice and unwonted presumption of that schismatic, as noon-day is from night; the intellectual, attached, and exalted Comber:—

“ There will be offenders and offences, but if the Church do admonish the criminals, and censure them publicly, that clears her from all suspicion of guilt, and from all just ground of calumny; and preserves not only her purity, but her reputation. It was the great honour of *Sparta*, as a senator there said, *that none could be wicked in that city and be unpunished*. And this discipline kept up the credit of the ancient

Church for many ages, so that its very enemies did admire it, and millions of proselytes came over to it. But when this primitive discipline did abate, the Church evidently decayed in its esteem, as well as its manners. And this is but too plainly verified in our days; for since these censures have been brought into contempt, we are almost overwhelmed with a flood of those wickednesses which the secular laws seldom punish; adultery, fornication, and incest, drunkenness, blasphemy, and swearing, sacrilege, faction, and malice, which are properly of ecclesiastical cognizance, are grown so common, and so daring, that they have brought an infinite disgrace, and a deplorable scandal, on our most holy religion. *This drives some from the Church, hardens others in their sinful separation, and opens the mouths of all our adversaries, as if they justly left that Church where such wickedness goes unpunished<sup>5</sup>.*—*A Discourse of Excommunication*, sect. vi. pp. 113, 114.

VI. The last quotation fitly introduces our sixth topic in favour of a restoration of Corrective Discipline. The *general state of morals demands it*.

We have already alluded to the prevalence of irreligion and immorality, when speaking of the effect of the abeyance of Discipline upon other functions of the Christian ministry: we must now speak more specifically of certain of the grosser forms in which those vices popularly appear. (1) For years past the most open and advised *atheism*, and the most unbridled *sensualism*, have been preached and promulgated, without let or hindrance, in all the populous towns of this island; and comparatively rural districts are at present infected by the same doctrines: thousands, unwarned by their spiritual mother, have been seduced to worship a *new moral world*, whose distinguishing characteristic is the relaxation of God's moral law; and to expect real happiness in a *novel socialism*, which is eminently calculated to sap the very foundations of society; and all this has been brought about by a vast series of publications, teeming with blas-

<sup>5</sup> He adds, "'Tis true their argument is as ill-grounded as their separation; for they may be as virtuous as they please in a Church wherein many are vicious; and while wickedness displeaseth them, it cannot hurt them; for Lot was innocent in Sodom, so long as he was vexed at the conversation of the wicked:" and he then proceeds to defend the Church, especially in the person of her spiritual officers, from the charge of guilty participation in such a state of things. But his pleas, imperfect as they always were, do no longer bear even a semblance of truth: he could then say, "The priests lament it, and complain of it; the bishops do all they can to suppress these growing evils, but being judges they must not be informers; and one cause of this mischief is the neglect of presenting such offenders to the ecclesiastical tribunals. Those whose office it is, though solemnly sworn to do it, yet for fear of the rich, and in favour of the poor, neglect this useful duty, choosing rather to offend God by perjury, and to offend the Church by being the cause of this scandal, than to disoblige their vicious neighbours: but if they would present them, then, if they be not either amended, or cast out of the society, the fault would lie at the Church's door."



phemies against the Author of our salvation, his gospel, his Church, and his ministry. The immense sale which newspapers, tracts, and books of this class have commanded, is of itself a convincing proof of the extensive sway which infidelity and sensuality have acquired amongst us; and that the publication, purchase, or patronage of such works, is a fit subject for the cognizance of the spiritual tribunal, is evident, as well from the utter failure of the civil courts to check it, as from the nature of the thing itself. (2) The evils of *drunkenness* have of late been so frightfully apparent, that it seemed needful to invent a human device for the deliverance of its victims; a device, whose incapacity to effect any general reformation must necessarily be acknowledged, so soon as its novelty has passed away, and the excitement of a universal “Great is Diana” ceases to move the multitude to keep the vow; a device, whose success, like that of all its utilitarian predecessors, being dependent on the superhuman appreciation of τὸ ἀγαθόν, is *simply impossible*; its motive power is not sufficient to secure, in fallen man, even the comparatively low aim of bodily well-being; whilst its substitution for spiritual remedies would be a palpable act of treachery, both to the sinner, and to God; to the sinner, because it is not *as a sinner* that he vows to abstain; to God, because in *nothing* is God glorified by the pledge, nor the body of Christ vindicated. The temperance movement is essentially secular; its promoters have expressly divorced it from any creed or religious communion—men glorying in their shame, and blindly going about to pull down Satan’s strongholds, by a procedure which dishonours the only Power that is stronger than he. We presume not to attach this censure to *all* who have gone forth to rescue degraded men from this sink of iniquity; for, doubtless, there are some, who have recommended the new vow as instrumental to the recovery of that self-control, which is essential to the observance of the older, the baptismal vow. Some few *have* accompanied their eulogies of temperance with acts of faith, and inculcations of religious exercises, as the sole means of returning to a permanently right mind, and peace with God; and such have this testimony, ‘they have done what they could:’ still, let them not slack their hand until they see the Church aroused to a sense of her responsibility, and branding with reprobation, and satanical possession, every slave of that carnal appetite which destroys both body and soul<sup>6</sup>. But neither was it our purpose, or our gratification, to reflect upon the non-confession of God by the majority of the ‘Apostles of Temperance,’ whose zeal we fervently applaud,

<sup>6</sup> Drunkenness is the assigned cause of three-fourths of the criminal offences, and half of the insanity in Great Britain.

whilst their sin is a sin of ignorance, more justly chargeable upon their betters. Had the clergy always set forth the Church in her true character, as the divinely instituted association for temperance, soberness, and chastity; and had such members as habitually broke her rules, and disgraced her name, been regularly expelled from her body, — these mimic institutions had never drawn men's minds away from the true remedy; and the disease, involving excommunication in its train of horrors, had been comparatively unknown. (3) We agree with the author of "Religious Liberty," &c., in thinking that the abortive nature of efforts made in Parliament to check, by legislation, the horrible traffic of procurers, and others connected with houses of ill-fame, should point the attention of all Churchmen to the more appropriate remedy of a well-ordered Spiritual Discipline. Moral offences, where all parties to the guilt are, in the eye of common law, *willing accessories*, must be met by the moral sanctions of the ordained teacher, and vindicator of morals. The same remark applies to suicide, bastardy, Sabbath-breaking, habitual cursing, and many other forms of sin, which are beyond the reach of civil officers, and human statutes, to check effectually. The recollection of Lord Ashley's, and other disclosures, relative to the moral and religious condition of the working classes, is too fresh in men's minds to render any detail necessary here. We gladly refrain from such a task; and prefer to strengthen our position as to the necessity for distinguishing between the spiritual and civil office, in the correction of such offences as we have instanced, by reference to weighty authorities of a generation past. How sadly appropriate, e. g. to England's present state, are the following observations of Comber, written soon after 1680.

"The notorious increase of atheism, faction, and debauchery, in this and the last age, is too evident to be denied, and too mischievous to be mentioned, without sad reflections. But while many express their piety in bewailing the matter of fact, few do exercise their consideration, either in searching after the causes of this deplorable evil, or inquiring into the proper remedies for it. 'Tis true, there may be many causes of so complicated and spreading a contagion, and divers methods contrived for its cure: but there is one great and eminent occasion of this universal corruption that seems to be peculiar to our times, and the mother or nurse to most of those vices and errors which are the reproach of this age; viz. the contempt of *excommunication*: for this being the only means that the Church hath to punish these crimes (which the secular tribunals seldom or never take cognizance of), if men, by ignorance or evil principles, can arrive at impudence enough to despise this sacred and salutary penalty, they have nothing left to restrain them from committing and openly abetting these offences;

which by this means are grown so general, and so daring, that they are the scandal of our Reformation, the ruin of many thousand poor souls, and cry to heaven for that judgment which upon earth they never meet withal. It is manifest that the schismatics and the profane, the atheistical and those who are of most profligate conversation, do all conspire to make the Church's Discipline contemptible, weak, and ineffectual; and all strive to deprive her of that power which they know she would use for the cure of those vices, which they indulge and resolve to continue in. But it is a mighty charity to these our enemies to undeceive them, and let them see that *excommunication* is not really less dreadful, because some men, for vile ends, do falsely represent it as *brutum fulmen*: and it may be a happy means of reforming the age, to manifest the Divine original, the sacred authority, and the fatal efficacy of these Church censures; which, if they were rightly understood, revered as they deserved, and prudently dispensed, would contribute extremely toward the rooting out of evil principles and wicked practices, and prevent the damnation of many great offenders, who die in their sins, because they despise their remedy, and trample on the means of their Reformation."—*Introduction to Discourse of Excommunication*, pp. 1, 2.

Again, the warning voice of the saintly Wilson, in his Convocation Charge of 1721, might, with the exception of an allusion to a Royal order, have been intended for our own day;—the evil complained of having only increased tenfold, in proportion to the age-long neglect of the cure proposed, during the interval which has divided us.

"You have read his majesty's directions. You see what a spirit of profaneness, libertinism, and heresy, is gone out into the world; a much worse plague than the other we are threatened with, and which we take so much care to keep from us<sup>7</sup>. It may be, you may think that we are in no danger of ever being infected with such wild opinions and such blasphemous tenets, as are hinted at in his majesty's directions; but be assured of it, the same causes will have the same effects.

"If wickedness shall ever be countenanced, or those discountenanced, whose duty it is to oppose and punish it;—if the unity of the Church is once made a light matter, and he who is the centre of unity, and in Christ's stead, shall come to be despised, and his authority set at nought;—if the bishops and pastors of Christ's flock should not be careful to preserve inviolably the sacred rights committed to their trust;—then will error and infidelity get ground; Jesus Christ and his gospel will be despised; and the kingdom of Satan set up again here, as well as in other nations."—*Life*, p. 27.

The same good bishop, in his Convocation Charge of the year previous, June 9, 1720, after defending himself from the impu-

<sup>7</sup> The plague at Marseilles, even as the cholera now.

ation of a rash and uncharitable judgment, in the matter <sup>8</sup> which cost him health, wealth, and liberty, if not eventually life also, thus proceeds :—

“ But let others judge, as they will answer it to our Great Master. This I do assure you of, that we have the entire approbation of our worthy metropolitan <sup>9</sup>, who laid our cause very much to heart, and would not be at ease until he saw that I had received at least some satisfaction for the injuries I had met with ; being thoroughly convinced, by the papers laid before him, that as on one hand we had been careful to put in execution the laws of Christ and of his Church, so on the other, we had not been wanting in that respect which by our holy religion is due to those whom God has set over us in the State.

“ And I have his Grace’s most express advice, as well as that of his Grace of Canterbury, (than whom no man is more concerned for Church discipline,) that we should not be discouraged by the troubles we have met with from going on in the way of our duty.

“ And indeed if ever Church discipline were necessary it is certainly so now, when not only *evil practices*, (which have ever, God knows, been too rife,) but *evil books*, and *evil notions*, (not heard of before in this place,) are become very common. And people, who yet call themselves Christians, are even pleased to see the Church of Christ, which is His body, in a fair way of being torn to pieces.

“ As to the first of these, namely, *evil practices*, we have endeavoured, to the best of our power, to discourage them by all means becoming the spirit of the Gospel, and, by God’s help, shall continue to do so. But one thing, my brethren, I beg you seriously to consider, *that God rewards not those who forsake their sins for fear of judgment, but those who do so for his sake and out of choice.*

“ That therefore sinners are to be convinced of the evil state they are in ; they are to be awakened into a sense of their danger by arguments drawn from another world, from the wrath of God, from the loss of heaven, and from the blessings of a sincere repentance. And certainly the methods the Church takes to set these arguments home upon their hearts, are most proper, provided every pastor does his duty ; offenders being obliged to *give glory to God* in a public confession of their crimes, and solemnly to promise a reformation ; and they *then* have the prayers of the Church for their sincere conversion.

<sup>8</sup> The suspension of Mrs. Horne, before referred to. This case remarkably exemplified the advantage of such Church tribunals, as the simple and inexpensive court over which that prelate presided, in a temporal as well as spiritual point of view. It was a case of defamation ; and instead of leaving the slanderer to impunity, and the slandered to undeserved reproach, with the only alternative of a probably ruinous lawsuit, in which rhetoric might overthrow reason, and virtue yield to perjury, or sin escape by a merely technical flaw, Ecclesiastical Discipline offered a ready relief to the oppressed, by the wholesome process of *compurgation* ; and the Church was vindicated from the offence, even though the offender refused to be reformed.

<sup>9</sup> Sir W. Dawes, Bart., whom Archbishop Sharp, by his earnest solicitation to Eugen Anno, procured a little before his death to be appointed his successor, merely from his good opinion of the man, “ that he would be diligent in executing the duties of his office.”

“ The other evils which I observed were become too common amongst us, and which I beseech you to beware of, are *books* and *notions* of a very evil tendency. The very least mischief which can be supposed to follow from, if not intended by them, is, they give people very loose notions of religion in general ; and in particular some that I have seen, and others that I have heard of, seem to have no other true design than to abuse the Church of England and her clergy ; to divide them in their affections and principles ; and to make those to be despised whom St. Paul saith expressly, the Spirit of God has *ordained to be ministers of reconciliation betwixt God and men*.

“ But although these are very great evils, yet I cannot think that they ought to be made the subject of our public discourses. The pulpit was certainly designed for matters of another nature ; and *these are the proper subjects of Church Discipline* ; which, however it may be weakened or despised in England, by reason of the schisms and heresies which abound there, yet here, God be praised, it is not so ; we have power and authority, both from God and the laws, to rebuke gainsayers ; and while we are *unanimous* and *faithful* in the discharge of our duty, we may hope that our people will not be corrupted with novel opinions.”—*Life*, p. 26.

To the same purpose might be quoted an authority of no mean weight with those who affect to see in the Church of England's claim to the power of the keys nothing less than priestcraft, and a substitution of the law for the Gospel,—Hugo Grotius<sup>1</sup>. But space forbids it ; and we shall conclude this section by simply referring the diligent reader to that careful examination of the objects of ecclesiastical censure, the persons on whom, and the crimes for which, they were inflicted, in the ancient Christian Church, which is given in Book xvi. of Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*, from the second to the fourteenth chapters inclusive.

VII. A forcible argument might be inserted here, drawn from the recent and continued increase of Church building ; for the mere multiplication of Sanctuaries without any regard for Discipline is, to a lamentable extent, opening the door for their profanation, and closing the ear to that Word of God which requires that He be served in the *beauty of holiness*. But having glanced at this portion of the subject in our introductory remarks, and seeing that the whole of our propositions, if established, involve this conclusion as a necessary consequence, it seems quite needless to enlarge upon it here, further than to remind the reader that to whatever extent it is correct to compare the condition of a large portion of our rapidly increased population to a state of *heathenism*, to the same degree is applicable to England all that extraordinary call for the exercise of Corrective Discipline,

<sup>1</sup> In Luc. vi. 22.

which moves our colonial bishops and clergy to frame disciplinary canons in order that he that runneth may now read the true character of Christian ethics,—be he never so barbarous, ignorant, or sensual,—just as clearly as the unbelievers of old time were compelled to “see how these Christians love” by their deeds of charity<sup>2</sup>.

The last topic, therefore, by which we shall enforce the duty of restoring Spiritual Discipline, is, that *Reason itself proclaims the necessity of it*. This is the true argument from analogy, and finds its place here not upon the principle of a climax,—for, as has been already stated, the strongest arguments had precedence,—but with the view of silencing those cavillers who, looking upon the Church as something external to themselves, though they may still call themselves Churchmen, are wont to put the advocates of truth to silence by loud charges of *unreasonableness*; and who, knowing little and caring less for the Divine commission, upon which the whole theory of Discipline rests in the system of the Church, must be met upon their own grounds, and beaten with the weapon of their choice.

Comber, in his “Discourse of Excommunication,” rested his entire argument, as to its obligation, upon the adoption of it into Christianity by our blessed Saviour; but, before entering upon the proof of that adoption, he preferred to trace the original idea and practice of excommunication, first, to the light of natural reason and the practice of the Gentiles, who had no other guide; and secondly, to the custom of the Jews before our Lord’s incarnation. The altered state of ecclesiastical feeling, and the general ignorance or disregard of our Church’s mind upon this subject, rendered necessary a very different arrangement, and a more full selection of topics for the purpose of this article; but we gladly avail ourselves of Comber’s powerful assistance, when, as now, we follow in his track.

“The light of natural reason,” he says, “shows us that no society ever did or can subsist without governors, nor can those governors do their duty, or preserve the society committed to their care, without a power to punish such as break the rules of this society, and commit offences tending to the subversion of it; for otherwise the society itself must be precarious, and would soon come to ruin, as wanting sufficient means to preserve itself. Now since it is certain that Jesus hath instituted a society which is called the Church, and which is really distinct from the civil state, being appointed for other ends, and governed by other measures, ruled by distinct officers, and guided by peculiar laws;

<sup>2</sup> The example of David, as exhibited in the 24th Psalm, which he composed for the installation of the ark in the newly-erected tabernacle, is too good to be passed over without notice; it conveys a striking rebuke to all who, when similarly employed, take no heed to the qualification of the worshippers; and never ask, *Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? Or who shall stand in his holy place?*”



a society which did subsist when the civil state opposed it, and must continue (whatever changes human governments suffer) unto the end of the world. Therefore, the rulers of this society, the Church, must have some power to punish all those who do disturb the good order thereof by a false faith or corrupt worship, or by dissolute manners. And if our Lord had not entrusted the Church with such a power, reason and necessity would have compelled the rulers of the Church to have assumed it, because the Church cannot subsist without it. No man can so much as govern a family in the capacity of a father or master, unless he be invested with power to let in and turn out of his family such as he sees fit, and to dispense or withhold the benefits belonging to his family as he sees occasion ; much less can a larger society be maintained in peace and safety without the exercise of such a power. And as the father or master may, and doth exercise this authority within his own family, though it be a part of the commonwealth, without damage to the prince's power, so in this society of the Church, since the ends of it are different from that of the civil government, the ecclesiastical governors may exercise their power and authority without encroachment on the prince's sovereignty. The ends of temporal princes being to preserve their people in outward peace and plenty, in the enjoyment of their temporal rights and privileges, while they live upon the earth. But the ends of the spiritual governors are to make Christians holy here and happy hereafter, and their rules and punishments are both suited to this end. The rules are precepts of piety and charity, and the penalties are proportionable, *viz.*, not corporal but spiritual ; that is, the depriving them of all the comforts and benefit of Church communion at present, and the declaring them to be worthy of Divine vengeance unless they repent. So that the rulers of the world need have no jealousy for their authority, on the account of this spiritual jurisdiction from his servants, who declares *his kingdom is not of this world*. They are to watch for men's souls, to make them inwardly good ; to reform their manners, and fit them for a blessed eternity. And they govern as fathers, by arguments and persuasion, by spiritual promises and threatenings, by the rod of Church censures, not by the sword as the civil magistrate doth. Yet as the prince takes care of the lives and worldly concerns of his subjects, and punisheth those who injure them in either of these, so doth the spiritual governor, in his proper way, punish those who act contrary to the welfare of their own or others' souls, whether by teaching false doctrine, or setting a bad example. And as there are three ends of outward and civil punishments, first, *νουθεσία*, instruction to the offender to repent and amend ; secondly, *παράδειγμα*, warning to others not to follow so bad an example ; and thirdly, *τιμωρία*, vindication of the society from the scandal which might be cast upon it for suffering evil acts to be done : so also the spiritual penalties aim at the same ends, *viz.*, to reform the offender, to warn others not to follow the ill example, and to clear the Church from that scandal which the acts of evil men, professing themselves Christians, may bring on it if they be not punished. All which ends are obtained by this spiritual penalty of excommunication duly inflicted by the Church, and humbly submitted to by the offender ; which doth clearly show that it is neces-

sary to the being, and the well-being of this spiritual society, the Church, even upon principles of natural reason, that its governors should have this power. And that none may doubt whether natural reason doth teach this, we will show that the very Gentiles (who had no other guide but the light of natural reason) did frequently use this kind of excluding all those from their society, especially from joining in their sacrifices, who were unfit and unworthy. And though there were no law to turn such persons out by violence, yet their order was obeyed by all, to the shame of those pretended Christians who despise the commands, and deride the authority, of our Lord's ministers in the like case."—*A Discourse*, &c. pp. 2—4.

From the long catalogue of disciplinary enactments and procedures by which Comber established his assertion, we will present the reader with a brief selection. Draco decreed that murderers should be excluded from the drink-offerings and festivals, from the temples and public assemblies; agreeable to which is that edict of Œdipus, in Sophocles, against the parricide: *Μήτ' εἰσδέχεσθαι μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινα, Μήτ' ἐν θεῶν εὐχαῖσι, μήτε θύμασι, κοινὸν ποιεῖν, μήτε χέρνιβας νέμειν*. Plato ordains of such as strike their parents, *πάντων ἱερῶν εἴργεσθαι*. and accordingly, Julius Pollux informs us that there was at Athens one called the "King of the Sacrifices," whose duty it was to proclaim that the contumacious, or such as were of disposition contrary to the holy rites, should abstain from the mysteries. This excommunication was attended with solemn curses, and befel not only the shedder of blood, but the offender against religion, or good manners. Herodotus instances five cities of Ionia excluding a sixth from all communion in their sacrifices, because one of their citizens, called Agasicles, had stolen a brazen tripod dedicated to Apollo. Virgil notes the care taken by the priests of Proserpine to exclude unhallowed or profane persons; "*Procul, O procul este profani, conclamat vates, totoque absistite luco*;" words, the very echo of an older and universal Greek charge, *Ἐκὰς, ἐκὰς ἔστε βέβηλοι*. Suidas gives this explanation of the expression *τίς τῇδε*; "Those who were to offer cried out *τίς τῇδε*; *who is here?* then the people charitably answered, *Πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ*, *many and good persons*; and this the sacrificers did, that they whose consciences accused them of any impurity, might withdraw themselves from the holy rites;" which warning was considered so sacred in its nature, that even Nero is reported by Suetonius to have abstained from the Eleusinian rites, after the appointed officer had proclaimed *that no impious or unclean person should be present there*. Cæsar testifies of the Druids in Gaul, that "if any private or public person stand not to their decrees, they forbid him their sacrifices, which is the highest punishment among them; for they who are thus interdicted, are reckoned in the number of



the impious and wicked ; all men turn away from them, and will not meet them, nor speak with them ; nor can they have any benefit of the law, nor receive any kind of honour." "The Germans," says Tacitus, "punished cowards by exclusion from their sacrifices, as well as councils ; and Tuisco, their first lawgiver, allowed none but the priests to execute, bind, or chastise malefactors ; that so men might not only take it for a corporal penalty by the prince's command, but as due vengeance from the gods." Therefore excommunication was then thought a sadder penalty than stripes, imprisonment, or death itself. "Which opinion," adds Comber, "of these poor barbarians will rise up in judgment one day against those wretched pretenders to Christianity, who slight the censures of the Church of Christ, and value not their just exclusion from those Divine ordinances which He hath appointed." It is clear from this that Comber did not suppose it possible for the clergy to *forget* that they are charged with the execution of discipline ; much less that they would ever *acquiesce* in deprivation of it by human laws, and even *deny* its obligation, and spurn it as an invention of the "dark ages." Such excess of contempt was reserved for a later generation ; when not only the *people* are to be taught to revere Church censures as God's ordinance, and to assist in their execution, after the manner contemplated by the framers of our XXXIX Articles ; but many even of bishops and priests also require to be reminded to *stir up*, in this respect, *the gift that is in them by the laying-on of hands*. "Finally, this general consent of all nations (thus explained) doth declare that natural reason did teach the very heathens, who wanted the revealed will of God, that it was necessary to the being and the honour of religion, to give their priests a power to cast out all notorious, infamous, and scandalous criminals from their temples, and to exclude them from all communion in their sacrifices." *The Gentiles, which had not the law, did by nature the things contained in the law*, so far as their views of acts disqualifying for worship accorded with the truth. And shall we, who have not the law only, but the Gospel also, bearing unmistakeable testimony to our duty in this behalf, turn a deaf ear to Reason and Revelation, both ? resist the compunctions of a conscience, sensible, if not of engagements to exercise Discipline, at least of offence at the forced ministrations consequent on its abeyance ? and thus encourage presumption, and perpetuate scandals ? God forbid ! But may He of his infinite goodness, so direct and bless the prayers and efforts of those who realize our evil state, and labour for a restoration, that the interval may be a short one before all English Churchmen shall read with shame and contrition of soul, this lesson in the records of *pagan discipline*, "Go and do thou likewise."

ART. VI.—1. *Proceedings of the First Anti-State-Church Conference, held in London, April 30, May 1 and 2, 1844.*

2. *Minutes of the First Annual Meeting of the Council of the British Anti-State-Church Association, held at the Guildhall Coffee-house, in the City of London, on Tuesday, May 6, 1845.*

3. *Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of the Council of the British Anti-State-Church Association, held at the Baptist Chapel, Belvoir-street, Leicester, on Thursday, May 7, and Friday, May 8, 1846.*

4. *British Anti-State-Church Association for the Liberation of Religion from all State Interference. Proceedings of the First Triennial Conference, held in Crosby Hall, Bishopsgate-street, London, May 4, 5, and 6, 1847.*

5. *Minutes of the Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, May 2, 1848, at the Offices of the British Anti-State-Church Association.*

6. *Tracts of the British Anti-State-Church Association. Nos. 1—30. London, 1844—1848.*

7. *Tracts for the Million. Nos. 1—22. London, 1845—1848.*

THERE is no surer sign of an approaching crisis in the affairs of men than when antagonistic principles lead to coincident conclusions, when those who in theory are at the greatest conceivable distance from each other, occupying opposite extremes in the world of thought, are involuntarily thrown together in their practical tendencies. Such unnatural conjunctions of things in their nature inharmonious are both ominous of impending change, and symptomatic of some great anomaly, some serious derangement, in the existing state of affairs. The strange combinations of the most adverse elements of religious and political life, which had recently taken place, cast before them the shadows of the revolutions since accomplished on the Continent of Europe; and considering how much the recoil of those events has been felt throughout the world, and in our country among the rest, it is impossible to contemplate, without considerable alarm, every manifestation among ourselves of a similar concurrence of parties which have nothing else in common, in the expediency of certain practical measures of supposed reform and relief. It is an ill sign when the advocate of Church principles finds himself

embarked in the same boat with the political dissenter, the member of the "Anti-State-Church Association." Hitherto, indeed, the tendency towards a separation between Church and State has among Churchmen been confined to the foremost ranks, or perhaps we should say, the most advanced skirmishers, of the two extreme parties in the Church; but there are sufficient elements of mischief at work to render the further development of that tendency, and the consequent conversion of Churchmen to Anti-State-Church principles, far from improbable. To the causes likely to produce such a result, we need do no more than briefly allude in this place. The attitude which the State has assumed in reference to the extension of Church education, and which, coming in the form of proffered assistance, amounts virtually to obstruction,—the pretension of the State, advanced with daily greater openness and violence, to treat the Church upon the footing of one sect among many, the only distinction made between them being that the State claims over the Church a right of interference which it dares not to attempt with regard to the meanest of the sects,—the bold and high-handed determination to exempt the Church patronage of the State from every check which the constitution of the Church has provided against the intrusion of unfit persons into her offices of trust,—the perseverance in a pernicious system of Church legislation by a Parliament which does not recognize the principles of the Church, and which counts among its members a host of declared enemies of the Church and of her principles, a system necessarily productive of many unintentional blunders, if not of intentional injuries to the Church,—and, last and most grievous of all, the recent proposal, not the less alarming because proceeding from a number of disaffected clergymen, to erect Parliament, although distracted by an endless variety of sectarian opinions among its members, and creedless in its corporate capacity, into an ecclesiastical synod, and to make it the arbiter of the Church's faith and doctrine,—all these causes, with others of lesser account, and of a more secular character, are unquestionably calculated to make the most sincere and devoted Churchman feel that the connexion between the Church and the State is productive of the most serious, not to say of intolerable, evils. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that numbers, guided by impulse rather than by mature judgment, by zeal rather than by knowledge, should rush to the conclusion that the severance of the connexion between Church and State is not only allowable, but would be of positive benefit to the Church; that they should, as the Report of the Executive Committee for 1847 (No. 4), expresses it, "turn their eyes to an alternative which practically

will bring them alongside of the British Anti-State-Church Association."

It is something to be clearly aware of the danger of this alternative; and it is with a view to bring those who may be tempted into it, acquainted with the company into which their aspirations for a separation between Church and State must lead them, rather than from any notion of the intrinsic importance of the Anti-State-Church Association, that we are induced to drag forth that body from its obscure notoriety, and to bring its constitution, its principles, and its action, under the cognizance of the members of the Church. In doing this we desire not to lose sight of the fact that connexion with the State is by no means essential to the being of the Church. We remember, of course, that there was a time, far from the least prosperous period in the Church's history, when the Church was not only not connected with the State, but persecuted by it, and threatened with extermination; it is a recollection from which we draw great comfort in the prospect, by no means an improbable, scarcely a remote one, of the renewal of a war of extermination on the part of the State against the Church. Neither are we prepared to maintain that in the event of matters being pushed to an extremity, the time may not come when it will be the duty of the Church, not indeed to force on by any act of hers the severance of her connexion with the State, but to offer to the encroachments of a political power acknowledging no other than a merely human, a utilitarian, materialistic basis of society, such firm resistance as will leave the State no option but that of repentance on the one hand, or persecution of the Church on the other. Yet, with a firm determination, we trust, when the time of persecution shall arrive, to bear our share of it, and with a clear perception of the fact that such a time may come, that it may not be very far distant, we feel anxious,—all the more anxious because we are sensible of the approaching danger,—that no rashness of over-zealous churchmanship should accelerate the crisis, in order that when the evil day comes, Churchmen may be supported in it by the consciousness of having carried forbearance to the utmost limits to which it can be extended without a sinful surrender of the paramount obedience due to the invisible Head of the Church,—and, above all, that they may stand out in sharp and clear contrast from the unruly and ungodly multitude enlisted under the banner of the Anti-State-Church Association.

On inquiring into the origin of this Association, we learn that the world is indebted for it to the editor of the *Nonconformist*, a virulent dissenting print, started about eight years ago, whose motto is "the dissidence of dissent, and the protestantism of the

Protestant religion." A paper from the pen of Dr. Cox, read at the first Anti-State-Church Conference (No. 1), gives the following account of the early history of the movement:—

"In 1842 the editor of the *Nonconformist* produced a series of articles on the evils of State and Church alliance, and proposed a convention of delegates to discuss the propriety of adopting measures for an aggressive movement; but the suggestion only tended further to illustrate the apathy of dissenters at that period. Providence soon employed another weapon, which the author of the projected mischief denominated an *olive branch*, but which nonconformists soon perceived to be a *rod* to chastise them into an ecclesiastical subjugation to which they were by no means disposed to submit; and by their unanimity and zeal, a Parliament with scarcely any dissentients, and a Government undoubtedly strong, were compelled to abandon their design.

"The same journalist immediately resumed his efforts to obtain a convention, but for a considerable time with no apparent success. At length a brief appeal, signed by upwards of seventy ministers resident in the midland counties, the purpose of which was to rouse to united action in order to rescue religious freedom for ever from the dangers of ignorant and intermeddling legislation, was sent, in the autumn of 1843, to the secretaries of various dissenting bodies in London. In the mean time the necessity of adopting some measures to secure and advance the interests of religious freedom had been seen by a few individuals, who held private meetings, employed some methods of ascertaining the sentiments of their brethren at a distance, and agreed to convene a meeting of ministers of the three denominations on the subject. Owing to untoward circumstances occasioning informality in presenting the memorial of the midland counties, but still more to a disinclination to adopt any present aggressive movement, that memorial was disregarded, and the efforts of such members of that body as were anxious to do something, were in consequence unavailing.

"Impatient of delay, a meeting of gentlemen, ministers and others, in the counties already referred to, was convened by circular, and held at the Town Hall Library, Leicester, on Thursday, December 7th, 1843; when the following resolution, among others, was adopted unanimously:—

"That this meeting, impressed with the belief that the principle of national establishments for the maintenance of religion is essentially anti-Christian and unjust, derogatory to the sovereign claims of the great Head of the Church, and subversive of the indefeasible rights of man; that the practical working of this principle in Great Britain and Ireland is productive of numerous and most deplorable evils—spiritual, moral, political, and social; that strenuous and systematic efforts are now being made to extend the range, and to augment the efficiency, of this principle, both at home and in our colonies; that the introduction to Parliament, last session, of the Factories Education

Bill by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, affords sufficient evidence that the existing measure of religious liberty enjoyed in this kingdom is, during the continuance of the compulsory system, unsafe; and that the present juncture of events distinctly and loudly calls upon the friends of the voluntary principle cordially to unite, and earnestly to labour, in the use of all peaceable and Christian means, to accomplish, as speedily as possible, a separation of the Church from the State—deem it expedient that a conference of delegates be convened, representing all persons in these realms who repudiate the principle of a religious establishment, and who are of opinion that this is a suitable method of commencing a serious movement against it; and this meeting do hereby pledge themselves to use their best exertions to secure the assembling of such conference at the place and time which may hereafter appear most nearly to accord with general convenience, and with the demand of contingent events.'

"Three gentlemen from London, who were present at the meeting at Leicester (Dr. Cox, Dr. Price, and Mr. Miall), having been requested to act as a committee to carry out the general design of the meeting, by completing a list, which was subsequently proposed, of ministers and gentlemen resident in various parts of the country, to constitute a *Provisional Committee*, were requested, at a meeting in the Congregational Library in London, to unite with themselves three others (Rev. C. Stovel, Rev. J. Carlile, and Mr. Hare) chosen for the same purpose. That Provisional Committee consisted of nearly 200 individuals—145 ministers and 48 laymen—who readily acceded to the wishes of their friends, and proceeded forthwith to elect an *Executive Committee* of twenty-one. Incessantly devoted from the moment of their election to the fulfilment of the great object to which they were invited, namely, to devise the best means of obtaining a conference of the friends of religious freedom and the decided opponents of State-Church establishments—having assembled on Thursday, Feb. 8th, 1844, they continued to meet weekly, to conduct an extensive correspondence with every part of the empire, and to prepare for a conference of all denominations on the great enterprise before them."

By these means the first Anti-State-Church Conference was brought into existence. It arose from an active, but artificial agitation, and drew its inspirations from a determination to obstruct as much as possible the diffusion of religious knowledge among the ignorant masses of our manufacturing population. We never professed to be admirers of Sir James Graham's Factory Education Bill,—the "olive branch," *alias* "rod," alluded to by Dr. Cox in the above extract. It was a measure which placed the Clergy in a position anomalous in itself, and calculated seriously to damage their consistency in the eyes of the people, and thereby to impair their efficiency. Still, before the awful revelation of heathenish ignorance in the manufacturing



districts, of a wholesale immolation of souls to the demon of lucre, the voice of the Church was mute; she was ready to forego her own rightful position rather than offer obstruction to a measure, however objectionable in other respects, which provided a remedy for so crying an evil. While this was the conduct of the Church in reference to Sir J. Graham's Bill, the defeat of which cannot—especially after the noble effort on her part to which it led—be considered in any other light than that of a great service rendered to the Church by her enemies, it is worthy of notice, that the zealots whom Dr. Cox, himself one of the number, eulogizes as the indefatigable originators of the Anti-State-Church movement, were perfectly willing to undertake the responsibility of thousands of souls perishing in a condition of worse than pagan ignorance, rather than suffer the State to call in the aid of the Church for the removal of that ignorance and the salvation of those souls. It was the calling out of the remedial action of the Church for the cure of a great national evil, which gave the first impulse to the notable design of making war, war to the knife, upon the Church herself. Such was the effect of the dissenting system on this occasion, abundantly bearing out the Doctor's own remark, that "systems generate prejudices, work on human passions, envenom party feelings, render the amiable cruel, and the cruel ferocious." True, most true, plain-spoken Doctor Cox,—it was indeed "ferocious" to say, "Rather than run the risk of the additional influence which this Education Bill may give to the ministers of the hated State-Church, let us doom thousands and tens of thousands of factory children to ignorance and to eternal ruin. Perish their souls! rather than that the Church should flourish." With such "ferocity" of fanaticism in act, making a holocaust of the blood of the innocents, it sounds more like hypocrisy than any thing else, to declare with pious unction: "It is material to observe that it is not against *men*, but *systems*, or rather against *one* great anti-scriptural *system*, that we wage holy warfare; and call upon all that love the truth to come up 'to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.'" It was not with the "help of the Lord," but with the help of "the spirit which denieth," that Dr. Cox and his company arose to the battle; and that not against the mighty, but against weak helpless children, the lambs, as they are called to be, of the fold of Christ.

Being thus born and cradled in reckless disregard of the souls of men, it is by no means surprising that the Anti-State-Church Association should be found to pursue its career headlong, for the overthrow of the great religious institution of the country, the religious teacher of its present and by-gone generations, without the

least concern as to the means of filling the immense void which it proposes to create, without any thing to substitute for the action of the Church, except the empty declamation of Anti-State-Church councillors, and Anti-State-Church lecturers, whose motto is: "*Pereat ecclesia; ruat cœlum!*"

This is a heavy charge to bring against a body of men who come before the world with words of holy zeal for the Gospel of Christ, and of love for the souls of men, upon their lips; a charge which we should assuredly neither wish nor venture to bring against them, were we not driven to the conclusion, and borne out in the assertion, by their own acts and recorded declarations. We look in vain in their principles for any thing beyond that of *destruction*; in vain for any elements out of which another, even though it were an erroneous, system of religion, might be built up, when they shall have succeeded in levelling the structure of ages with the ground. While the Gospel serves as the pretext for their aggression upon the Church, they are not themselves agreed what the Gospel is; nay, it is evident, that any positive form of belief, even if they were prepared to give their assent to it to-day, would not be admitted by them as a permanent standard or symbol of truth. The privilege of denying every thing, if it shall so please them, of being bound by nothing, is the only tangible idea which runs through all their statements and arguments; this they hold to be the very essence of religion, even that "liberty wherewith Christ has made us free." This wicked principle of individual and universal licence, to which they blasphemously give the name of Christian liberty, pervades alike their religious and their political sentiments; whatever savours of authority, whether it be a settled belief and a regular ministry, or a civil magistrate bearing rule as the ordinance of God, is equally repudiated by them; the will of the multitude, and that alone, is to decide what shall be law on earth, and truth in heaven.

"A knowledge of our nature," we are told (*Tracts for the Million*, No. 8), "and of history, teaches, that the best way to secure religious progress and improvement, is to *leave religious principles to the unfettered understandings, wills, and consciences of men*; whereas state-enjoined creeds and customs present strong obstacles to the correction of what is evil, and the perfection of what is good."

"It is plain," says the author of the tract, '*The Church of Christ: What is it?*' "that the supreme tribunal to decide this cause is a man's own private judgment, and that the Bible is to be the statute-book by which this decision is to be regulated. Every one's own conscience is to test all Church pretensions by the standard of God's word."

As it happens, however, that this "supreme tribunal" does not



pronounce the same judgment in all minds, nor, indeed, in the same mind at all times, Mr. Brewin Grant, the writer of the tract in question, is driven to give of the Church the following definition :

“ The Church is a visible Embodiment of Christianity in its unity of spirit and its *variety of development*.”

This “ variety of development,” as it is understood by this writer, is not confined to those externals of Church discipline and worship which, it is admitted, “ may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men’s manners ;” it affects the whole system of the Church, the very fundamentals of its constitution and doctrine.

“ The Bible is the statute-book of the Church, but it does not give a full description of rites (as it did in the case of Judaism), nor a full confession of faith, nor a clear arrangement of ecclesiastical polity. If, therefore, the Church is founded on an external uniformity, it is not authorized by the Bible, for it lays down no outward rule. Taking externals as the guide, the Church is an assemblage of men who have *nothing established as the common rule of faith and practice*. The statute-book contains no minute description of rites—no elaborate arrangement of creeds and discipline ; its doctrines are thrown out with a nobleness which baffles the one-sidedness of sects and schools. There is not a single formally expressed article in the whole Bible. The question of Church polity, as a definite order of government, is equally difficult ; is it to be episcopal, presbyterian, or congregational ? Surely, if the Church of Christ consists in an outward unity, the Bible is the wrong book for this Church to be founded on, since it purposely leaves these matters in obscurity. The most important part of revelation has to be supplied by tradition ; the Church has to be its own founder—to arrange for *the fundamentals of its faith and practice*.”

Such is the painful vagueness to which men are reduced, when, walking by the light of their own understandings, they separate the word of God from the living witness to whose keeping He has committed that word, and from those life-giving ordinances by which He has made provision for the nurturing in oneness of faith and spirit, because in oneness of life with Himself, those who are willing to seek the grace and truth of God humbly, reverently, obediently, and by faith, in the way prescribed by God. To escape from the evil conclusion into which he has led himself, Mr. Brewin Grant has recourse to what he calls “ the general spirit which the Gospel enforces,” in contradistinction to “ particular tenets and rites ;” and then subjoins a brief summary of faith of his own composing, which he conceives to be the genuine and indisputable expression of that “ general spirit,” but to which, he will give us leave to say, we have quite as much right to take

exceptions as he has to repudiate the three Catholic Creeds. At the same time he acknowledges, that "for the true and complete union of the great spiritual body, the Church, there should be a sympathy amongst the members, a mutual recognition of each other,—*there must be one circulation throughout the whole system;*" but how, upon his own principles, that union is to be brought about, how the "sympathy" and the "one circulation" are to be produced, is a point on which, with the exception of a pious wish not likely to be fulfilled, Mr. Brewin Grant has the wisdom to be silent.

Another of the tract writers, "the Rev." A. J. Morris, carries the argument against settled forms or articles of belief a step further, by demonstrating the practical impossibility, as it appears to him, of any man ever cherishing a single verity as absolute and unfailing truth. In his opinion,

"It is the right of every man to receive and to aver that which commends itself by evidence to his own mind. God has given to him this right. But the right involves an obligation. It is not only a privilege but a duty. He is bound, by the constitution of his nature, and by the express law of his Creator, to be *willing to adopt fresh views*, if they possess the necessary proof of being right views, to keep his heart open to every intimation of the Divine will. Possessed, as all men are, of the elements of fallibility, and surrounded, as all men are, with influences favourable to error, it is a mark of humility, as well as of honesty, while we are faithful to our present convictions, to be ready to receive others. It is impossible not to believe that we are in the right; but it is improper to believe that we cannot but be. Decidedness of belief is perfectly compatible with the stern denial of infallibility; and we are bound to cherish a constant and candid spirit of inquiry by the very grounds on which we have received and do hold our actual faith. Whatever tends to check this spirit, is a serious evil."

And in another place, in his "Anti-State-Church Catechism," the same idea is expressed with still greater clearness.

"Man is in a condition, in the present world, in which he is bound, by duty and interest, to be 'ever learning.' As none is infallible, none is able to justify the abandonment of inquiry. But State Churches are, and always have been, formidable barriers to this. They 'stereotype' doctrines, and the consequence is, that they retain errors after others have got rid of them. All 'protected' interests are backward in seeking and adopting improvements. It is so in agriculture, in manufactures, and in religion. Entire freedom is the only thing by which *the progress of men in religious truth* can be secured."

It is impossible to conceive any thing more wretched than this application of the "free trade" principle to religious truth: the miserable state, described by the Apostle, of those who are "ever

learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth," is portrayed with distressing fidelity in this ideal of what the Christian ought to be. Viewing truth, as all the professors of such doctrines do, as a production of the human mind, the material of which is taken from the Bible, but the fashion supplied by man himself, nothing, of course, can be more consistent than this perpetual scepticism underlying every conviction, even at the moment when it is most firmly entertained; nor can any thing more clearly demonstrate the total absence of that which alone gives to religious truth substance and reality in the mind of man, the effectual operation, the conscious and abiding presence, of the Holy Spirit. To speak of Him, of the word engrafted by Him, of that living faith which He begets, and by which we are enjoined and exhorted to hold fast as by the sheet-anchor of our souls, in terms of such looseness and uncertainty, were indeed blasphemy: but of this sin the propounders of Anti-State-Churchism are clearly guiltless; they know not that deep and holy fountain of unfailing truth; and when they speak of faith, it is evident that they "understand neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm."

So much for the theology of the Anti-State-Church Association. Its political principles are not less unsound and untenable. They may be gathered with unmistakable distinctness from a tract, entitled, *Religious Establishments incompatible with the Rights of Citizenship*, by Edward Miall, one of the original committee appointed to carry out the views of the Leicester meeting.

"A citizen (he says) is a member of that select community which, under the present system of things in our own land, bears absolute rule over Great Britain and her dependencies. *He is one of the trustees of political sovereignty. Of 'the powers that be' he is an item.* He holds office, and he *holds it from God.* He cannot evade his responsibility; however, like the prophet Jonah, he may flee from his post. Until he has examined to the utmost every privilege which the constitution has put within his reach, he shares in the guilt of every contravention of the will of God perpetrated by our political authorities. Disguise it from himself as he may, his voluntary and deliberate disuse of the rights of citizenship is the subscription of his name to every law upon the statute-book, and the extension of his public sanction to every wickedness done in high places. He has a talent, and he buries it to the advantage of every wrong doer. He sides with the oppressor by connivance. He gives his vote for monopoly by silence. The sin of war lies at his door, brought thither by his inaction; and *if there be any thing religiously offensive in an Established Church, any thing displeasing to our Lord and Master, any thing subversive of Christian purity, peace, or power, he is by his position, and by his studied neglect of the duties of it, an open party to its continuance.* To such parties we may address a word of kind admonition. O brethren! reflect what it is

you do when you commit suicide upon your citizenship. More guilty than the father who suppresses his parental instincts, and avowedly repudiates parental duties, you *throw into the treasury of unrighteousness the whole amount of power which you surrender*. God has introduced you into one of the highest relationships of temporal life, and you tell Him that you will attend to none of the obligations of your trust. *He has made you rulers, and you leave the people to perish through your indifference*. Think of this, brethren, and ask yourselves by what plea you will justify your conduct when called to give up your account."

Verily, Mr. Edward Miall is a very Sacheverell, nay, a very Hildebrand, of democracy. We have heard of the divine right of kings, and we have heard of the "rights of man," *alias*, the rights of the sovereign people; but the divine right of the sovereign people is, we confess, a novelty to our ears. Abstracting, however, for a moment, from the question in whom the divine right to govern is vested, let us stop to examine the conclusions which Mr. Miall draws from its possession. Mr. Miall admits that there is such a thing as "the powers that be," an authority which is "held from God." And how does he conceive that this authority should be exercised? In the utmost plenitude of its power, is the answer. He who is invested with that authority "held from God," must not "commit suicide upon it." If he fails to wield it to the full, for the repression of all that would oppose its salutary and consecrated action, he is reminded that he "throws into the treasury of unrighteousness the whole amount of power which he surrenders." What, again, is, according to Mr. Miall, included within the legitimate scope of the exercise of that authority? Is it to be a merely temporal authority, confining itself to the supervision of the material interests of the state, the nation; or is it to extend its care to the furtherance of true religion; is it to concern itself about the spiritual welfare of its subjects, about the salvation of their souls? Most assuredly it is to do the latter, and that under the most solemn responsibility to Him from whom the authority is derived, and who will call upon those whom He has entrusted with it, to "give up an account" of their stewardship. "If there be," quoth Mr. Miall, "any thing religiously offensive, any thing displeasing to our Lord and Master, any thing subversive of Christian purity, peace, or power," the "trustee of political sovereignty," holding his office "from God," is, "by his position, and by his studied neglect of the duties of it, an open party to its continuance." Mr. Miall has a word of kind, and withal stringent, admonition for "trustees of political sovereignty," if they should chance to be remiss in removing whatever is "religiously offensive, displeasing

to our Lord and Master, subversive of Christian purity, peace, or power." He thus apostrophizes such unfaithful stewards: "God has introduced you into one of the highest relationships of temporal life, and you tell Him that you will attend to none of the obligations of your trust. *He has made you rulers, and you leave the people to perish through your indifference.*"

We stay not now to inquire what species of civil and religious freedom the nation would enjoy, if the "Executive Committee of the Anti-State-Church Association," of which Mr. Miall is so distinguished a member, and so eloquent a mouthpiece, were to be deputed by the sovereign people to exercise this divine right, in purging out from the Church all things which, in the opinion of those sage councillors, "offend." The question is one which is not left to speculation; history has already provided an answer to it. The time has been, when the country enjoyed the full blessing of being ruled over by "such workers of iniquity as turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction;" the principles here laid down by Mr. Miall were then in the ascendant—and the "trustees of political sovereignty" of that day, being "godly" men, were not slow or backward in exercising their authority, in matters both of Church and State. It is unnecessary, therefore, to dwell upon this point; but the point to which we would request the attention of Mr. Miall, and of those who share his opinions, is the bearing of his arguments upon the hypothesis, after all not a very preposterous one, that there is such a thing as a kingly power of Divine institution. Let it be supposed, that by "the powers that be," we are to understand, not the sovereign people, of whose Divine authority we are not aware that mention is made any where in Holy Writ,—we will thank Mr. Miall to set us right, if we are wrong,—but those whom Holy Scripture points out by name: "Kings, and all that are in authority;" let it be supposed, moreover, that these "Kings," "ordained of God," being diligent in reading their Bibles, have found therein certain passages in which false teachers are spoken of with reprobation, as those "whose word eateth as doth a canker," in which those who "separate themselves" are denounced as "sensual, having not the Spirit;" in which it is declared, that "the mouths of unruly and vain talkers and deceivers must be stopped," in which, among the evils that shall befall the Church in "the last days," is mentioned the fact, that "they will not endure sound doctrine; but, after their own lusts, shall heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears, and shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables,"—the fable of "Voluntaryism," *Anglicè*, "Willinghood," as one of the Tracts for the Million has it, for example;—suppose

the "Kings," who, "holding their office from God," are "trustees of political sovereignty," feel it their duty to put a stop to the babbling of those self-constituted teachers, who tickle the itching ears of fickle hearers, or take advantage of the ignorance of the multitude, for bringing a mass of "railing accusation," such as the Tracts of the British Anti-State-Church Association contain in rich abundance, against the Church divinely ordained by Christ and His Apostles, and established in the land for the instruction and guidance of the people; suppose they are sensible of the full weight of responsibility which rests upon them, if they suffer "any thing religiously offensive, displeasing to our Lord and Master, subversive of Christian purity, peace, or power," to continue in the land,—what, in that supposition, would become of Mr. Miall, the Executive Committee, the Council, the Conference, together with all the delegates and members of the British Anti-State-Church Association? Would they not be proclaimed an offence and a nuisance, and forcibly put down, on the principle, that, unless this were done, "the whole amount of power surrendered by the trustee of political sovereignty would be thrown into the Anti-State-Church treasury of unrighteousness?" With what face, upon his own showing, could Mr. Miall stand up and complain of persecution? Upon what ground could he find fault with the State support of the Church, seeing that he himself declares it to be a cause of present rebuke and future judgment, for those whom "God has made rulers," to "leave the people to perish through their indifference." We want no more stringent argument in support of a State Church,—a State Church rigorously opposed to dissent and nonconformity of every kind,—than the principles laid down by Mr. Miall himself, on behalf of the Anti-State-Church scheme, backed up by the usurpation of the democracy over "the powers that be," "Kings," and others that "are in authority." Mr. Miall's principles would warrant the suppression of dissent and nonconformity,—which the Church does not call for;—the exclusion of separatists from offices of trust and power would be a matter of course, being, in truth, a means of self-defence, which a State, directed by wise counsels, would never neglect or relinquish, under a mistaken idea of the nature of toleration, and in forgetfulness of the bounds by which toleration is separated from admission to power.

The mistake committed by our statesmen and legislators, in levelling the barriers of the constitution for the admission of the avowed opponents of every principle of religion and government under the happy influence of which this country has grown "great, prosperous, and free," is now beginning to bear its baneful fruits. In the first instance, the action of the adversaries was



of a merely negative character; they contented themselves with obstructing all measures for the public benefit, and the improvement of the people, in which the Church was to be the agent; long-continued success has made them bold, and their course is now avowedly an aggressive one. The "purely defensive exertions of dissenters" will no longer satisfy the aspirations of such ardent minds as those which preside over the Anti-State-Church Association; they call aloud for "widely-organized and properly-sustained aggressive efforts;"—they believe that the period has come, when it is "the obvious duty of dissenters to maintain, and to push the great principles they love;"—they conceive themselves to be "summoned to action by such unequivocal indications as it would be treason to neglect." Wherever the bonds of society are ruptured, wherever the duties of civil subordination are cast aside, wherever the people rise in rebellion, and authority is trampled in the dust, there those heralds of a new era hail the sunrise of their day; there they recognize a movement sympathetic to their own.

"The reforms," says the boastful manifesto of the first conference, "which philanthropy, or the love of civil freedom, have hitherto accomplished, are trifling achievements, when compared with that which we are daring to contemplate. The great revolutions of the world are lost amidst its proportions."

On this point the following resolution, passed at the last meeting of the council, in the spring of the present year, is deserving of notice, as identifying the Anti-State-Church Association distinctly, and by its own confession, with the revolutionary movements which have lately been sweeping over the Continent of Europe:

"That this council observe, with high satisfaction, and regard as one of the most hopeful features in *the political changes now taking place on the Continent of Europe*, the progress made towards clear views of the position which the Church ought to occupy as distinct from the State, not only in those countries which are more especially Protestant, and in those which are partly Protestant and partly Papal, but also in those which have hitherto been exclusively Papal, and even in the States of the Church. That in most of these countries all citizens are held to be entitled to equal political rights, irrespectively of their religious profession; and that, in some of them, considerable progress has been made towards the entire separation of the Church from the State, while in others, events are manifestly advancing towards that result."

These zealous reformers have no patience with the slow progress of their principles in this country: the tide of social and ecclesiastical revolution is not flowing nearly fast enough to please

them. The objection which has occurred to some dissenters, that the object of the Association is rather a political than a religious one, is scouted as a "senseless cry which explains nothing, means nothing, and only tends to impugn efforts, which really carry out their own (the dissenters') views:"

"Those very views must be as political in theory and purpose as any that can be entertained by the members of the conference, and must be so when what they abhor and hope to see, *some time or other* (these Italics are not ours) destroyed, is part and parcel of the ecclesiastical law—that is, of *the constitution of England*."

Hence, to work upon the dissenters generally, with a view to arouse them to political action against the Church, is one of the objects of the Association, set forth in the address of the Executive Committee:—

"The object of the Conference will be to act upon the conscience and the heart of the dissenting community, and to devise means adapted to bring them up to the level of their responsibility; in order that, at as early a period as possible, they may make their peaceful, but united and determined, efforts tell upon the legislature. A solemn exposition of the unscriptural character of established churches—an emphatic exhibition of the evils which necessarily flow from them—an avowed resolution to labour in every legitimate way for their abolition—and the adoption of such a plan of organization as may secure unity of action without endangering freedom, will assuredly tend to enlighten the uninformed, to rouse the listless, to embolden the timid, to cheer on the energetic, and at no distant time so to elevate the tone of public feeling as to render advisable the agitation of the question both within and without the walls of Parliament."

And to the same effect Mr. J. P. Mursell, in one of the papers read at the first Conference, says:—

"It should be a primary aim of the Anti-State-Church Association to rouse the great body of nonconformists from their partial slumbers—to endeavour to imbue them with a deep and powerful sense of the obligations which rest upon them—to produce a vital, operative conviction of the enormity of the evil which resides in their midst—to harmonize conflicting, and to strengthen languid, feelings—to fuse the parts into one great whole, and to penetrate it and pervade it with an enlightened, steady, concentrated enthusiasm, commensurate, in some happy degree, with the greatness and grandeur of the occasion."

For this purpose the leaders of the Association are not content to work, by their inflammatory publications, upon the minds of adult dissenters, who can judge for themselves whether such a system of destructive agitation, directed against a Christian



Church, and against the fundamental constitution of the State, is consistent with their religious profession ; they wish to create in the minds of the young an early and indelible impression, that the love of the truth, and hatred of the State-Church, are synonymous terms. There are some curious exhortations on this subject in a tract addressed specifically to Sunday-school teachers, for the purpose of instructing them in "their duties in relation to State-Churches." First, we have a bitter complaint of the apathy of a great number of dissenters, and of their dislike to the Anti-State-Church agitation :—

"The doctrine of reserve, so severely censured in the ministry of the Puseyite clergy, has been acted on among nonconformists to as great an extent as in the Anglican Church. The result of this silence respecting the distinctive principles of dissent—the principles on which our churches are built, through which they have their being, and by which their severance from the State-Church is justified before God and man—is *the loss of reverence for dissenting truth* in many of our congregations. If our principles were inculcated, and if, with the boldness of Luther, Knox, or Ronge, the prodigious evils of State-Churches were assailed, would not many of our pastors be driven from their pulpits, or would not many of their people desert their pews ? We are greatly misinformed by judicious and moderate men, if this would not be the case."

We are glad to find, upon authority which we cannot venture to question, that there is so much good sense left among the dissenters ; but let us see how the Anti-State-Church Association proposes to meet what, according to its principles, is a most deplorable deficiency in the great body of nonconformists :—

"In all your teaching exhibit the iniquity, the impiety, and the danger of this unhallowed union (between the Church and the State). It is not only your own country, but the world at large, which will be benefited by your enlightened and benevolent labours. To very little purpose will Christianity be sent to the heathen, if the English and French State-Church systems are to be set up in pagan lands, and absorb the result of voluntary efforts. For the sake of India, China, the South Seas, Africa, and the continent of Europe, throw yourselves into the enterprize of working out the religious liberty of England, by the inculcation of dissent, with a view to the total separation of the Church from the State ; for be sure, when the State Church of England shall fall, as the stupendous stronghold of spiritual despotism, the prodigious and portentous shock of its overthrow will shake every other structure of superstition to its foundations, and startled nations will awake from their stupor, find the doors of their prisons flung open, as by an earthquake, and walk forth into the glorious light and liberty of the sons of God. An enlightened love of religious liberty, then, ought to induce you to inculcate dissent."

This was written in 1845. Let the reader judge how glowing the language of this monitor of Sunday-school teachers would have been, if the revolutions of February and March, 1848, had shown him his day-dream half accomplished. But we must follow him yet awhile, and learn from him how the foundations of dissenting truth are laid in the soul of the child. The section is headed :

*" You must teach dissent dogmatically, or on your own word. Before your scholars can enter into the reasons of dissent, you must tell them it is right and true. It is in this way you give them your own notions about God, their souls, sin, Christ, the Holy Scripture, and other religious topics. They believe what you affirm or deny of these things, not because you have proved your propositions, but on your bare word. Perhaps you will say this is not so ; but that in all your teaching, you appeal to the authority of the Bible. This is very proper ; still, in the stage of imparting knowledge to which we are now referring, you do not, thereby, shift the ground of belief ; for this faith in the Bible as the word of God is founded on your assertion, not on the external or internal evidence which proves the book to be divine. On the same ground the Mahommedan child believes in the Koran. This is according to nature. One of the earliest intellectual instincts which is called forth, is faith in the word of parents, teachers, and seniors generally. All the first ideas of a child respecting religious objects come to it through its faith in man. All infant education goes upon this principle of communicating knowledge. We mention this fact in order to induce you to act on it in *inculcating dissent*. Speak of it as something in accordance with the will of God. *Let your scholars feel that you consider separation from State Churches as highly pleasing to Christ. Tell them that national establishments of religion are sinful, are wrong in themselves, and in all their workings. If you do this, you will produce a deep faith in dissent ; you will connect it in their earliest associations with the true and honourable ; you will knead it into their inmost moral nature ; you will make its ideas a part of themselves. If your silence would lead them to think it of no importance, or to conclude that you are ashamed of it, or do not understand it, so your speaking of it as something true, divine, noble, beneficial ; something which they ought to live by and to live for ; something which they may safely die by, and, if need be, die for, would make them regard it as the apostolic form of Church polity, and, after your example, rejoice in witnessing to it before men : in this way they would receive the first effectual initiation into dissent.*"*

If Mephistopheles himself had been consulted as to the best way of undermining the Church, he could scarcely have given better advice than this, to take advantage of the unsuspecting confidence of the young and uninformed, and to instil into their

minds the *acetum* of "dissenting truth," in reliance on the moral axiom, that this being once effectually accomplished,

*"Quodcunque infundis, acescit."*

It is almost superfluous to say that among the means of "inculcating dissenting truth," both upon the young and upon the adult, grievous misrepresentations of the Church and her system, exaggerations of the abuses unhappily existing in her, perversions of facts calculated to exhibit the Church in an equivocal light, and downright calumnies, hold a conspicuous place. The most preposterous assertions are made with a degree of coolness which is truly surprising. We are told, for instance, that "multitudes, ay millions, are forced into treason to God," by the Church teaching "submission to man as the supreme authority in religion;"—that, under her instruction, "the very persons who prove themselves by their vices to be what the Author of the Christian religion Himself terms 'children of the devil,' are induced to imagine themselves children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven;"—that "an hereditary priesthood, with its blasphemous pretensions, is to supplant the unpretending ministers of the sanctuary;"—that "guilty and disgraceful persecutions are resorted to at the instigation of a besotted hierarchy;"—that "*legion* is the name of the religious errors and evils which a secular establishment of Christianity involves;"—that "the union of Church and State is the most schismatic thing in being;"—that "subscription is known to be a mockery, keeping out none but the honest;"—that the ministers of the Church have placed themselves "under strong carnal motives to keep the light out of their minds, or to make it darkness,—to close their understandings to truth, or to render their hearts insensible to its charms and power;"—and therefore it is declared that "to sell a 'birth-right' for 'a mess of pottage,' was a prudent barter compared with the subjection of men's souls, for any earthly advantages, to so dishonourable and ruinous a process;"—that "the English establishment has always presented the singular inconsistency, of attempting forcibly to compel all men into it, with one hand, while it has, as pertinaciously, with the other, driven the best men, and large numbers of them, out of it."

The Church is described as a "blatant beast," which, after the death of William and Mary, "raised his head, and threw off all his temporary tameness;" whose history is nothing else but "the perpetration of a series of outrages upon the liberty of the subject;"—she is charged with "manifesting a persecuting spirit in church-rate and tithe-persecutions, even to the display of a dark

and furious revenge by personal imprisonment ;”—with “taking from the poor their beds, and even their Bibles to pay church-rates ;”—and this is followed by an assurance, that “did the law allow it, the State Church would play its fantastic tricks before high heaven as wantonly as ever.” Again we are informed, that “the State Church is not the friend or the teacher of the people ;”—that “her clergy place more reliance upon social rank than upon moral character and ministerial fitness. They can dine with the Queen, and drink wine with a lord or a squire ; and therefore they think themselves better than other men ;”—that “all State Churches are contrary to the spirit and letter of Christianity, opposed to the practice of the Apostles, offensive to God, injurious to man, and oppressive to all, except to those who live by them ;”—that “the State clergy, far from being the regular successors of the Apostles, are represented in history as the regular successors of the pagan priesthood ;”—that “a State Church goes upon the assumption, that whatever opinions are adopted and supported by the State are true, and all others are false,” &c. &c.

This species of weapon,—argument it cannot be called,—is, as might be expected, handled with particular freedom in the “Tracts for the Million,” which present a tissue of malignant falsehood and of coarse vulgarity. At one time we have a description of a Church minister, coming to take possession of his living :—

“He was a tall man, rather stout ; his neck very short ; his face round and red ; his whiskers black and bushy ; his nose flat and florid ; his eyes large, looking the wrong way . . . The first thing he did, was to whistle for his dog, which was running away from a shop with a piece of beef in his mouth, followed by the butcher’s wife with the broom in her hand. One man said, loud enough for the parson to hear, ‘The dog knows how to take tithe, at any rate’ . . . He was not a bad husband, nor a bad master. He was not a great drinker, nor a great swearer. But he was a keen lover of sport and tithe. In the winter he was almost always shooting or hunting ; and in the summer he was almost always fishing . . .

“One winter there was a grand shooting match between the squire and the rector. All the hares in the neighbourhood were driven into a grove, which covered about ten acres of land, and which the old squire planted many years ago in the midst of fruitful fields, as an enclosure for game. When the day came, a large net was fastened to staves across one end of this grove. On each side of it, men and boys were placed in vast numbers, to keep the hares from running away. The parson and squire, attended by men to load their guns, and to count the number of hares that each killed, entered the grove at the other end. Very few hares did, or could escape. Oh ! what a sore slaughter was there !

Towards evening, when the hares were driven to that end of the grove where the net was, the sight was heart-rending. The poor butchered hares leaped upon each other, and cried like children; but there was no pity, and no escape. The trees and bushes were sprinkled with their blood. Night came, and put an end to the sport. The parson beat the squire.

“ One large farmer who lived upon his own land, made up his mind to force the parson to take his tithe in kind. At the time of harvest the rector's cart entered into each field, and took the tenth of the crop. When there was any addition to this farmer's stock, either in the field or in the fold, either sheep or fowls, the rector was invited to come and take his portion. Among the young folks, and at market, there was great laughter, and especially when it was known that a polite note had informed the parson that a numerous nest of healthy rats, out of which he could have what he would, had been found in the barn . . .

“ My next neighbour took some rough land on the hill-side. It was covered with large stones and thorn-bushes, which he rolled off and rooted up. During three years this man and his family toiled almost day and night on this land. At the end of this time, there was a fine crop of rye ready for reaping. One evening, while he was leaning upon the gate, looking at the ripe grain and admiring it, the parson came up to him and said, ‘ Well, Joseph, you can now afford to pay me my tithe for this field; for I see you have an excellent crop.’ For some time Joseph was as still and as silent as the gate-post. But at length he said—‘ Pay you tithe for this land? Will you pay me the tithe of all the money I have spent, and the seed I have sown, and the toil I have bestowed on it?’ ‘ Oh! no,’ said the rector, ‘ that is no part of my duty. I am the spiritual guide of this parish. Every man is bound by law to pay me the tenth of every living and growing thing. And if you, Edwards, hesitate to pay me the tithe of this crop, I will make you and yours smart for it.’ After this soothing speech, away he strolled, like a conceited corporal dressed in black . . .

“ He was heard to boast that he preached the best sermons he could buy. The generality of his discourses, I believe, did neither good nor harm, except as they stood in the place of sound doctrine. They were about twenty minutes long. Dry and hard, like the bones in the valley of vision, all about authority and submission. Hardly any one listened to them. All the poor folk fell fast asleep. Young eyes travelled over the church in search of fine clothes and fine faces. Older heads seemed to be lamenting over bad bargains, or else rejoicing in the expectation of good ones; and, as soon as the service was concluded, crops, flower-gardens, love, scandal, politics, and many kindred topics, were eagerly discussed by the retiring congregation. This was the general character of our Sunday services, and the general result also; but, at the election, and when the dissenters began to preach in the village, our rector became as furious as a swollen torrent. The parish was in an awful state. There was no Sunday school. Swarms of children, at every time of the year, broke the Sabbath. Not a tract was distributed. Many families

had no Bible, nor a book of any kind. Drunkenness and swearing abounded. It was a rare case for a young woman, among the humbler classes, to retain her virginity till she was married. Many of the poor lived partly upon parish pay and partly upon plunder. Every year numbers of them were sent to prison, and not a few transported. As a magistrate the rector was often compelled to punish his parishioners for crimes growing out of ignorance which, as a clergyman, he was richly paid to remove. The conversation, even of wealthy families, was gross and often filthy. The few reading and thinking men among us were either inclined to infidelity or avowed deists. Such were some of the fruits of clerical teaching and example."

Lest this ribaldry should lose any of its effect in creating prejudice against the Church, by the consideration that the age in which persons at all resembling the above caricature were to be met with, one of the interlocutors in the tract is made to "confirm these statements," and to give it as his "impression," that "*in many quarters things are not, even now, greatly amended.*" At another time the Church is facetiously represented under the image of a baby, by whose "innocent encumbrance" all the "plans of enjoyment" in an "excursion of pleasure" are "effectually curtailed." After a lively description of all the obstructions to pleasant indulgence of which "the baby" is the unconscious cause, the allegory is thus expounded:—

"Just such as this is the curtailment put upon the legislative application of all liberal principles by the existence of a State Church. The Establishment is a baby—and a thumping brat it is—one that ought to have been weaned long ago. So it happens, however, that the Legislature can never move on in the direction of freedom, without finding itself hampered by restrictions imposed upon it by the claims of the Church. A statesman proclaims a right noble principle as the basis of his policy, and society begins to rejoice in the prospect of rapid progress; hope, however, sickens and faints as soon as it becomes apparent that the Church is by no means left behind. Cæsar, with a Church establishment in his arms, cannot lead us on either fast or far. The cry is still, 'For goodness' sake, take care of the baby.' So up gets one senator to protest against such and such a measure of justice, so long at least as we have an Established Church. Here, charity must be fenced about with a *chevaux-de-frise* of solemn declarations; there, wisdom must be fettered with embarrassing provisoes, simply because the Church must be cared for. 'The Church is in danger, the Church is in danger,' is screamed out at every turn of the road, or indignantly put forward as a bar to any reforming project, until, at length, society, if closely watched, may be overheard to mutter between its teeth, with heart-sick impatience, 'Ah! would it were.'"

In this strain the subject is pursued through two pages,—the



non-admission of the Jews to Parliament being one of the offences against Christianity laid at the door of the State Church,—and the *refrain* of the balderdash is still and again, “For goodness’ sake, take care of the baby.”

We will not abuse the patience of our readers, which we fear we have already put to a sufficiently severe trial, by opposing serious arguments to such slanderous and scurrilous trash. Without a sample or two, however, of the “spiritual weapons” with which the Association carries on its warfare, it would have been impossible to give the reader an adequate idea of its real character. As regards the practical means adopted for the more effectual diffusion of all these lies and calumnies under the appropriate label of “dissenting truth,” the Reports of the Society furnish some curious information, a short abstract of which will enable the reader to appreciate more correctly the mischievous influence of the Association upon the public mind, and the degree of success which has hitherto attended its operations.

One of the first means contemplated, and which at the outset seems to have been regarded with much favour by the Executive Committee, was the issue of tracts, both in monthly series of larger tracts, and in a shorter form, under the title “Tracts for the Million.” The following statistical table will at one view give an idea of the working of this branch of the movement:—

Year.	Number of Tracts.	Payments for printing, including reprints.			Amount of Sale.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1844-5	{ 6 larger Tracts 5 „ }	154	2	7	117	15	2
1845-6	{ 8 larger Tracts 17 Tracts for the Million }	82	0	4	158	10	11
1846-7	3 larger Tracts	167	15	6	72	0	5
1847-8	{ 6 larger Tracts 5 Lectures 5 Tracts for the Million }	178	11	6	86	13	0

The return of the numbers printed, and of the extent of circulation, for the first three years, as laid before the first triennial Conference, gives the following results:—

Number of Tracts.	Number of Copies printed.	Number of Sheets printed.	Number of Tracts disposed of.
22 larger Tracts	81,500	138,000	68,000
17 Tracts for the Million	120,000	20,000	90,000

We have taken the trouble of comparing with the last-named statement the data contained in the annual balance sheets, and



while it appears that the expense of printing is about what might be expected from the publication return, it is perfectly clear that the number of tracts stated to have been circulated would, after making deductions of every kind, have produced a sum nearly double that which is actually entered in the accounts under the head "sale of books:" whence it is fair to conclude, that the circulation is not, at least not as far as *sale* is concerned, a *bonâ fide* one, but that the number of publications really sold amounts to scarcely more than one-half of the number set down in the reports. This, together with the circumstance that there is a visible diminution in the number of tracts published in successive years,—the monthly series being discontinued after the first year, and the later tracts such as were called forth by special occasions,—and a still more sensible diminution in the amount of the sale during the last two years, appears to justify the inference that upon trial the Association found the publication of tracts a less efficacious means of extending its influence, than had at first been thought, and that in consequence of this it became a secondary object with the Executive Committee, and gave way to other and more promising operations.

Among these the delivery of lectures, at public meetings gathered for the purpose, occupies the first place in point of importance and success. The campaign was opened in London; and in May, 1845, the Council report as follows:—

"The Committee judged it important to commence action in the metropolis. They wished to demonstrate to their friends in the country their readiness to grapple, at starting, with that stolid indifference to great principles which is too truly supposed to characterize London and its neighbourhood. They were able, moreover, by such an arrangement, to do the most work at the least cost; and they believed that whatever warmth they might be able to excite in the heart of the empire, would quickly find its way to the extremities. They, therefore, made arrangements for the delivery of a series of lectures, in different parts of the metropolis, during the winter months. Some difficulty was at first experienced in obtaining the use of suitable chapels for the purpose—a difficulty which lessened as time wore on. The town was divided into eight districts, a local committee was appointed for each, and several lectures were delivered in every district, not in the same place of worship, but as often as possible in different ones, in order that the audiences on every occasion might constitute fresh ground in which to scatter the seed of truth. Thirty-five lectures have been delivered, under this arrangement, during the past four or five months—five by the Rev. Dr. Cox; seven by Mr. Miall; two by the Rev. C. Stovel; five by the Rev. J. Carlile; six by the Rev. W. Forster; six by the Rev. John Burnet; one by the Rev. John Stevenson; two by Mr. Hooper; and one by the Rev. E. Halliday. The

attendance upon these lectures was, of course, various; but it is gratifying to the Committee to be able to state that it steadily increased from the commencement; that, so far as facts have come to their knowledge, they have done not a little to create an interest in the proceedings of the Association; and that, at the close of each lecture, several new members were enrolled, and many copies of the Society's publications were disposed of."

From this modest account of the result of these thirty-five lectures, we conclude that the general mass of the metropolitan dissenting public are not quite as ripe for the "apostolical" process, as Dr. Wardlaw calls it, of "pulling down the Church," as the Committee of the Anti-State-Church Association could wish. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact, that in the following two years the number of additional lectures in the metropolis did not much exceed fifteen; and in the Report of the Executive Committee to the first triennial Conference the metropolis is thus briefly dismissed:—

"The metropolis has not been forgotten. Upwards of fifty lectures have been delivered, and several public meetings, besides the annual meetings of the Association, have been held in London and its immediate suburbs."

The last Annual Report, read at the meeting of the Association in May, 1848, contains the following apologetic account of the contracted nature of its metropolitan operations:—

"The Committee, feeling themselves pledged to fulfil the engagements which had been publicly announced, thought it prudent to confine their operations in the metropolis within a narrower compass than on former occasions. In October last, the public meeting usually held at that period of the year took place at the London Tavern, the Committee having been denied the use of Exeter Hall, for which they had applied. The large numbers who were then unable to gain admission, satisfied them that it would be absolutely necessary to take steps for providing a more spacious place for their future meetings. A large public meeting was also held in the month of April, at the Southwark Literary Institution; the result of the formation of a local committee for the south of London.

"In default of other public meetings, the Committee arranged a series of lectures to be delivered in the theatre of the City of London Literary Institution, on topics bearing on the more recent aspects of the Anti-State-Church controversy. The subjects of the lectures, which were delivered in March and April, and the names of the lecturers, were as follows:—'The present state of the Church Establishment illustrative of the evils necessarily resulting from the connexion of the Church with the State,' J. H. Tillet, Esq.;—'The endowment of all religious sects,' Rev. John Burnet;—'What is the separation of Church and State?'

Edward Miall, Esq.;—‘ Church property—whose is it ?’ Rev. J. H. Hinton, M.A. ;—‘ The duty of Christian citizens in relation to Church Establishments,’ Rev. J. P. Mursell.

“ An earlier period had been named for the commencement of the course ; but, on the eve of the usual announcement being made, a course of lectures on Popular Education was announced by the Congregational Board of Education, to be delivered about the same time, and the Committee, anxious to afford every assistance to such a project, immediately postponed their own course. The lectures have, since their delivery, been published in a cheap form, as part of the series of tracts of the Association, and will, no doubt, have a very wide circulation.”

All this speaks well for the good sense of the metropolis, as well as for the discretion of “ the powers that be ” in Exeter Hall, who appear to be duly sensible that the firm of Cox, Miall, and Co. is not a “ safe concern.”

The Association does not appear to have been much more successful in another field of labour, which might justly have been thought more promising. A visit into Wales by “ the Rev.” Mr. or Dr. Carlile (he appears to have proceeded to his doctor’s degree in “ dissenting truth ” while thus employed in its dissemination) in the autumn of 1844, and again in the summer of 1845, produced in the former year a “ resolution,” passed by “ the friends of the movement,” that it was desirable to “ register themselves as members ” of the Association ; and in the latter year “ a strong desire that measures might be taken for sending a numerous deputation to both sections of the Principality.” The resolution and the desire appear, however, to have proved equally inoperative. We do not learn when and where the resolution was adopted, or how many followed it up by registering themselves ; and of the progress of the “ numerous deputation ” no trace is to be found in subsequent Reports. On the contrary, the Report to the First Triennial Conference says, “ North and South Wales have received some, although, as yet, comparatively slight, attention ; ” to which the Annual Report of the present year, adds, that “ the Rev. D. R. Stephen, of Manchester, devoted several weeks, in the summer of last year, to the delivery of lectures in various towns in the southern districts of the Principality.”

Meanwhile the Executive Committee hit upon the expedient of employing a paid lecturer, who should go from place to place, hawking the principles, or rather the unprincipled misrepresentations, of the Association. This idea suggested itself at an early period, in consequence of the difficulty of getting up lectures in the provinces. In the Report of 1845 we read—

“In the prosecution of these various labours, the Executive Committee have been repeatedly and urgently reminded of the necessity which exists for employing, as soon as possible, and to as great an extent as their funds will allow, some stated and salaried agency, to follow up and turn to account the visits of deputations. Those visits are necessarily brief, the interest which they excite soon dies away, and the public mind, touched only here and there upon the surface, soon loses whatever useful impressions may have been produced upon it. The Committee, after mature consultation and deliberation, proceeded to seek for the entire service of some individual, well qualified to lecture, and to take prominent part at public meetings, and at the same time possessed of suitable business habits, whom they might employ in visiting, stirring up, and organizing whole districts of the country. Two gentlemen, whose services they solicited, declined, although most courteously, the invitation of the Committee; and unable, after much and frequent inquiry, to fix their eye upon any person at once competent for the work, and likely to undertake it, they inserted an advertisement in the public prints, announcing their wants, and inviting communications. To that advertisement eighteen answers have been received; and the Committee confidently hope that they will be able to select from among the applicants a gentleman in all respects suited to the work to be entrusted to him.”

The suggestion thus thrown out by the Committee was formally adopted by the Council in a distinct resolution, and the Report for 1846 announces the appointment of “a properly-qualified stated lecturer,” in the person of “John Kingsley, Esq., B.A. of Trinity College, Dublin, and of Highbury College, University of London.” At the meeting of the first triennial Conference, in 1847, his services, seconded by “voluntary zeal,” chiefly on the part of members of the Executive Committee, are spoken of in terms of approbation; and from the Report of the present year, it appears that his harangues, delivered in all parts of the country where a hearing is to be procured for Anti-State-Church agitation, constitute an important feature in the proceedings of the Association. In giving an account of their operations, the Committee state—

“They have consisted mainly in the oral exposition and enforcement of Anti-State-Church principles, by means of public meetings and lectures, and in the organization of local committees throughout the country. The public meetings have been attended by deputations from the Executive Committee, and the lectures have been delivered, for the most part, by Mr. Kingsley.

“Regarding the visits of deputations throughout the country as an essential means of awakening and sustaining an interest in the movements of the Association, the Executive Committee, in the autumn of last year, marked out such districts in England as might, in their judgment, be most conveniently and advantageously visited before the close

of the following spring. They have great pleasure in reporting that this arduous and important work has proceeded without interruption, and is now advancing to completion. The extent of the ground which has thus been occupied will be best seen by an enumeration of the various towns, arranged according to their several districts :—

“**YORKSHIRE.**—Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax, Doncaster, Wakefield, Barnsley, Sheffield (2), Dewsbury, Heckmondwike, York, Malton, Whitby, Scarborough, Hull, Beverley, Leeds (2), Farsley, Pontefract.

“**DURHAM.**—Darlington, Sunderland, Stockton-on-Tees, Durham.

“**NORTHUMBERLAND.**—Newcastle-on-Tyne, Shields, Alnwick, Winlaton.

“**LANCASHIRE.**—Manchester, Liverpool, Bolton, Rochdale, Oldham, Preston, Blackburn, Todmorden, Bury, Bacup, Burnley, Marsden, Colne, Clitheroe.

“**CHESHIRE.**—Stockport.

“**ESSEX.**—Chelmsford, Coggeshall, Witham, Billericay, Maldon, Walthamstow, Braintree, Colchester, Halstead.

“**NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK.**—North Walsham, East Dereham, Downham, Lynn, Bury St. Edmunds, Norwich.

“**WESTERN COUNTIES.**—Ebley, Gloucester, Nailsworth, Stroud, Wotton, Bath, Bristol, Evesham, Moreton, Blockley.

“**MIDLAND COUNTIES.**—Leicester, Harborough, Wellingborough.”

Several of these places were included in the operations of Mr. Kingsley and the “deputations” in the previous year, as appears from the following list of places visited in England, which was presented to the triennial Conference in 1847 :—

“Newcastle-on-Tyne, Sunderland, South Shields, Manchester, Liverpool, Rochdale, Bolton, Warrington, Sheffield, Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Northampton, Bristol, Bath, Gloucester, Stroud, Tavistock, Exeter, Devonport, Plymouth, Southampton, Ipswich, &c.”

In addition to the co-operation at the public meetings above enumerated, it further appears, from the Report of 1848, that he had been busy during the year 1847-8 in delivering lectures in the following places :—

“**BEDFORDSHIRE.**—Dunstable, Leighton, Luton.

“**BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.**—Chalvey, Newport Pagnell.

“**ESSEX.**—Braintree, Chelmsford, Dunmow, Felsted, Finchingfield, Stebbing, Weathersfield.

“**GLOUCESTERSHIRE.**—Gloucester, Longhope, Lydney, Coleford, Woodley, King-Stanley, Stonehouse, Cinderford, Winchcomb.

“**KENT.**—Dover, Margate, Ramsgate.

“**LANCASHIRE.**—Blackburn, Chorley (2), Darwen, Middleton, Todmorden, Wigan.

“**NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM.**—Hexham, Middlesborough, Morpeth, Shotley, Winlaton.

**“YORKSHIRE.—Bramley, Beverley, Boroughbridge, Driffield, Easingwold, Idle, Holmfirth, Hull, Howden, Knaresborough, Knottingley, Morley, Market Weighton, Northallerton, Hunslet, Holbeck, Ripon, Thirsk, York, Pocklington.”**

As regards the success which attended his labours, the same Report says—

**“The reception he has met with has been such as greatly to sustain him in his labours, the audiences being generally large and spirited. Usually discussion has been invited; and on three or four occasions clergymen thought proper to offer some vindication of their cherished system from the charges preferred against it.”**

Among the notable schemes devised by the inexhaustible invention of the Executive Committee, was at one time that of holding Anti-State-Church *soirées*, putting the tongues of the fair sex in requisition, with a view to make Anti-State-Churchism “fashionable.” To the honour of the better half of humankind, we are happy to be enabled to record that this project proved a complete failure, and that the gentlemen of the Executive Committee had to fall back upon their own unassisted energies.

After this exhibition of the apparatus which the Anti-State-Church Association has set in motion, it will naturally occur to our readers to ask what is the result that has hitherto attended their endeavours to bring the Church into disrepute, and to pave the way for her destruction. The account given by the Committee in their latest document, the Report of 1848, is most flourishing; their proceedings, it is there stated, have “not only effected their immediate object, but have also tended to inspire confidence in the organization itself, as adopting, with energy and skill, the means best suited for advancing the growth of those principles which it wishes to see triumphant.” “Judging by the character of the public meetings,”—that is to say, we apprehend, the degree of applause with which railing against the Church was received by motley audiences,—the question is “taking a deep and increasing hold upon the public mind.” This, even after making allowance for the possibility of the Committee taking a somewhat sanguine view of their own achievements, sounds not a little alarming for the Church; and we were therefore induced to make certain calculations, upon the data supplied by the Anti-State-Church Association itself, with a view to arrive at something like an approximative estimate of the numerical strength of the Association.

The first publication of a list of subscriptions and donations is appended to the proceedings of the first triennial Conference in 1847. The number of donors and subscribers in that list is 1076;



including Ireland and Scotland, which, judging from the list of the Council, supply about one-fifth of the strength of the whole Association. In that list, however, contributions of ten shillings and upwards only are recorded; and as every person contributing one penny per month, or one shilling annually, is qualified to place his name on the register as a member of the mighty confederation, it becomes a point of interest to ascertain, if possible, how many of these shilling members the Association might number. Now, it appears from the treasurer's Report, presented to the triennial Conference, that the amount of

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions was in the year 1846-7 . . . . .	985	7	10
Donations in the same year . . . . .	242	8	11
The Donors' list appended to the Report of 1847, appears, however, to include the Donations of the two preceding years; these, therefore, must be added; viz. Donations in 1844-5 . . . . .	408	10	10
Ditto ditto 1845-6 . . . . .	99	19	3
	<hr/>		
Making a total of . . . . .	1686	6	10
The total amount of Donations and Subscriptions acknowledged against the names of the 1076 Donors and Subscribers in the list, we found to be	1473	16	0
Leaving an amount, contributed by Subscribers under ten shillings each, of . . . . .	£212	10	10

Many of these contributors, it may fairly be assumed, are contributors of more than the *minimum* of one shilling per annum; but as, on the other hand, the list of 1076 contains entries from donors "and friends," and as we are anxious to give the Association the benefit of any magnitude which can by possibility be extracted from its own data, we will assume the 212*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* to be derived entirely from shilling contributors. This would give

Shilling Members . . . . .	4250
Contributors of ten shillings and upwards	1076
	<hr/>
Total of Members . . . . .	5326
Deduct for Scotland and Ireland one-fifth	1065
There remain for England and Wales at the utmost . . . . .	4261 Members.

A similar calculation, from the date of the Report of 1848, gives the following results:—



		£	s.	d.
In Treasurer's Report, Subscriptions	.	955	10	10
Ditto Donations	.	443	7	0
		<u>1398</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>10</u>
Sum total of Contributors acknowledged by name		1162	3	0
		<u>£236</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>

Number of Contributors of ten shillings and upwards	1026
Number of Shilling Members, supposing the 236 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> all to be derived from contributors of one shilling annually	4734
Total of Members	5760
Deduct for Scotland and Ireland one-fifth	1152
There remain for England and Wales at the utmost	4608 Members.

We cannot congratulate the Anti-State-Church Association upon this result of its undoubtedly strenuous exertions. We look to the gross Cash Account, and we find the receipts to be as follows :

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Donations in	1844-5	408	10	10			
	1845-6	99	19	3			
	1846-7	242	8	11			
	1847-8	443	7	0			
		<u>1194</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>			
Subscriptions in	1844-5	409	11	11			
	1845-6	509	5	3			
	1846-7	935	7	10			
	1847-8	955	10	10			
		<u>2809</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>			
Sale of publications in	1844-5	117	15	2			
	1845-6	158	10	11			
	1846-7	72	0	5			
	1847-8	86	13	0			
		<u>434</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>6</u>			
Proceeds of Soirées at the London Tavern in	1845-6	66	0	0			
At Liverpool in	1846-7	33	9	0			
Proceeds of Lecture at Liverpool in	1846-7	2	1	6			
		<u>101</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>			
Gross total of Receipts		<u>£4540</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>			

Thus it appears, as the result of four years' speaking, canting, railing, and lying, and with an expenditure of, at the most moderate calculation, from fifteen to sixteen shillings a head recruiting money, the zealous and active promoters of this movement have not been able to muster as many as six thousand members in the United Kingdom, nor as many as five thousand throughout England and Wales, to enlist themselves in their unholy crusade against the Church of Christ in this land. This is undoubtedly satisfactory, as far as the Church is concerned; it proves that if the Church is,—and we do not wish to deny that she may be,—in a critical position, the dangers that beset her are of a different kind altogether from those which are prepared for her by the efforts of the Anti-State-Church Association. Nor can we help thinking, that an Executive Committee of fifty, a Council of five hundred, and a Conference of five hundred and sixty delegates, are amply sufficient to represent a *maximum* of 5760 members.

Having ascertained the extent of the mischief itself, we confess that we felt some curiosity to find out, if possible, whether there was, in the localities selected by the Executive Committee for its operations, as the most promising, any thing to account even for that very moderate measure of success which has hitherto attended their unhallowed efforts. If—it appeared to us fair to argue—the Church is really the source of the frightful evils so eloquently depicted in the tracts issued by this Committee, it will follow, as a matter of course, that the Anti-State-Church Association will be in its greatest strength wherever the Church system is most fully in operation; the more efficient the Church, the more keenly must the nuisance be felt, if, indeed, she be a nuisance; and the greater, therefore, the chance of success for Dr. Cox, Mr. Miall, Mr. Kingsley, and all the rest of the Anti-State-Church orators and pamphleteers. Cogent as this reasoning is upon the premises of the Anti-State-Church Association, we find—we will not affect to say, to our surprise—just the contrary to be the case. We have been at the pains of tracing out the diocesan and parochial whereabouts of the different districts from which the five hundred and sixty delegates of the Anti-State-Church Conference in 1847 were drawn. We have had recourse to the population returns, and ascertained the general average of souls falling to the charge of one clergyman (including curates in the calculation) in each diocese; and also, in the particular districts of the dioceses upon which the Anti-State-Church has fastened, both the average of population, in comparison with the number of clergy, in all the infected districts within the same diocese, and the amount of population to one clergyman in the most destitute of those districts; and further, we have reckoned up

the amount of provision made for the support of the clergy in those districts ; taking an average of them all, and the *minimum* of remuneration in the worst provided district<sup>1</sup>. To enter into the details of these calculations would far exceed our limits ; we must be content to present to our readers the general result :—

Dioceses.	Average Number of Souls to one Clergyman in the Diocese.	Number of Anti-State-Church Association Districts.	Number of Delegates to the Anti-State-Church Conference.	Number of Souls to one Clergyman.		Provision for the Clergy.	
				In the average of Districts.	In the most destitute Districts.	Average.	Minimum.
Peterborough . . .	670	18	49	1916	4132	192	67
Rochester . . .	1800	18	42	1578	3670	207	78
Metropolitan Districts of London and Winton Dioceses . . . . .	3500	17	63	3341	9664	194	96
Ripon . . . . .	2400	16	62	5085	9313	118	78
Norwich . . . . .	770	15	38	1327	4954	131	76
London, exclusive of the Metropolis	2100	15	37	2065	7286	181	90
Winchester, exclusive of the Metropolis . . . . .	1300	15	32	2128	3639	131	51
Ely . . . . .	250	12	21	1193	2582	189	59
Oxford . . . . .	400	12	20	2063	5593	184	90
Chester . . . . .	2500	10	36	5468	9650	110	78
Gloucester and Bristol . . . . .	1300	9	20	2196	3414	160	72
Lichfield . . . . .	2000	9	17	3851	6729	183	76
Worcester . . . . .	710	8	22	3310	5188	144	104
Exeter . . . . .	1200	6	14	2009	4831	88	23
Llandaff . . . . .	940	6	11	3606	7471	110	50
Canterbury . . . . .	1100	6	9	1909	2809	222	115
Lincoln . . . . .	870	5	8	3669	5394	185	92
York . . . . .	860	4	7	4851	6384	130	98
St. David's . . . . .	870	3	5	3787	4778	143	72
Hereford . . . . .	630	3	4	1703	1930	243	110
Durham . . . . .	2000	3	3	4385	8511	112	102
St. Asaph . . . . .	1300	2	2	1955	2307	136	130
Bath and Wells . . . . .	870	1	2	—	1410	—	166
Salisbury . . . . .	740	1	2	—	1253	—	60
Bangor . . . . .	830	1	2	—	424	—	557
Carlisle . . . . .	1000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chichester . . . . .	960	—	—	—	—	—	—

<sup>1</sup> From this calculation the incomes of churches and chapels dependent on pew rents are necessarily excluded, as of these there are no returns. This, however, does not affect the argument, as these have sprung up in consequence of the insufficiency of a stated provision for the clergy, and as the evils on which the Anti-State-Church Association sustains itself, originate in the very same cause. The clergy of these churches, however, have been included, in calculating the average of souls to one clergyman.

In looking over this table, although on comparing the first and second columns there appears to be no analogy between the proportion of clergy to the people, and the progress of the Anti-State-Church movement in the respective dioceses,—some dioceses which are better provided with clergy on an average, presenting a greater number of Anti-State-Church Association districts than others in which the insufficiency of clergy is much greater,—yet it will be found, on casting the eye across to the fourth and fifth columns, that in those better supplied dioceses there are districts miserably deficient, and that it is in these districts that the Anti-State-Church movement has found its field of action. Take, for example, the very first, the diocese of Peterborough—though on an average of the whole diocese there is one clergyman to every 670 souls, in the districts in which the Anti-State-Church movement has taken place, there is only one clergyman to 1900 souls on an average, and, in the worst supplied of those districts the number of souls under the charge of one clergyman exceeds 4000. On comparing the first with the fourth and fifth columns, it will further appear, that in all the districts where the Anti-State-Church Association has taken root, the proportion of population falling to the charge of one clergyman considerably exceeds the average of the diocese; being scarcely in any case less than double, frequently four and five times, and, in one case (in the diocese of Oxford), fourteen times the average number. Not less remarkable are the results which present themselves on examining the last two columns. Leaving the solitary parish in the diocese of Bangor, which is altogether exceptional<sup>2</sup>, out of the question, there are but three dioceses in which the average provision for the clergy, in those districts which have afforded scope for Anti-State-Church Association proceedings, exceeds two hundred pounds; in eight more it varies between one hundred and fifty and two hundred; in ten, between one hundred and one hundred and fifty; and in one it falls below one hundred: making it evident, that while the number of clergy is painfully insufficient, the support of that insufficient number of labourers is likewise insufficient in the extreme, and that it would be wholly impracticable to maintain a larger number of clergymen out of the existing resources. The last column, exhibiting clerical incomes from a little more than one hundred pounds in a few instances, down to sixty, fifty, and even twenty-three pounds, and that in a diocese where the number of souls cast upon the care of one individual varies, in the Anti-State-Church districts, be-

<sup>2</sup> It is the parish of Llanfacreth in Anglesey; it does not appear in the Clergy List; in the Clerical Guide published in 1836 it appears, but without Incumbent.

tween two thousand, and near upon five thousand, furnishes the most lamentable evidence of the want of such a provision for the clergy as would enable them to devote themselves wholly to the charge of their flocks, and admit of a multiplication of ministers in proportion to the increase of population. And yet, in spite of all these crying deficiencies, the Anti-State-Church Association can, with all its appliances, fair means and foul, not manage to get together five thousand people in all the dioceses of England and Wales, who think it worth while to contribute the weight of their name, and a shilling per annum, towards the overthrow of an institution which the Committee of that Association, by its paid and unpaid lecturers, represent in the most hideous and hateful aspect. We feel almost disposed to thank the Anti-State-Church Association on behalf of the Church, for the evidence it has unwittingly furnished of the moral strength, which, in spite of the machinations of her enemies, the Church still possesses.

We are quite aware, that the Anti-State-Church advocates will plead in reply, that all this is owing to the vicious principle of State support of the Church, and that if matters had been left to the operation of the voluntary principle, no such deficiencies would ever have arisen. It is hardly worth while to argue against an assumption so purely gratuitous; yet there are a few facts to which it may not be amiss to point attention.

In the first place, it is a great mistake (if not worse) to allege that the State support, or, more correctly speaking, the endowment, of the Church, partly by private munificence, and partly by the State, excludes the principle of voluntary support of the ministers. It is a well-known fact, that a very large portion of the aggregate amount of income annually provided for the ministers of the Church, arises from pew-rents and other voluntary contributions; and the probability is, that if returns could be obtained of these voluntary contributions of Churchmen towards the support of the clergy of the Establishment, the amount of them would be found quite equal to, if not considerably exceeding, the contributions levied upon the voluntary principle among all the dissenting sects put together. When, therefore, we find that there still are deficiencies so lamentable as those pointed out, the only rational conclusion to be drawn from such a state of facts is, that the voluntary principle being inadequate to make up the deficiency, the State is not justified in leaving the duty which devolves upon it of providing for the spiritual necessities of the people to the chance of voluntary efforts; that the State provision ought to be increased, so as to meet the increased wants of the population. And this position we are prepared to maintain, irrespectively of the amount of help to be derived from

the appropriation of surplus revenues which may have been accumulated in some quarters—for the most consummate *Horsmanship* will fail to make the existing revenues of the Church yield an adequate support for an ecclesiastical establishment of an extent commensurate with the wants of the population.

The next fact which we think it worth while to bring under notice, in connexion with this subject, is the gross inconsistency of the Anti-State-Church Association. While that body, through its official organs, is opening its mouth wide against the Establishment, on account of those permanent endowments of the Church, which, after all, were in their origin voluntary gifts and grants, the Association itself urges the desirableness, in its own case, of a permanent provision being made for the support of its operations. The tone of the Committee on this subject grows really lamentable, as well as laughable, as time advances. The first programme of the voluntary “Reverend,” J. P. Mursell, of Leicester, adopted by the Conference in 1844, suggests that “the society should not enter on its labours, until it had *secured an income* of two or three thousand pounds a year.” For the assertion of a mere negation this can scarcely be called a modest allowance, and the public, the very followers of voluntaryism and “dissenting truth,” seem to have been of the same opinion; for notwithstanding this suggestion, and sundry broad hints in the Report of 1845, that “*a permanent income, amply sufficient,*” should be placed at the disposal of the Committee, followed by a resolution of the Council, or legislature of this little *imperium in imperio*, that “a sum not less than 3000*l.* should be raised” for the use of the Association, the Executive Committee have, in the Report of 1846, occasion to express their regret that they have “not succeeded in effecting this desirable object.” After a somewhat ludicrous description of the methods resorted to by them for the purpose of “stimulating the friends of the voluntary principle to afford *substantial proof of their consistency* and zeal,”—the *soirées* among others,—the Committee assure the Council that they “have left untried no means of augmenting the income of the Association which their ingenuity could devise, or propriety could warrant.”

Upon this touching statement the Council founded a resolution, appealing to the consciences of the members at large, to display a proper sense of their obligations as Anti-State-Churchmen: but all in vain! There was, indeed, a tolerable increase in the subscriptions and donations of the two following years, but still, under a sense of the insufficiency and insecurity of their income, the Committee, in their Report of the present year, again dwell upon “the absolute necessity of *securing* a large,

*steady*, and *unfailing* fund, on a scale commensurate with the deep importance of the subject, and with its rising claims." We are at a loss to understand the difference between an *endowment*, and the "*securing of a steady and unfailing fund*;" our impression always was, that this was precisely the object which the sovereigns and private individuals had in view, who provided endowments for the Church; and the only real difference between the two cases is, that in the former case the piety of our forefathers did for the support of the Church, what these gentlemen wish to obtain for her destruction. May they long want it!

But the Anti-State-Church Association furnishes us with yet further evidence of the utter folly and impracticability of making the support of the Church, in the existing state of society, dependent on the action of that voluntary principle which they so valiantly recommend, and so dolefully practise. If the statements of the Committee may be relied on—and, as often as they bear witness against themselves, we do think them worthy of credit,—the purely voluntary contributions of their members are yielded with all the grudging of a compulsory payment. In the Report of 1845 we have the following complaint:—

"The Conference, with a view to extend as widely as possible the constituency of the Association, and an interest in its objects, fixed the *minimum* amount of subscription, constituting membership, at one shilling per annum. Owing, it is supposed, to a misunderstanding of the end sought by this arrangement, it was found greatly to restrict the liberality of the supporters of the movement. The Committee found that, in some instances, even when a higher rate of subscription was paid by members, a shilling only, in each case of membership, was transmitted to them—the surplus being retained for local agitation, and for the purchase of publications; whilst, in a great proportion of instances, the *minimum* sum was adopted, even by those who could afford, and were willing, upon a due representation of the case, to give more."

This is bad enough,—but what will be thought, beyond the precincts of voluntaryism, of the following lament, which occurs in this year's report:—

"The Committee, however, seriously press upon the Council the absolute necessity of securing a large, steady, and unfailing fund, on a scale commensurate with the deep importance of the subject, and with its rising claims. They fear that many of their friends have contributed *but nominal sums*" (out upon "*willinghood!*" fie! fie!) "*as annual subscriptions, under the impression that nothing further was required of them—a circumstance from which the Society's income has already suffered.*"

Can there be a greater proof of the failure of the voluntary system than the very experience of the Anti-State-Church Asso-



ciation itself? or a more tangible instance of hypocrisy and wickedness, than the attempt to deprive a national Church of the support (a very inadequate one, as it is) provided for it by the free-will offerings of past ages, and the statutes of the land enacted before the State had lost its character as a moral person, and its consequent sense of religious obligation,—and to cast the millions—millions of absolutely poor among the number—of which that Church is the teacher, upon the support of a principle which its most zealous advocates find themselves utterly unable to work on the most limited scale; and that for a purpose bearing as directly upon that delicate *sensorium*, the pocket, as an anti-tithe and anti-church-rate campaign, and therefore so evidently calculated to flatter the passions, and, for a time at least, to captivate the minds of the unthinking multitude? To the point last alluded to, the voluntaries of the Anti-State-Church Association are perfectly alive; they know, as well as anybody, for they have tried it, that it is easier to support by voluntary contributions a partisan cause, under the excitement of the popular passions, than any object of solid good, which appeals only to the conscience and to a sense of religion. One of the most *naïve* admissions we ever remember to have met with, is that made on this subject by Dr. Wardlaw in his essay on “the Principle of Voluntaryism,” read at the first conference. In allusion to the then recent disruption between the Presbyterian establishment in Scotland and the Free Church, the writer, after expressing his gratification that such decided opponents of voluntaryism as the seceders had been, should have been driven to have recourse to it, and “honoured to bring before the world one of the finest manifestations of its power that have for many a day been witnessed,” guards himself against the supposition that he ascribes all that has been done to “the right principle in unmingled purity.” He thinks it very likely that “the *esprit de corps* may have had its influence, as well as faith and love; the spirit of party, as well as the spirit of piety;” and he does not think it at all impossible that “from this cause there might be some little disappointment experienced when the impetus of a mighty movement begins to subside.” If there were need of any further evidence as to the insufficiency of the voluntary principle to meet the religious wants of a large population, not to speak of an entire nation, we might find it in the tenacity with which, in spite of the remonstrances of the Anti-State-Church Association, starving dissenting preachers cling, naturally enough, to the pittance of the *regium donum*; and in the striking fact, worthy of permanent record, that at this year’s conference of the Wesleyan Connexion several circuits requested that no minister might be appointed for them,

unless the Conference were prepared very considerably to contribute towards their support.

But it is needless to dwell any longer on this point. The spouters and pamphleteers of the Anti-State-Church Association,—among whom, we should not omit to mention, is F. W. Newman, Esq., formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford<sup>2</sup>, and brother, we believe, of the Father Oratorian of the same inauspicious name,—cannot, one should imagine, themselves ever so remotely cherish the supposition, that if the endowments of the Church were swept away to-morrow, sufficient support for an adequate number of ministers—of whatever creed—could be raised upon the voluntary principle. The truth is, as we clearly showed at the outset, they have no fixed religious principles; they are indifferentists in religion, and therefore, by necessary consequence, indifferentists towards religion; for men who are careless of the true doctrines of religion, are sure to be careless of religion of any kind. The real object which the Anti-State-Church Association is driving at, is not religious, but purely political and utilitarian. To get rid of the influence of Church principles in the whole framework of society, and to perpetrate a wholesale act of spoliation, by confiscating for State purposes, to be participated in by themselves, the endowments of the Church, is their true and their only aim.

The question whether in this their nefarious purpose they shall succeed, is happily a question in no degree dependent on them and on their evil will towards our Zion: it is a question on which, under God, the conduct of the Church herself will be mainly decisive. Neither is it, as many imagine, a question between the Church and the nation; it is a question between prosperity and utter ruin, to both the Church and the nation. They must flourish or perish together; as they both act, so shall they both fare. Still the greater responsibility rests with the Church—a responsibility beyond expression awful, at this moment, for those who are called to direct the counsels of the Church,—for this simple reason, that the Church is divinely commissioned to be the nation's teacher. Let not the Church then give occasion to men to mistake her for a merely human institution, a political corporation, whose chief object is to keep her wealth intact and her privileges inviolate, and who will, therefore, adapt herself and the principles she professes, to whatever the exigencies of the times may point out as most conducive to that end. Let her, on the contrary, at any risk, and at any cost, put forth her true character, and the deep

<sup>2</sup> There are two Tracts from his pen, one in 1845, entitled, "A State Church not defensible on the Theory espoused by liberal Episcopalians;" the other in 1846, "On the Illiberality of Sentiment and Practice apprehended from a Separating of Church and State."

and hidden energies with which she is endowed by her Lord, for the accomplishment of her divine mission to this nation ; and let her do it valiantly, boldly, in the perfect faith that if she will but be true to herself, her divine character is undeniable, her high claims are irresistible. "The Church," says the eloquent author of "the Gospel before the Age," whose beautiful and apposite words, rather than our own, shall conclude our observations, "the Church Apostolical, Catholic, and True, is an objective reality in the moral government of the Almighty, which defies all the vagaries of private judgment and human feeling to overthrow its claims to be considered, and revered, as divine. But sectarianism and dissent are altogether subjective novelties ; they are the mere creatures of opinion and will, reason and conscience ; and the very oldest among them is but of yesterday, in comparison with the one venerable Church of this country. Let then the statesman who wishes to rescue this country from social convulsion and moral decay, take his choice between these two appeals to his support and sympathy. On the one hand, here is sectarianism with its hundred tongues and Babylonian confusion, clamouring out, each against the other, and entreating the State to become atheistical, as fast as it can, by detaching its forms, faculties, and functions from all religious influence whatever. This is the Paradise of political freedom ! this is the dissenting millennium of religious liberty ! Now let the Christian legislator demand the basis on which this monstrous claim rests,—and where will he find it ? Why, in the corrupt depths of individual will, in the fluctuating opinions, feelings, prejudices, and passions of the human heart. Dissent is, from beginning to end, in origin, nature, and action, a subjective movement, having no outward authority from God, and no positive authentication from history or ancient tradition from man, to sanction its claims, and support its pretensions. On the other hand, there stands the CHURCH ! the one Apostolic, Catholic Communion of England ; and she claims to be the priestess, and educatrix, the spiritual guide, moral teacher, and social regenerator of the empire. Catholic is her name, because Christ is her Head, Apostles her founders, and Scripture her rule of faith, attested by the one Creed which martyrs and saints have ever visibly proclaimed and palpably taught. Neither civil power, nor human reason, nor conscience, nor will, nor expediency, nor social want, nor moral need, nor spiritual exigency, called this Church into being. She is no more created by man, than the earth on which he stands, or the atmosphere which he inhales. All here then is objective, outward, visible, undeniable, and invincible fact ; it glares on the practical conscience and into the plain reason, through the very senses of a candid statesman,—and thus he need not plead

that he is confounded by warring rivals and clashing sects, all proclaiming they each have the truth, and protesting against any political favour being shown to the other. The Church is not a sect: were she only one among sectarian forms of religious development, then indeed the State might be puzzled how to decide. But England's Church is a divine reality, and outward and historical truth, embodied in primeval rites, and public monuments, and traditional ceremonies, which are as externally obvious and authentic as the palpable phenomena of nature itself. Let then the Legislature but exercise a healthy judgment and honest discrimination; let it apply but a portion of that prudential common sense which it employs in questions of police, finance, and international law, and it will not have much difficulty in deciding between the claims of baseless dissent and a Catholic Church. And let us boldly add, that if the State really desires to do her duty towards God and Christ, towards the nation, nay, towards the Dissenters themselves, she must no longer assume a wavering position, halt, hesitate, tamper with conscience, trifle with principle, and crawl for ever in the venality and vileness of a pitiful expediency, but at once stand forth in the high majesty and holy rectitude of a Christian constitution, and say to sectarianism, 'We *tolerate* your existence as a necessary evil and social nuisance not to be avoided; but an external, positive, and divine organization, like the national Church in this country, is that religious communion which reason, revelation, conscience, and common honesty demand we should *sustain and encourage*.' Nor let it be forgotten, that inasmuch as no civil authority can ultimately be secure that is not based in the divine sanctions of revealed truth; and since revealed truth requires to be embodied in palpable forms, and attested by outward monuments and positive laws, in order to be rescued from the desolating havoc of private opinion and individual prejudice, so will the State herself only be saved from a dissenting process of political dissolution, by attaching herself unto the consolidating powers of a visible and apostolic Church. The more we reflect on the lawless democracy of modern creeds, the more certain it becomes, that magistracy, public education, missionary enterprise, the supremacy of law, colonization, commercial honour and public virtue, can only be preserved by the centralizing action and conservative efficacy of the English Church. If duly protected, strengthened and aided, under Christ, she may yet prove the 'salt' which shall keep from social putrefaction, and the 'light' which may save from spiritual darkness, this great but sinful country."—May that salt never lose its savour, nor be trodden under foot of the nation! May that light never become darkness, nor ever be put under a bushel by the State!

- ART. VII.—1. *The Gospel in Advance of the Age: being a Homily for the Times.* By the Rev. ROBERT MONTGOMERY, M.A., &c. Third Edition. Edinburgh: F. and T. Clark.
2. *Reciprocal Obligations of the Church and the Civil Power.* By JOHN LOCKHART ROSS, M.A., of Oriel College, Oxford, &c. Oxford: Parker.
3. *Church Leases; or, the Subject of Church Leasehold Property Considered, with a View to place it on a firmer Basis.* By W. H. GREY, Accountant. London: Ridgway.

THE unity of the Church is sometimes regarded as one of those abstract and high-wrought theories, which sound indeed very magnificent, but are of little practical value, and are not adapted to the wants and the circumstances of the human mind in the present day. Now we admit that the high duty of Christian union has seldom, if ever, been fully acted on. Division has too frequently and too long been the predominant characteristic of professing Christians, and in some times and places this has proceeded to such an extent as to produce a confusion or forgetfulness of some of the first principles of the Christian Church. But still the too prevalent system of division amongst Christians, is no more an argument against the duty and the possibility of union, than the prevalence of sin is against the duty and possibility of faith and holiness.

And we would add, that as Christianity infers holiness, so does it also infer a spirit of unity; and wherever it exists it produces, in a greater or less degree, the one and the other. It may be impossible for individuals, or for particular churches, to accomplish the mighty work of restoring perfect unity to the whole body of the Church, involving, as this would do, the alteration of deep-rooted habits, antipathies, ignorance, and errors. Individuals must look with wishful hearts to the time when this work shall be accomplished by the hand of God, to whom nothing is impossible. But there are certain duties and powers in connexion with the subject of Christian union which are actually within our reach; and our responsibilities are measured by the capacities we possess, and cannot overpass the limit of our opportunities. This is, we think, a truth which all Churchmen ought to bear in mind. They are not called upon to attempt to realize, in the world at large, results so difficult as those of changing suddenly a state of things which has sprung up in the course of ages, and which nothing

short of a miracle could alter at once. They must *bear with* the imperfections actually existing in the world at large, and apply themselves, in the first instance, to what is really within their reach. It may be, that if the duty immediately at hand is done, the opportunity may be afforded for entering, hereafter, on works of a wider and more comprehensive character.

We are anxious to dwell on the great duty of Christian union—of promoting harmony, and united action, amongst those whom it is in the power of our readers to influence in some degree. *In so far* as this can be obtained, in a right spirit, with right notions, and under a sense of duty, it is a vast benefit to the cause of Christianity, and may lead to results of the most important character.

The principle of Christian union of course excludes all compromise of religious truth, or of our own conscientious convictions of what is essentially important to Christianity. It may indeed be possible sometimes, without any compromise of truth, to co-operate with persons who are, more or less, in error; but Christian discretion and wisdom are shown by avoiding any thing which wears the character of union in what is wrong, or even of too close union with those who practise it. It is not the alliance of sects holding the most contradictory principles which we advocate; but the blameless co-operation, union, and fellowship of those who agree in the same great principles and views.

We admit, in a spirit of gratitude to God, that such union does to a considerable extent prevail in the English branch of the Catholic Church. Amidst much of party spirit, which we see with regret, but which does not cause any despondency, inasmuch as we hope to see its diminution or virtual extinction, there is still no lack of co-operation for common objects; and wherever this co-operation can be obtained, its results are generally very successful.

We may appeal to various facts as illustrative of the benefit of combined action for general objects. The attempted abolition of church-rates brought out a very striking evidence of the power which the Church possesses, under certain circumstances, of pronouncing a united opinion. The opposition to this measure was so strong and so unanimous, that the ministry were obliged to abandon it; and the question has remained dormant for a number of years. Again, the vigorous opposition which was made, by petition and otherwise, to the removal of the University tests, for the purpose of admitting dissenters, were successful; and the issue was—the erection of a University designed peculiarly for separatists from the Church. The benefit of union was shown, again, in the rescue of the see of Sodor and Man, and of the



Welsh sees of Bangor and St. Asaph, from their intended fate. And the same lesson is to be learnt from the gratifying results of the proceedings of the committee of archbishops and bishops appointed to promote the increase of the Colonial Episcopate. We might instance, on the other hand, the various measures injurious to the cause of religion and morality, which have been carried, chiefly in consequence of the want of union, or the supineness of the Church; but we refrain, for the present, from a more particular reference to this painful subject.

The unity of the Church, when realized in practice, and as far as it can be realized, is therefore a subject of the highest importance; but, important as it is at all times, there are periods when, humanly speaking, the fortunes of the Church depend almost entirely upon it.

There are times when the fortunes of systems and communities seem to be evenly balanced between prosperity and adversity, continuance and extinction—when Providence appears to place before us, in clear and bold relief, “life and death, blessing and cursing”—when the decrees of supreme destiny seem to be awaiting the results of human action—and the bold declaration of the poet is almost realized—

“MAN IS THE MAKER OF IMMORTAL FATE.”

The occurrence of such critical junctures is strongly evidenced by the frequency with which they appear in simple and popular fictions—those powerful shadows of deep realities—by the recognition of the fact in proverbs—the concentrated essence of the wisdom of ages—by the innate feeling in the heart of man that these things are so—that heart whose chords still ring responsive to their Maker’s touch—by the apparent testimony of fact—and by the sanction of the written word—yes, all these bear witness to the truth of the position, that there are turning points in the career of individuals, and schools, and communities, when a free choice is afforded us, and when upon our decision rests the high and perhaps durable exaltation, or the discomfiture and, it may be, extinction of our cause.

Such a crisis we believe to have arrived in the history of the English Church, and we rest our opinion not on this or that particular fact, not on the judgment of those with whom we more or less agree, much less upon any private notion of our own, but upon symptoms which are equally cognizable by all.

The first, and, to us, the most powerful proof that we are in peril, is the universally prevalent apprehension of coming evil—the *προσδοκία κακού*—the deeply-rooted, all-prevailing presentiment of approaching trial, which meets us at every turn. It is



not merely from some particular section of the Church that the cry ascends. It is not the more secular portion of the Church who have sounded the alarm, nor have the sincere and zealous champions of the whole counsel of God—the faith once delivered to the saints—alone perceived the danger. Nor is the perception of it confined to our own walls—friend and foe within and without are alike conscious of the fact.

Let us look at the religious periodicals, professing allegiance to the Church of England. One warns us of the secret spread of Romanizing tendencies; another is equally loud in its denunciation of a Puritan conspiracy; one believes the doctrine of baptismal regeneration to be in extreme danger; another announces our speedy renunciation of the “*signum stantis vel cadentis ecclesie*.” Our preachers are equally certain of impending evil, if we are to judge at least by their published sermons; whilst the Premier himself informs us, that so great and manifold are our dangers both internal and external, that nothing can save us from disgrace, ruin, and utter annihilation, but the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the see of Hereford!

And if we look outwards, and listen to the leaders, orators, and organs of those bodies which, whether in England or on the Continent, are separated from us by their renunciation of either the doctrine or the fellowship of the Apostles—or both, we shall find them presaging the downfall of our Church.

But this universal testimony of churchmen, dissenters, and men of all parties, is, after all, of less importance than the course of events which we see passing before our eyes. It may suit the purpose of politicians to make light of the measures which they have been themselves instrumental in introducing; but the Church, at least, ought not to blind herself to the real tendency and meaning of these things. Doubtless, those statesmen who confiscated half the Church property in Ireland; who repealed the test and corporation acts, and granted emancipation to Romanists; who have guarded and protected Romish charities, while they have withdrawn state support from Church education in Ireland; who have recognized the Romish hierarchy, established diplomatic relations with the pope, granted equal assistance from state funds to dissenting education and to the Church in England, pensioned Romanism in the colonies, and refused assistance to the Church as far as possible; and who are apparently bent on removing all religious tests, throwing open the Universities, admitting Jews and heathens to parliament—those statesmen, we say, *may* not have been actuated by hostility to the Church, and they would gladly persuade us that all their proceedings have tended to strengthen it. But the mere facts of the case are sufficient to

show the spirit of modern legislation, and it is useless to argue with those who will not or cannot see the *tendency* of the whole.

Mr. Montgomery, in the eloquent and able work which we have mentioned above, traces with great truth the evils of our social system, and points out as the only infallible remedy for them all—TRUE RELIGION; and the recognition of its claims by the rulers of the land. And most cordially do we go along with this author in his enunciation of this principle, at once so Christian, and so courageous. Would that such sentiments might gain the acceptance which they deserve from those to whom the destinies of this nation, humanly speaking, are entrusted! But at least we have reason to feel grateful to writers who, like Mr. Montgomery, expose the hollowness of the schemes by which politicians too frequently expect to promote the material and moral welfare of the community; and who draw attention to the true remedies for our national evils.

In reference to the present state of England, this writer has the following remarks:—

“Look to what quarter we may, on every side, *unrest without*, and *unspirituality within*, are sadly evidenced.

“1. *Without is unrest.* Monarchy questioned; the constitution assailed; the Church libelled; the civil power daunted; property trembling for its losses; the agricultural interest fast declining, and a bloated despotism of manufacturing lords trying to usurp its place; all this, together with democratic Chartism, domestic corruption, and a festering mass of destitute poor, creedless and helpless, swarming by millions in our empire, and left under the very palaces of wealth to far worse treatment than our market-cattle receive,—such is, in the main, not an overdrawn picture of what to a vast extent this apostate country of social extremes now presents!

“2. *Unspirituality within.*—This is apparent from the almost utter want of appeal to divine principles, precepts, and promises, which those in power display, when summoned to face the gigantic difficulties and dangers towering before them on all sides. A vast number of our political guides and parliamentary oracles appear to be cursed with a judicial blindness; they hardly dare to believe their own unbelief; they act as though invincible uncertainty were the iron law under which God has doomed this redeemed earth to stumble and stagger for evermore, and that henceforth Mammon must be our Paradise, expediency our Creed, and the Christless will of every voting majority our practical God. . . . Where public opinion becomes the guide of the government, and the Pope of a parliament, and an *unspiritual press the circulating Church of the country*, can we not hear that awful imprecation rolling forth from the throne of offended Majesty and grace, ‘Ephraim hath turned unto idols, LET HIM ALONE!’” (p. 21.)

And the evil is traced to its source in the inadequacy of the means possessed by the Church, for the support of the ministrations of religion throughout the land.

"Great and glorious as was the religious principle of the Reformation, it cannot be denied that some of its *political accompaniments* are for ever to be deplored. When that epoch of ecclesiastical Reform first began, nearly one-third portion of the landed estates of Great Britain were in the hands of regular or parochial clergy of the Romish Church. But what did the legislature of that day do? Why, not transfer the property from the hands of monastic abuse unto those of religious purity; but, by a daring and dismal act of sacrilege, enriched the nobles, courtiers, and civilians who had taken a prominent share in the work of the Reformation. Here is the '*sons malorum*,' the historical source of all our national difficulties and ecclesiastical deficiencies up to the existing hour. Had this enormous mass of consecrated wealth been reserved by the State, the National Church would have been enabled to keep pace with the progress of population, and to have expanded her ministering agencies to meet the wants of her members; but owing to this disastrous spoliation, and the cold selfishness of her own members, the Church has fallen almost irretrievably behind the ecclesiastical wants of a population now increasing at the rate of a thousand per day . . . It is also to be remembered that, after being thus sacrilegiously plundered at the Reformation, the evil doctrines of expediency, the corruptions of political cabal, together with Erastian influences, lax discipline, and a want of sound views as to the Divine organization of sacramental privileges,—all these elements of ruin have combined to lead the National Church into her present difficulties. But mark how all this bears on the duties of the civil power in the existing period. As long as the majority of the people were *outwardly* held together in a seeming attachment to the Church, the disproportion of the Church's resources to the number of the population escaped detection; but now, when tens of thousands in our great manufacturing cities have suddenly grown into being, who are without baptism, creed, or Church, the awful truth begins to appear. The clergy of the Anglican Church are *terrifically and increasingly disproportioned to the numbers of the people*; but it is *mainly* out of these neglected masses, and unparochial districts, where no priest has visited, where no church-bell has been heard, and no sacraments dispensed, and no life-giving truth been proclaimed, that dissent, heresy, schism, and revolutionary dogmas, have gathered their chief triumphs. And thus we reach another development in this question;—Protestant dissent, Roman schism, sectarian fanaticism, and every form of heretical teaching, have *had their representatives in the parliament of the nation*; and hence, through the vast pressure on the civil power from dissenterism, the legislature is becoming more and more paralysed when it attempts to deal with *THE ONE CHURCH* of the country amid the clamours of Sectarianism raging around her" (pp. 65, 66).

Such then are our dangers and evils, generally speaking, and as regards our outward frame and organization, and yet the case is not without hope. All the various parties to whom we have referred, while agreeing in the one statement that the Church is in danger, are equally unanimous in their opinion that there is a great hope, or, it may be, *fear* of her entire triumph.

You have reached, say they, a dangerous part of your voyage ; you are in shallow water, with a wind blowing freshly on one side, and a rocky lee shore on the other ; and there is a stormy headland to be passed, besides which you have evidently sprung a leak. There is a great chance of your going down from one or other of these causes, or all united ; and if you stay where you are, you will most assuredly either drift ashore, fall to pieces, or fill and go down ; but if you once pass that headland you are comparatively safe.

We concur, to a certain degree, in this view of the case, and could easily cite many arguments to establish the probability of ourselves, and all the world, being on the right, in deeming that there is a hope of safety for us ; but we shall only touch on one or two points, and that very slightly.

Within our Church there are signs, which cannot be mistaken, of *life*—we do not mean exclusively in one section or another, nor in the revival or power of one doctrine or one system, but we mean that there is evidence of a living spirit in every part and portion of the Church, notwithstanding our divisions. We mean, that all the great doctrines of the Gospel are coming forward, not as lifeless formulæ, the watchwords of faction and the excuses of conscience, but as living principles of feeling and action. Now if the great Enemy of God and man succeeds in keeping us separate from each other, our differences will increase, the Spirit of God will depart from us without our knowing it, and we shall be like the Christians of Constantinople, who turned their arms against each other, or at least stood idle and paralysed, instead of uniting against the common enemy. If, on the other hand, we cultivate a loving and brotherly spirit, and endeavour to have salt in ourselves and peace with each other, then may Jew, Turk, Infidel, and Heretic vainly assault us, whether by open war or secret treason.

Again, we are attacked by internal and external enemies. That there are those within our walls who would gladly throw open the gates to those of our enemies whom they respectively prefer to her to whom their allegiance is due, there can be no doubt. That we are already strongly assailed, and yet more fiercely threatened, with an exterminating warfare from our old and implacable enemies, there is no question. The “ Protestant dis-

senters" of England are more determined than ever to destroy us both body and soul, i. e. both in our temporal and spiritual capacity; and our ancient rival is urging on against us all over whom she possesses any influence, whether they have been born under her obedience, or have entered it after renouncing their baptism.

And yet we have not the slightest hesitation in saying, that if we can but repress the present treason and repel the coming attack, and freely and fully carry out that one all-including Christian principle, *THE LOVE OF THE GOSPEL IN THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH*, our own rebellious children will return to us by thousands,—ay, tens of thousands,—nay, hundreds of thousands, so that a conscientious dissenter shall become a rare prodigy, whilst Rome totters to her very foundations.

To avoid, however, the dangers with which we are threatened, and to obtain those advantages which we confidently believe to be in our reach, the sincere friends of the Church must bestir themselves, not singly, not in sets or parties, but in one general movement—a movement combining the most perfect freedom of individual will with the fullest unity of action, which must require no sacrifice or compromise of principle, whilst aiming at objects which all consistently believe to be essential to the welfare of the Church. If we would only for a short space lay aside our party colours and our factions watchwords, and clasp each other's hands in the full sincerity of Christian love, we should feel by experience how good and pleasant a thing it is to dwell together in unity; and having once felt this, we should be loath to break again the brotherly covenant by harsh words or cruel thoughts of each other; we should feel that not only in our private homes, but also in the Church at large, every unkind word and harsh expression is so much happiness thrown away, and so much danger to our common cause.

If we are to be saved, it must be, under Divine Providence, by consenting to throw aside our differences to such an extent as may enable us to co-operate cordially as brethren for the common good. And these are not vain words or idle speculations. It is in the power of all members of the Church to co-operate. There is nothing to prevent them, except apathy arising from despondency, or petty jealousies, which ought in the time of peril to be forgotten.

What we want to realize, in order to obtain security for the Church, and to gain to true religion the weight, and influence, and power of doing good, which has been so materially impaired, is the union of the Church for the attainment of certain objects of an unquestionable character—for the acquisition of certain benefits, and the removal of certain evils, the acquisition or

removal of which will not be an injury or grievance to any other class of the community. If, on any single point of a practical nature, the Church of England can manifest her unanimity sufficiently, it will be a real benefit, and a source of strength. It is chiefly in the divisions of the Church that her enemies rest their hopes of success. Hence they are anxious on all occasions to inflame those divisions as far as possible; and they have frequently been successful before now in fanning the flames of controversy, by taking the side of one party or the other.

There never was a truer saying, than that "UNION IS STRENGTH." We therefore deprecate all that is calculated to cause disunion in the Church. We recommend the co-operation of churchmen for certain great objects; and their abstinence from censures of those who are engaged in the same great cause as they are themselves.

It is for this reason that we have read with regret the language which Archdeacon Sinclair, in a recent Charge, has thought it advisable to employ, in reference to the opinions of those among the members of the Church of England, who are advocates for a larger increase in the episcopate than the Archdeacon considers necessary. We do not exactly see why Archdeacon Sinclair might not have contented himself with a quiet and courteous dissent from the opinions of those, whose general object of promoting an increase in the episcopate coincides with his own, and whose view is supported by facts and arguments which, at least, merit respect. We instance this as merely one case, in which those who are presumed to be favourable to the same object, cannot help quarrelling for some very subordinate difference of opinion. We so far agree with Archdeacon Sinclair, that it is not necessary to raise the English episcopate to the number of three hundred. We should be satisfied with a considerably smaller number; but though we do not ourselves advocate so large an increase, because we do not regard it as possible, still we should most heartily rejoice to see such a number of bishops, on the same principle that we should be glad to see a priest for every five hundred souls in the country, or every two hundred and fifty; though we have no hope that there ever will actually be so large an increase of the clergy. And why Archdeacon Sinclair, or any one else, should deem it right and proper to rebuke any churchman who may be of opinion that it would be desirable to increase the numbers of bishops and clergy, in the proportions above stated, does seem to us very strange. If Archdeacon Sinclair, and other respectable persons with him, are entitled to hold their peculiar views of the expediency of a very *small* increase of the episcopate, without molestation from those who take a wider

view, the same measure of freedom ought, we think, to be conceded by them to others; and we earnestly deprecate all attacks on the part of those who may advocate one view of the measure, upon those who may take a different view. The only result of such observations as those of Archdeacon Sinclair will be, to create an appearance of division in feeling as well as in opinion amongst churchmen on this subject, and thereby to retard its accomplishment. We can only say, that we think there would be considerably less practical difficulty in obtaining two or three new sees, than in obtaining fifty or sixty. The various opponents of the Church would be glad to think that the wishes of the Church limited themselves to the former amount. We must certainly say, that we do not suppose any such amount of benefit as we need would be done by gaining two or three, or half-a-dozen additional sees, because it would not make any alteration in the general system of episcopal superintendence—would not develop more distinctly the spiritual aspect of the episcopate—but would merely relieve some overburdened bishops. Still we should be sorry to find any fault with the respected individuals amongst us, who take a narrower view of the wants of the Church than we ourselves do, and we should cordially rejoice to see their design, however limited, likely to make some progress. We would not refuse, or receive ungraciously, what we may deem insufficient, but would look to further concessions hereafter. If any movement were made by the advocates of the limited view of the increase of the episcopate to obtain their object, they ought to be cordially supported, in our opinion, by all advocates of an increase in the episcopate.

It is to be lamented, that the heads of the Church, from whatever reason it may be, do not unite in bringing forward any measures of importance for the Church's welfare. They do not seek to direct the Church's energies towards the attainment of great practical objects. An individual prelate, indeed, may bring in a Bill to discourage some kind of vice, or another may introduce a Bill for meeting cases of clerical delinquency; or some prelates may oppose some particular Bill as injurious to the interests of religion. But, after all, there is no one definite object—no set of objects, which the prelates of the Church in parliament systematically pursue, with a view to the benefit of the Church. Now the heads of the Church *can* unite for objects of an unexceptionable character. They have shown the possibility of doing so by associating for the increase of the Colonial episcopate. The moment this association was formed the cause began to advance. But we do not observe any association for the attainment of a similar object nearer home, even while the



necessity of that measure is distinctly and unequivocally admitted. We are not for a moment meaning to impute any deficiency in their duty to the heads of the Church, but we merely state the fact, that as far as these respected prelates are concerned, there is indeed a body to watch over the interests of the Church in the House of Lords, and see that harm is not done ; but there is not a body which is taking steps to *procure advantages to the cause of the Church by legislation*.

In *this respect*, the prelacy do not form a centre of union in the Church. The Church, indeed, respects and obeys them as spiritual rulers ; but they do not lead her on to the furtherance of her own objects, and become the impulsive and guiding power in a steady and persevering effort for Church objects.

And if we look elsewhere it is much the same. There are many good and faithful Churchmen in parliament. But do they attempt any thing for the Church ? They limit themselves to resistance to measures dangerous to the Church, but they do not combine for the sake of carrying good measures. They remain passive ; in many cases silent, where the honour and the interest of the Church required an answer. There is no organization, no union, no activity, no plan of action, on the part of churchmen ; while the opponents of the Church are always pressing forward measures which, though apparently designed for the purpose of carrying out the principles of Liberalism, are in reality so many blows aimed at the very existence of the Church of England ; and by dint of perseverance numbers of these measures pass, and become incorporated with the law of the land.

Now this quiescent position of the Church was very well adapted to her necessities in the *last* generation. She occupied then the almost undisputed ascendancy in the state : statesmen were as jealous of her interests, as of those of the monarchy itself. The Church was part and parcel of the Constitution. The old-fashioned toast, "Church and King," expressed the principle and the feeling of a vast majority of the population. Romanism was endeavouring to gain the first elements of political power, it was seeking for *toleration*. Dissent was excluded by the Test and Corporation Act from all participation in the government of the country in its various degrees. The heads of the government were always earnest in their protestations of devotion to the "Protestant cause," and the Coronation Oath was regarded by sovereigns themselves as a solemn and awful obligation. Assuredly, under such circumstances, the Church had much apparent reason to remain quiescent, and to confide her interests to the party in power, whatever it might be. And at that time the Church, as a whole, was tolerably adequate to the spiritual care

of the population. There might be, and were, particular instances, *e. g.* in London, where the population had increased without any sufficient provision for church accommodation. But when the population of England and Wales was only eight millions, as it was fifty years ago, the clergy were not so unequal to their task as they now are in many parts. There was really no great demand for more clergy or churches, nothing that might not be reasonably expected to be supplied by the aid of the state. There were no attacks of any kind on the Church; her efforts were limited to resisting the attempts of Romanists and dissenters to obtain the repeal of Acts, which prevented them from attaining and exercising political powers.

We do not say that there were no questions then about which the Church ought to have exerted herself. On the contrary, we would instance the state of ecclesiastical discipline, the exercise of the legislative functions of the Church, and reforms in various internal arrangements. But, on the whole, we can see that the Church was in a state of comparative security, and that a course of proceeding, on her part, was then very fitting and expedient, which might become very much the reverse under altered circumstances.

Now, at the end of fifty years, we find ourselves with a population of probably not less than *eighteen* millions instead of *eight*! We find Romanism in the ascendant politically, instead of the Church. We find the old religious opponents of the Church prodigiously reinforced in all respects, and combined with political bodies, and parties, and principles which did not exist in the last generation. In every session of parliament bills of the most injurious tendency are pressed forward by individuals or by government. Year after year we see fresh inroads made on our position. Sometimes the efforts of our opponents are defeated for a time, but they are renewed again. It would be endless to record the multitudinous alterations and changes which have been in progress for thirty years, and to which there is no visible prospect of a termination. The memory rests on a few great questions which have been carried against the Church, but it would be impossible to specify all the instances in which the altered relative positions of the Church and its opponents have been manifested.

And how is it that the enemies of the Church have been able to make such dangerous progress? How is it that they have been enabled to alter their tone so widely, and to clamour and struggle for the removal of barriers which, fifty years ago, were regarded as immutable and eternal, until minister after minister has been compelled either by consistency or expediency to open the doors? It has been all accomplished by agitation of various

kinds—violent and armed agitation in Ireland, unceasing petition, remonstrance, and organization in England. By the steady and persevering application of these powers in both countries, the whole action of the state has been altered, and altered too in spite of the disapprobation and dislike of a majority of the people, of the whole body of the clergy, and of the great majority of the prelates, nobility, and gentry. The truth is, that the opponents of the Church are perfectly well aware that statesmen, who are not generally guided by any very strong or decided religious principle in their political career, are willing to do much for the sake of peace, and to obtain some remission from the heat of opposition. In the storms of political life, the addition of any strong and persevering set of petitioners and grumblers to the rest of the turmoil, is enough to weary out the patience of ministers and of the legislature; and it may be safely said, that all the concessions made to Romanism have arisen chiefly from the desire of getting rid for a time of importunity.

But, amidst the general effort of religionists of all kinds, and associations of every description, to urge their claims upon the legislature, the Church forms a remarkable exception. She remains in dignified silence—no voice of importunity from her reaches the ears of the troubled ministers. She is content to abide in her former position, and to depend upon the heads of the State for legislative measures in her favour pretty much as she did fifty years ago. We do not find prelates, or peers, or members of the House of Commons, taking up any great Church question, and pushing it forward perseveringly session after session. We do not find any organization with a view to bring the strength of the whole body of the Church to bear upon such a question. The Church is content with occasional expressions, on the part of individuals, either by the press or otherwise, in favour of her great objects; but, from whatever reason it be, she does nothing more as a body; and therefore her voice is unheard, her wishes are unattended to, her remonstrances are treated with contempt; and she has the mortifying conviction, that every petty sect, and every knot and organization for the attainment of the most purely selfish objects, is certain to command more attention, and to be more successful than that National Church to which the cause of the truth is entrusted amongst us. We submit, with all respect, to the consideration of churchmen in all stations, that the history of the past thirty years conveys a great lesson to the Church; that it points out the indispensable necessity for a different mode of proceeding on the part of the Church. There may be difference of opinion whether this or that particular measure has been injurious to the Church, but on the whole we

think that the downward progress of things is very manifest. As we have said before now, it seems to us that the Church acts unwisely in contenting herself merely with resistance and opposition to what is dangerous and bad, such for instance as the admission of Jews to the legislature; the renewal of relations between England and Rome; the interference with the law of marriage, or any other of the bad, mischievous, or immoral measures by which we are inundated. Opposition *ought* to be offered to every thing of this kind; but then there should be always before the Church the attainment of her own great positive objects. There are certain acknowledged wants and defects; why is not their removal sought systematically and incessantly? Why is not the Church pressing for them regularly year after year? We are *fully aware* that the mooted such questions would not be acceptable to ministers of state. If the heads of the Church, previously to any course of action of this kind, were to go to the government and to state their intention, we may be perfectly *certain* that they would be discouraged. No public men who are in office will encourage the Church in adopting any course which may be troublesome to themselves. Now, it is the general impression certainly, that the episcopate do not take any steps affecting the Church without securing the acquiescence or the support of the ministry of the day. They do not act independently of the ministry. The ministry never will sanction any movement which is calculated to embarrass themselves. And therefore, unless there be a change of system on the part of the heads of the Church, we do not see any prospect of their being able to advance the cause of the Church materially by becoming a bond of union which may combine churchmen for their common objects.

We have found almost invariably, that even those prelates, from whose personal views and principles we might have expected encouragement to efforts made in furtherance of the great material and spiritual interests of the Church, are unwilling to encourage movements of any kind made by the body of the clergy, for the attainment of the most legitimate objects. It seems as if the episcopate, as a body, is so knit and bound up in its connexion with the government of the day, that it cannot exercise the freedom of action which the position of the Church requires. It is of no avail for one or two of the prelates to assume a tone of independence, when the great majority cannot move for Church objects without the sanction and concurrence of the ministry.

We do not attempt to express any thing more than regret at this state of things. The Church, in her times of peril, is not, as a matter of fact, led forward by those whom we might have not unreasonably looked to as our guides. And the effect of the

quiescent course pursued by the hierarchy has been, certainly, to check any attempts to gain Church objects. For instance, how difficult must it be for lay peers, or for commoners to initiate such measures, as Church extension, an increase in the episcopate, or other matters of the same kind, when the heads of the Church are unwilling to take the responsibility of making any move to advance the cause of the Church ! It seems to us, we confess, on a careful survey of the course of events, that the episcopate, and through them the friends of the Church in parliament, are unable to initiate measures for the welfare of the Church. We do not say that the Church might be as well without *any* representatives in parliament, because there is a power, though it be dormant, and we trust it will not always be so ; but we really think, that as far as the initiation of measures *for the welfare of the Church* is concerned—as far as any attempt to advance the interests of the Church is in question—it would be difficult to see any advantage which is derived from the occupation of parliamentary seats by thirty bishops ; and the thought will cross the mind, on instituting a comparison between the relative progress made by the Church, and by those religious bodies which are *without* representatives in parliament, that it is a serious question, whether the Church would not be more efficiently led, and whether her actual position would not be better now and hereafter, if her episcopate were not so very closely tied to the guidance of the minister by the occupation of seats in parliament. It is impossible to prevent the intrusion of such thoughts, when we compare the inaction of our hierarchy with the stirring activity of that of the Romish communion, or of the Wesleyans, or other dissenters. And while we contemplate this, we confess that we do not feel that intense anxiety for the presence of the hierarchy in parliament, which so many sound and good Churchmen do. We admit the beauty of the theory connected with the parliamentary seats of the episcopate, but we think its practical benefits have sometimes been overrated.

But whatever may be thought of this question, there can be no doubt that the episcopate, and the body favourable to the Church in parliament, have contented themselves with an imperfect and divided *negative* to measures injurious to the Church, but never attempt to advance her cause positively, by bringing forwards proposals and measures. And therefore it seems to us a matter of plain and evident necessity, that if any movement is to be made for the attainment of Church objects of any kind, the impulse must come from *beneath*. The petition must spring from the mass of the Church,—from its parochial clergy and its laity, —from its deaneries, and its parishes, and its hamlets ; and when the sentiment of the Church has been sufficiently expressed,

it is morally certain of being attended to. Our episcopate, unequal to initiate measures themselves, will support those measures as far as they think they can with safety; and their voices, when backed by the general and unanimous urgency of the Church, have great weight. It is for this reason that we rejoice to see the formation of "Church Unions" of clergy and laity in various parts of the country, especially at Bristol. These Unions are formed with a view to the promotion of objects which the great majority of Churchmen concur in wishing for. They are objects of a simple and practical character, such as CHURCH EXTENSION, AN INCREASE IN THE EPISCOPATE, the attainment of securities for the appointment of Bishops WELL QUALIFIED FOR THEIR SACRED OFFICE, some provision for LEGISLATION ON CHURCH MATTERS OF A SPIRITUAL NATURE,—which cannot properly be brought before Parliament as now including persons of all religious denominations,—and the restoration of some CORRECTIVE DISCIPLINE. These are, in general, the objects of the local associations to which we refer: they are intended to give form and expression to wishes generally felt by the educated and enlightened part of the community, and to bring their sentiments to bear upon the Legislature in the form of petition, and such other modes of application as are found efficacious in furthering the views of other parties. We believe that the members of the Church Unions concur generally in the above objects, though they are not pledged to any particular views of details, and some of them may possibly include fewer of these objects in their schemes than others may do.

The utility of "Church Unions" is very great. They will furnish just the kind of simple organization which is requisite to elicit the real feeling of the country, in the shape of parochial and other petitions, and meetings for specific objects. They will, we trust, bring together earnest-minded men in each locality, who will combine for the promotion of the most legitimate objects by the ordinary means and in the ordinary way,—will exercise the right of petition which the law of the land places entirely in their own power, and will ask for the concession of benefits or privileges which they have an unquestionable right to seek for.

We earnestly trust and hope that at the commencement of the next session of Parliament the Church Unions will be found to work efficiently for the promotion of the Church's interest, and that the ministry in future, of whatever politics, or under whatever political appellation, may have to deal with a new party—the party of THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. It may take some time to obtain general co-operation; but we feel assured that if

sincere members of the Church will to any extent follow the example which has been set them, the Church Unions will before very long be found an influential body in the community. We have frequently had occasion to remark the benefit which has arisen to the cause of the Church from a Society founded at Bath in 1834, and entitled the "Bath Church of England Lay Association." This Society has never failed, on all important occasions, to make its voice heard promptly and decidedly, and it has done good service. But the object of Church Unions should be not so much to transmit a petition from each Union in itself, as to take measures for obtaining parochial and deanery petitions in as great numbers as possible, and placing them in good hands to be presented at a fitting time. We should think also that by some system of co-operation amongst Church Unions, the aid of some members of Parliament might be obtained who would undertake to bring forward such measures in Parliament as might be judged conducive to the promotion of the objects held in view; and if applications were made in the proper quarters, parliamentary support on a respectable scale might be obtained for any such proposals.

From the consideration of this mode of promoting the cause of the Church, let us descend to some particular measures in which all Churchmen are interested. And in the first instance let us examine again the question of Church extension, by the further light thrown on it by recent publications. We have on former occasions pointed out more than one source from which means are at the disposal of the Church for meeting her fearful deficiencies. It is needless to say that the mere voluntary exertions of charitable individuals can do very little in a case like this, where, as Mr. Montgomery observes, in referring to the calculations of one of our Church Societies, the clergy are so disproportioned in number to their duties in some parts of the country, that in many places there is but "one clergyman and one church to ten, twenty, and even sometimes thirty thousand of population" (p. 66). We see with regret, in the recent Report of the Additional Curates' Fund, that "the renewal of sixty-two grants at Easter next depends upon the Society's permanent income being previously augmented by an amount equal to the annual cost of these grants. The sums of money from which they were made four years ago will be entirely exhausted at Easter, 1849; and the grants will then certainly be withdrawn, unless the required addition to the income has meanwhile been secured. An additional contribution of five shillings per annum from every parish in England, would secure the permanent bless-



ings of sixty-two additional curates to a population of about three hundred thousand souls."

This shows how precarious a source is mere voluntary subscription, and how unequal the Church is to provide for her wants. The funds must be obtained, indeed, partly by voluntary donations and subscriptions; and in this view we think that there could not be the least objection to making an appeal annually in each church, under authority of the Sovereign, towards providing funds for Church extension.

We have also referred to the sinecure offices connected with cathedrals as a legitimate means of augmenting the income of poorly-endowed parishes in the vicinity of cathedrals, by annexing the canonries to those poor parishes, instead of permitting them to be held, as they have generally been, with benefices of ample income.

We observe that Mr. Horsman and others have advocated the abolition of cathedral establishments, and the application of their endowments to found new parishes; but this would, we think, be an unnecessary alteration, and it would be extremely distasteful to the Church at large. We should be desirous of seeing the members of Chapters increased instead of diminished in number, but we would invest them all with cure of souls. With every feeling of respect for those who have expressed an opinion that sinecure stalls are useful in providing means of learned leisure for the production of works calculated to defend the faith, we must submit that they have not been so practically; that the appointment of learned theologians to cathedral stalls has been the exception, not the rule; that the stalls have been and are given to increase the emoluments of clergy connected with aristocratical families, or allied by birth or office to the patrons of those stalls. But while we do not adopt the somewhat utopian idea of assigning stalls for the promotion of learning, we should regret extremely to see the cathedral service "shorn of its fair proportions," such as they are, but would rather increase the number of resident canons, and assign to them all some duty connected with the cure of souls.

But there is a branch of the subject which has been lately touched on in Parliament, and which amply merits an attentive consideration. We allude to the system of managing ecclesiastical property. At present it is extremely underlet to tenants, who obtain and renew their leases from time to time on the payment of fines. We have not observed any statements or details on this subject which appears to have been very minutely gone into; but it seems to be admitted, that if the ecclesiastical property could be

managed differently from what is now the case,—if the system of renewal fines could be abolished, a very large revenue would be raised. We extract the following passage from Mr. Grey's Letter on "Church Leases," which advocates an arrangement by which the Church lessees might be enabled to purchase the perpetual tenancy of their holdings:—

"The wish to uphold the interests of the lessees has undeniably prompted the foregoing observations. But whilst earnestly contending, on their behalf, for that full meed of justice to which they are certainly entitled, both from the length of their past tenure, and from the services they have rendered to the property in their possession, God forbid that any thing should appear in this statement tending to deprive the Church of a single shilling of that which really belongs to her.

"The proposal, however, to sell the reversion of the Church property now held on leases, or to substitute a rent charge (redeemable by the lessees on fixed terms), in place of the present system of renewal fines, is one equally advantageous to the Church herself, as to the lessees.

"In the year 1837 Mr. Bethune estimated, that if Lord Monteagle's plan of enfranchisement were carried into effect, a surplus revenue might be obtained from the Church property of at least 250,000*l.* a year beyond that which the Church was then receiving from it in reserved rents and fines.

"In 1839 Mr. Finlaison estimated such a surplus still higher; he made it amount to upwards of 300,000*l.* a year, still calculating the value of the fee at twenty-five years' purchase, and the interest of money at four per cent. If this latter amount be correct, it might be realized, by the sale of reversions, in the form of *five or six millions* of capital.

"The Bishop of London, in his evidence before the Ecclesiastical Commission, (pp. 80, 81,) has declared that the necessity for Church extension, by means of parochial cures, is as great or greater than ever,—more particularly in the metropolis and the manufacturing districts; *but that there are no funds available for supplying the spiritual destitution that exists.*

"How great a boon, then, might be conferred on the cause of religion, how incalculably might the efficiency of the Church be increased, by the appropriation to the purposes of Church extension, either of the annual surplus of 300,000*l.*, stated to be derivable from Church property;—or of the *five or six millions* of capital into which that surplus might at once be converted by the sale of reversions, if fair and equitable terms were offered to the lessees; instead of allowing this portion of the Church's interest to lie dormant under its present tenure" (pp. 34—36).

But these are not all the means which we would use: we would demand from the State at once a large grant,—a grant which it is bound to give, and which it *would* give if the friends of the Church were only as *true* and as united, as clamorous and as persevering, as her enemies are.

It is indeed the language of some, that we should not ask the State for funds at the present moment, and that its other pressing needs release it from all immediate duty to serve God with its substance. But if we carefully examine this plea for a closed hand, we shall discover that it bears a near analogy to the conduct of the spendthrift, whose first symptom of economy consisted in cutting off his charities, and who, though still clothed in purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day, answered each application for relief, by shaking an empty purse, kept especially for that laudable object. This notable plan has been already tried in the case of the poor; and what has been the result? Are we more prosperous now than we were before the passing of the Poor-Law Amendment Act? The mere question seems an insult to common sense. No. He who is the Father of the fatherless and the God of the widow, has withholden his blessing from the selfish and shortsighted people, who, in order to retrieve their fortunes, attempted to retrace their alms.

And here let us approach a second part of our subject,—an increase in the episcopate of England.

We believe that we may say that the Church is unanimous in desiring an increase in the episcopate; but, as we have already observed, there are different views with reference to the amount of the increase which would be desirable. There are persons who look upon the present working of the episcopal system as all that could be desired, with the exception of the unequal amount of labour which is still imposed on some of the prelates. We may infer, perhaps, that such is the opinion of the episcopate itself as a whole; because we observe a certain uniformity in the discharge of episcopal duties, no bishop seeming to attempt more than is customary in other dioceses. We may conclude, therefore, that the present arrangements respecting visitations, residence, ordinations, preaching, administering the sacraments, &c., are considered by the hierarchy in general to be adequate to the wants of the Church, and as realizing fully those engagements which are undertaken at episcopal ordination. And such being the view of many of the prelates, it will doubtless be the view also entertained by many of the other dignitaries of the Church. And from this it may follow certainly that such dioceses as London, Lichfield, Lincoln, Norwich, and Exeter, ought to be divided, in order to relieve their bishops from the too great amount of labour which devolves on them under the existing system. But we should suppose that the erection of four or five new sees would in fact quite meet the wishes of those respected individuals, to whom we here allude. They are perhaps averse to any alteration in the

present system of episcopal superintendence. They do not perceive, perhaps, the desirableness of administering confirmation in village churches; they do not see how bishops can in any way undertake the care of souls; how they can administer the sacraments. They do not recognize any fitness or necessity in the residence of a bishop in his cathedral city, or in some other important and populous place in his diocese. They do not see the benefit or propriety of local inspection and examination of churches, schools, parsonages, and of the state of parishes. They do not see the expediency of personal communication between the bishop and his clergy, but conceive that all business can be equally well transacted by the post. They think it very advisable that prelates should spend a large portion of every year in London, living perhaps in expensive mansions, and giving grand entertainments. And they hold, that ample incomes are highly necessary to all this—necessary to preserve that kind of state and style which qualifies a bishop to mingle on equal terms with the nobles of the land. All this is essential in their opinion to the standing and the influence of the episcopate. And to descend to a lower degree—the endowment of sinecures, such as deaneries and canonries, appears to such persons eminently desirable with a view to attract the junior members of the aristocracy into holy orders. They are apprehensive, that if there are no “prizes” in the Church—no parochial benefices with their 4000*l.* or 5000*l.* per annum—no wealthy deaneries, no rich stalls to add to still richer livings—the Church will cease to exercise that influence and to possess those connexions which have hitherto subsisted between her and the aristocracy of England. They would rather augment the number of stalls than diminish them, conceiving them to be desirable to hold out as inducements to clever and learned men to write for the Church in the hope of attaining them; or regarding their fitness and conveniency in eking out the fortunes of meritorious individuals.

We have no particular remarks to make on this view, further than that we entertain sincere respect for those who adhere to it, and who certainly follow what has been the prevalent set of notions on this subject. But at the same time we must express our own persuasion that if the episcopal office be measured, not by the notions or practice of the present day, but by the law of God, and the declarations of the consecration service, it will appear something different from what it is—not in the mere outward circumstances of rank and wealth; but in the inward and spiritual branch of it—in its dealings with the flock of Jesus Christ. We say that the highest pastoral responsibilities are

connected with the office by the consecration service, and by the Bible: the bishop is required to be indefatigable in the purely spiritual parts of his office: his mere temporal duties are in comparison so insignificant that they are passed over without notice. There is an entire absence of courtliness and policy, of fear of the world and its rulers, in the line of action traced for the bishop in those pages. He there appears simply as a minister of God—an apostle—whose whole heart and soul is concentrated on bringing to salvation the multitude of souls entrusted to his care, and for which he is appointed to see that other shepherds beneath him discharge their duty. Does not this imply incessant vigilance—something more than mere actions of authority—a spirit worn out with care and anxiety for every nook and corner of the fold, that the enemy may be prevented from entering in, and that each division of that multitude may be fed, and nurtured, and guided into safe pastures? Surely the feeling language of St. Paul ought to be that of every Christian bishop: "Besides these things that are without, that which cometh on me daily, the care of all the churches. Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is offended, and I burn not?" This involves an intimate acquaintance with the state of particular parishes.

We trust that these views will at least meet the sympathies of all Churchmen. They can scarcely be called visionary or enthusiastic, inasmuch as they merely seek to realize that kind of pastoral action which has been set before us in the Scriptures, and which is actually *expected* from the *second* order of the ministry. We hold that the first order of the ministry should be first in spiritual cares and labours as well as in authority. If we advocate an increase in the episcopate, it is not for the purpose of diminishing its burdens, but for the purpose of seeing it carry out more fully the great essentials of its duty.

We do not attach much weight to the objection which is founded on the mere circumstance that a large increase in the episcopate would produce an alteration in the system which has hitherto been adopted by the English episcopate. Undoubtedly it *would* be an alteration—if the bishops were seen more in their pastoral and spiritual character—but then, in our opinion, it would be an *improvement*. If we argue from the examples of the primitive Church, and from the numbers of bishops, that there ought to be many more bishops than there are, in order rightly to discharge the duties of the episcopate, we adduce these instances merely in confirmation of the general view which the office and relations of a bishop to his flock, as represented in Scripture and in the Liturgy of the Church, lead us to take. It

is not from any spirit of antiquarianism, or from a wish to conform our institutions to those of any other branch of the Church that we argue for a large increase in the episcopate, but from a consideration of what the leading and most essential duties of a bishop are. If our views in this respect do not meet with the concurrence of certain members of the Church, we hope at least that they will not deem it necessary to attack them in future, as we should regret the existence of any controversy on such a question; and we have views of the episcopal office which are derived from authorities that will bear us out against any modern system or practice, however general, or by whatever names it may be sanctioned.

If we look to the practice of the English Church in past ages, we shall find undoubtedly that the dioceses were very large. But then they were frequently divided and increased in number.

At the time of the Conquest, when the population of England was about two millions probably, the bishoprics were eighteen in number. When they had reached four millions, *i. e.* in the reign of Henry VIII., there were twenty-seven bishoprics in existence, besides several suffragans in the larger dioceses. But from that time to the present, though three centuries have passed, and the people have multiplied from four millions to eighteen, and England has become the wealthiest nation on the face of the earth, no addition has been made until the recent erection of the see of Manchester, which raises the number of episcopal sees to what Henry VIII. left it in 1545 (the bishopric of Westminster having been suppressed since his time); and *without any suffragan bishops*. Considering the increase of population, and the diminution in the number of bishops since the time of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth (when suffragans were still appointed), it appears clearly that the Church is in a very far worse position, as regards episcopal superintendence, than she was then placed in. And, considering that there were then always more than thirty bishops in England, it does seem to us that when the population has increased more than fourfold, it would be a very moderate claim indeed to seek for sixty bishops, or about twice the number that there were in the time of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.

The addition of any considerable number of bishops would probably lead to some reduction of the scale of income. The wants of the Church are so vast in other respects, that we do not think it would be found possible to obtain incomes on the present scale for many additional bishops. As we have before now said, we are of opinion, that with the object of rendering the episcopate more equal to the duties pressing on it, the Church might consent to *some* reduction in the present episcopal incomes; and the annexa-

tion of deaneries to the bishoprics of their respective dioceses would provide the remainder.

We now proceed to another point:—Legal securities for the non-appointment, or when appointed, the summary dismissal of bishops who are unfitted for their office by heresy, immorality, or any other cause.

There are those who, seeing the evils which have in some instances arisen from State appointments, are anxious to remove episcopal nominations from the hands of the Crown, whilst others go the still greater length of boldly aiming at a separation between Church and State. We cannot agree with either of these views; and we have many good reasons for thinking that a modification of the present system is much to be preferred to its destruction.

We object to both these views, because they would be productive of greater evils than the present system. We advocate that system, because we conceive it practically the best—borne out by the analogy of Scripture, and supported by the precedents of Anglo-Saxon times; but we desire to see it freed from those incidental evils which at present impair its usefulness.

1. If we take the nomination from the Crown, we must give it to the people; there is no other line, no middle course: this would be, this must be the ultimate result of such a proceeding. Bad as this would be, it could be, it would be both easier and better than any other course. The other alternatives are, we apprehend, the metropolitan, the bishops of the province, the cathedral chapters, the clergy of the diocese.

1. The first of these would erect a number of petty popes, and foster the growth of all those minor evils which arise from the papal supremacy,—tyranny, servility, favouritism, and nepotism. Those evils must necessarily ensue which, sooner or later, cause the disgrace or destruction of all self-elective bodies.

2. Were the bishops of a province to elect to the vacant sees, and supposing any heresy or other spiritual or moral evil infected the bench, it would remain there for ever, without the chance of the infusion of fresh healthy blood.

3. The free election by the cathedral chapters would have a tendency to encourage the growth of all those selfish and sordid influences which are fatal to the efficiency of any institutions, civil or ecclesiastical.

4. The election by the clergy of the diocese would lead to faction and partisanship; to jealousy, distrust, and hatred; to enmity between the successful and unsuccessful candidates; to intrigue before the election, and heart-burning after it.

Besides all this, we are persuaded that none of these methods



would command the respect or conciliate the affection of the English laity.

The only choice, therefore, lies between popular election and royal nomination, direct or indirect ; and deeply sensible as we are of the value of constitutional freedom, we cannot contemplate without shuddering, the establishment in this age and country of what has been aptly described as a sacred democracy.

We are therefore compelled to acquiesce in some system of royal nominations ; nor is there in this principle any thing which militates against the dealings of God as revealed in Scripture, the practice of the Church when first she became an establishment, or the early precedents of Anglo-Saxon times.

The first occasion on which the temporal and spiritual, the civil and sacerdotal functions appear to have been divided, occurs in the book of Exodus ; and it is to be remarked that the nomination of Aaron to the office of high priest, though proceeding from God Himself, is conveyed through Moses, the leader, the lawgiver, the temporal chief, the type of the state.

The conduct of Solomon, Hezekiah, and Josiah, seems strongly to favour the principle of royal supremacy and the practice of royal nomination ; and it may also be remarked, that the unprotesting recognition accorded in the New Testament to the nominees of a pagan sovereign, is in some respects a still stronger proof that state influence, exercised even to a great extent, contains nothing necessarily inconsistent with the fundamental laws of the Church.

The conduct of the early Christian emperors contains certainly nothing repugnant to the principle of royal nomination ; and the earlier appeal to Aurelian seems an unintentional and almost providential testimony in the same direction. And the customs of Anglo-Saxon times showed that the royal prerogative in these matters was of considerable extent.

It seems clear then to us, that there are objections, grave practical objections, to every other mode of nomination, and that there are no valid objections against the *principle* of royal appointments. That there are great difficulties in the mode of its application, great evils frequently in the manner of its administration, we are well aware ; but we would seek to remove these, not by destruction, but by regulation ; not by revolution, but reform. We would not, because inclined to question the propriety of some of its acts, risk the evils necessarily attendant on a change of dynasty, but rather seek at once to limit and preserve the royal supremacy, by surrounding it with the strong barriers of free institutions.

What these institutions should be, there is great difficulty in

deciding, a difficulty which must always meet us when seeking the means to an end ; since we are seldom capable of judging with any degree of certainty beforehand of the practical results of any untried causes. No objection, however, appears to lie against the following safeguards.

1. Let there be a free right of opposition to the bishop elect on the day of his nomination, on the grounds of heresy, immorality, or neglect, or ignorance of pastoral duties.

2. Let the accused be tried by a competent tribunal : should he be found guilty, let the nomination be withdrawn ; should he be proved innocent, let the opposer be visited with heavy penalties.

3. It would be highly advisable were episcopal appointments less liable to be influenced by political partisanship than they are at present. In support of some measure for securing this object, precedents have been appealed to in the reigns of Charles II. and William III. It may be added, that the principle has already been admitted as regards the army, both by the Premier and the Commander-in-chief. And it will scarcely be maintained by any sincere friend of the Church, that political predilections form a more valid claim or more sure qualification for ecclesiastical than for military promotion.

It is not, however, alone before, but after their consecration, that the Church should be guaranteed against the misconduct of the nominees of the Crown. A bishop charged with heresy, immorality, nepotism, or neglect of his duty, should be summoned before the highest ecclesiastical judge, and tried by a jury of his peers.

Our next point is, the regular session and free action of a Church legislature, in the lower house of which the clergy and communicant laity shall be duly represented.

In considering this point, three discussions appear to arise. The first, as to the propriety of the existence of any Church legislature whatever. The second, as to the limits to be allotted to the legislation of such a body. The third, as to its proper constitution.

1. The principle of a Church legislature existing under some form, and possessing some power, may be defended by every plea which is used by the advocates of either ecclesiastical authority or popular rights ; it is supported by the custom of every branch of the Catholic Church, either genuine or pretended, under every circumstance and in every age and country. And it is moreover sanctioned by the universal practice of every community which has laid claim to the Christian name. Even in the days of plenary inspiration, it was deemed expedient that the Church

should meet to receive intelligence and ordain decrees ; and throughout the various fortunes of the English Church, this right has never been questioned, this practice never suspended (if we except the brief interval of the Commonwealth), till within the last hundred years. And when we recollect that the English Convocation was tyrannically suspended by the influence of George the Second's queen (who belonged neither to our Church or nation), for its laudable zeal in defence of the doctrine of the ever-blessed and undivided Trinity, we may well, judging from the past, expect good from the future, and feel that, like a prophet restored after death to bear witness to the truth, it will not fail to serve that God in whose cause it has already suffered.

We here gladly avail ourselves of Mr. Ross's words, with a recommendation of his work to attentive perusal :—

“That any objections should be formed against the meeting of Convocation, on the ground that its freedom of discussion on ecclesiastical subjects must necessarily be attended with danger, would hardly have been expected in a country whose civil institutions are animated by a spirit of freedom, while the principles of the Church herself are based on her original independence and liberty of acting, uncontrolled by any civil power, or foreign ecclesiastical domination. There is reason to conclude that such a suppression of the unfettered powers of Convocation would never have been resorted to by the State (because wholly indefensible on the principles of liberty, for which it had all along struggled since the Norman Conquest, as its ancient right, by the ancient Saxon laws, and on which our present constitution has been settled), were it not the lamentable fact that a long period of spiritual apathy and stagnation succeeded the Revolution, the effects of which have been for more than a century experienced in this country, as the cause of dissent, indifference in religion generally, and almost total relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline.” p. 272.

There are many points which require synodal legislation, and synodal sanction : there are many difficulties which a national synod alone can remove ; many great and glorious works which a national synod alone could undertake. Whether we look to our internal or our external relations, to our domestic or foreign affairs—to the obstacles that impede many desirable measures within our own pale—or to the aggressions against us from without of rationalism, Romanism, and infidelity, our only remedy is a Church Legislature.

2. We decline entering into further particulars, lest we should offend the prejudices or irritate the feelings, and thus divide the counsels, of those whom we desire to see united in this great cause, and we pass on therefore to the limits which should be allowed to the legislative authority of the national synod.

Its power should be absolute in spiritual matters: but it should only enforce its decrees by spiritual censures and spiritual disqualifications. Under this head is of course included the right to regulate or withhold the administration of any of the rites of the Church. And besides this, all ecclesiastical preferments, and all other appointments held by clergy or laity, as ministers or members of the Church, should be held conditionally on the obedience of such clerics and laics to the decision of the synod.

3. And we now proceed to the last part of our present subject—the constitution of the synod.

We propose that in each diocese there should be a synod, consisting of two houses—a lower, elected by the communicant laity—a higher, by the clergy; the bishop presiding.

We propose that the national synod should be composed, as at present, of two houses: that the lower house should consist of an equal number of deputies of the clergy and laity, elected by the councils of the several dioceses in proportion to their church population, together with representatives of the Universities, and two or more heads of the ecclesiastico-legal faculty.

The upper house should consist of all the bishops.

And no enactment should be considered as the law of the Church which had not the Royal assent, so long as the Sovereign continues to be a member of our communion.

The admission of the communicant laity to a share in the deliberations of the synod may perhaps, at first sight, strike some of our readers as an innovation; but such a view of the case is far from being correct.

In the earliest general council, that of Jerusalem, mentioned in Acts xv., we have the testimony of inspiration to the fact, and therefore the propriety, of such a proceeding.

Let us examine the passage.

Certain officious persons invade the jurisdiction, dispute the authority, and question the orthodoxy of the Apostles Paul and Barnabas: not being able to convince or silence them, it is decided that the matter should be referred to the Apostles and elders (the bishops and priests) at Jerusalem; and when they came to Jerusalem, "they were received of the Church and of the apostles and elders." A council is called to determine the matter, and, after a lengthened discussion, we read: "Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole Church, to send chosen men . . . and they wrote letters by them after this manner; The apostles, and elders, and brethren," &c. There is no mistaking the meaning, or destroying the force of this passage.

And if we refer to those passages in the Gospels where our Lord delegates judicial and legislative power to his Church, we

shall find, that though some of them convey an absolute and independent power to the Apostles and their successors, there are none which authorize the legislation of the inferior clergy, except as subordinate to that of the bishops, and co-ordinate with that of the laity. There are charters, so to speak, granted to the first order of the Christian ministry, and to the Church as a whole; but there are none which admit the elders whilst excluding the brethren: expounding these passages, as we have a right to do, by the fifteenth chapter of Acts already mentioned, and by other passages scattered through the Epistles, we arrive at the conclusion, that though the priest is to his own flock the divinely-appointed guide, the clergy, as a body, can give no sanction to the enactments of the episcopate which they did not already possess, without the assistance of the communicant laity: whilst we are also taught that the clergy are entitled, on such occasions, to a separate representation and a decided pre-eminence; and that the laity are, in like manner, totally without authority as a body, unless that authority be exercised co-ordinately with that of the clergy, and subordinately to that of the bishops.

In the later councils of the early Church there is no evidence that the laity were generally represented, and frequently direct testimony to the contrary; but there is no doubt that they were on all occasions previously consulted—that the clergy were to a great extent *elected by them*—and that no bishop was, in the first ages, ever imposed upon a diocese without the consent of the laity; so that, indirectly, their feelings and opinions were most powerfully represented.

In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries it was universal throughout Christendom for councils to be called, consisting of bishops, clergy, and laymen, who enacted regulations on questions both spiritual and temporal.

And ever since the English Reformation the principle has been admitted and acted on, that to make a law of the Church binding, it required the assent of the bishops and clergy in Convocation, and the communicant laity in Parliament assembled.

As the Parliament no longer consists exclusively of the communicant laity or their representatives, it has evidently no right to legislate for the spiritual affairs or internal concerns of the Church: but we are, notwithstanding this, of opinion that it has both the right and the duty, whilst surrendering a power no longer lawfully its own, to stipulate for the privileges of that body which it has superseded, viz. the communicant laity; and to secure the rightful supremacy of the Crown.

And, in conclusion, let us once more urge upon all our brother Churchmen the necessity of union and the duty of unity. Mere

common sense, to say nothing of deeper policy, will tell us, that if united, we must prove invincible—if divided, utterly powerless; that in the one case, our triumph is certain—in the other, our doom is sealed.

And to treat the matter on the ground of duty, we may remark that the question was once asked—*is still asked*—by a high authority, "If a man love not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" It is a question the solution of which would, we fear, tell rather painfully on many of those who are most highly thought of amongst us; but it would not be the first instance where that which is highly esteemed amongst men is abominable in the sight of God.

For our own part, whilst endeavouring to maintain and extend the faith once for all delivered to the saints in all its fulness and all its purity, we rejoice in cultivating the society of wise and holy men who do not exactly coincide with us; we love to recognize the image of Christ wherever the SPIRIT has formed it; and deem it a more graceful, as well as a more grateful employment, to acknowledge the merits and imitate the excellences, than to discover and expose the faults and foibles of our fellow Churchmen. If we hear any of the great doctrines of the Gospel brought forward more prominently than we have perhaps been in the habit of placing them, our inclination is not to accuse the preacher or speaker of a disregard for the remainder of Christianity, but rather to question our own heart as to its due acceptance of the great truth thus enunciated, even should the phraseology or manner of the teacher not accord with our own fastidiousness; and we are more disposed to employ such opportunities as the means of our own edification, than to use them as the channels of pride or malice, under the specious pretext of zeal for the Church's honour, or for our heavenly FATHER's glory.

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## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. Chambers' Ancient Sea Margins. 2. Strauss' Political and Theological Liberalism—Strauss' Der Politische und der Theologische Liberalismus. 3. Sharpe's London Magazine. 4. The Ministry of Reconciliation, by W. B. Killpack. 5. Mirabeau. 6. Memorials of Keats, &c., by M. Milnes—Memorials of Lamb, &c., by N. T. Talfourd. 7. Second Series of Dr. Moberly's Sermons. 8. Gresley's Practical Sermons. 9. Some Account of the Foundation of Eton College, by E. S. Creasy. 10. Flower's Reading Lessons. 11. Popery Delineated—Archbishop Murray's Douay and Rhemish Bible. 12. Hours of Recreation, by C. S. Middleton. 13. Holy Times and Scenes, by J. S. Tate. 14. Poole and Hugall's Churches of Scarborough. 15. Ford's Gospel of St. Matthew Illustrated. 16. Hastings' Whole Armour of God. 17. Female Examples. 18. Hymns for Public Worship and Private Devotion. 19. Contributions towards an Harmony of the Holy Gospels. 20. Maurice's Sermons on the Lord's Prayer. 21. Spencer's Abridgment of Wall on Infant Baptism. 22. Bp. Mant's Youthful Christian Soldier. 23. Cardall's Journeys of Israel in the Wilderness. 24. Huxtable's Ministry of St. John the Baptist. 25. Devotional Aids. 26. Fox's History of Rome. 27. Reflections on European Revolution of 1848. 28. Chepmell's History. 29. Nugée's Instructions on Confirmation. 30. Boyes' English Repetitions. 31. Grinfield's Scholia Hellenistica in Novum Testamentum. 32. Norden's Progress of Piety. 33. Hibbs' Discourses on Baptism. 34. Burnett on Insanity. 35. Excerpta Protestantia. 36. Reports on Education in Wales. 37. Maskell on Outward Means of Grace. 38. Birch on Shakspeare. 39. Philips' Triumphs of Faith. 40. Hook's Our Holy and our Beautiful House. 41. Hamilton and Co.'s Works on Arithmetic. 42. Autobiography of Rose Allen. 43. Allen and Cornwall's School Grammar—Miscellaneous.

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I.—*Ancient Sea Margins, as memorials of changes in the relative level of Sea and Land.* By ROBERT CHAMBERS, ESQ., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers. London: W. S. Orr and Co. 1848.

THE submarine forests which, on several parts of the coast of England, may be traced far into the sea, and to the depth of ten, twenty, or thirty feet below high-water mark,—and again, the repeated strata of recent shells, which in so many districts of this country may be seen in the section of our hills,—tell, in unmistakeable language, of the changes that have taken place in the relative levels of the land and sea. Similar vicissitudes in the surface or outer crust of the earth tell the same story in every other region; and are, indeed, so obvious, that in all ages they have arrested the attention of every observant eye, and formed the subjects of innumerable and most whimsical theories in the hands of cosmogonists.

These frivolous fancies gave way at length to a more careful investigation of facts, as well as to the control of a more sober species of induction; and for the last three-quarters of a century geology has taken its legitimate place amongst the accurate sciences. Geology has, moreover, become a *fashionable* pursuit; it offers such a field to the studious philosopher,—such a range to



the enterprising explorer,—such materials to the hypothetic system-maker,—that no other art or science ever before made such a sudden spring forward, or so rapidly and universally established its empire over all classes of mankind. Societies have been formed for its promotion,—individuals spend a large portion of their fortune, and the chief part of their summers, in visiting new fields of discovery and comparison; the railway traveller in Europe and America carries a geologic map in his breast pocket; the conversation of the sportsman, at his return home, alternates, over his bottle of claret, between the number of victims he had bagged in the moors, and the number of strata he had seen cropping out in the valleys; the seaman now, in his sailing directions, tells his brother tar to beware of certain conglomerate boulders which, having migrated into the sea, form there dangerous reefs; even the lady's boudoir is not complete without the last edition of Lyell's classic *Principia*, or the elegant volumes of Professor Ansted,—and to the favoured few who have the *entrée* there, she will display, with a captivating mixture of triumphant exultation and of philosophic dignity, the organic remains which she had picked up on the beach, or had detached from the cliff with her own hammer.

We are, therefore, sure of pleasing more than one class of our readers, by calling their attention to the ingenious work that stands at the head of this article. Its immediate subject will be found highly interesting, not only to the adept, but to the every-day observer of nature; and it is written in an easy and less dogmatic tone than that which generally adorns books on such topics.

It is quite incontestable that these islands were at some distant period deeply subinerged—our author thinks to at least 1700 feet above the present surface of the sea; but the question is, to what cause is to be ascribed this prodigious change in its level? Has the water wasted and subsided? Or, has the land been upheaved by some powerful force acting in the interior of the earth? Whichever of these two solutions be adopted, one thing is clearly demonstrated by Mr. Chambers, that in neither case could the action have been equable and uniform, that is to say, the up-raising impulses from below must have been applied by fits, with long intervals of time between them, or the subsidence of the sea must have been produced by causes which acted at successive periods, and after long intervening pauses. The proof is this; at all the elevations where those pauses, or long intervals, occurred, the level of the sea has evidently remained a sufficient length of time to make its usual inroads on the land, employing its constant agents, swell, surge, and surf, impelled by wintry storms, in.

scooping out bays ; in shaving off the gentle slopes of the hills into rude cliffs ; in shattering the detached fragments by its ever rolling and abrading powers into coarse shingle, or rounded gravel, or minute particles of sharp sand ; and lastly, by long-continued action, in depositing and shaping all this *detritus* into the gradually inclined beaches, or "Sea Margins" (as the author calls them), which every where encircle the coast. He traces the absolute identity of level in each of these successive steps round the whole periphery of Great Britain, along the eastern hills of Ireland, and up the valley of the Seine to Paris ; and avers that their correspondence is so perfect throughout that space, "that between Paris and Inverness not a vertical foot of derangement could be detected."

The chief part of the volume consists of statements of facts, tersely narrated, lucidly arranged, and graphically illustrated by a great number of excellent wood-cuts ; and a short appendix contains a condensed view, in two tables, of the absolute and comparative heights of all the by-gone Sea Terraces which had been previously described.

We will not now enter into the great question of terrestrial elevation, or of aqueous depression ; nor discuss the chronology of their several halts and movements. The mind is lost in contemplating the awful power necessary in the one supposition, and the incalculable volume of water to be disposed of in the other. The subject is, indeed, too mighty for any room that we could afford to it, and we shall for the present content ourselves in recommending the work to the attentive perusal of all those who like to dwell upon the magnificent operations of nature, and to study her laws in the grand and indelible records which she has imprinted on her shores, her valleys, and her mountains.

II.—*Political and Theological Liberalism.* By D. F. STRAUSS, Author of the "*Life of Jesus.*" Halle. 1848.

*Der Politische und der Theologische Liberalismus.* Von D. F. STRAUSS. Halle. 1848.

FROM every side trenches are opened, and assaults essayed against the Church of Christ. If Newman tells us we have no hold on objective truth, that truth out of Rome is only probability ; if he labours to overthrow the historical evidences for Christianity, to make the fundamental doctrine of our Lord's co-equal Godhead, and the mystery of the Holy Trinity, Developments, not known in the Church till she had fallen from the purity of her early practice and discipline, the American Emerson seconds him by teaching that our Lord was the first of men who perceived that man was

God, and that the proclamation of his Divinity is to be received in no other sense; while Strauss declares the entire Gospel to be a Myth, with little or no historical foundation. Of these theories it is difficult to say which is the most preposterous. All three however, if triumphant, would be alike subversive of the very existence of the Church. The kindly courtesy of friendship, therefore, is out of place in any dealing with these writers: and we can but take occasion to condemn the culpable indiscretion of Blackwood's Magazine, a professedly Christian periodical, in reviewing Emerson's Essays without any reference to the disgusting atheism and self-idolatry expressed in them, and the equally culpable "indifference" of the Edinburgh, in devoting an article to the praises of Strauss's pamphlet on the Emperor Julian, in which pamphlet he has drawn a parallel betwixt "the Apostate" and Frederic William of Prussia, as both striving to uphold an effete religion. The production which now lies before us is at once pert and silly, and will yet, no doubt, meet with many admirers. Its purport is to explain the best method of reconciling Roman Catholics and Protestants in Germany. This, the great Strauss informs us, cannot be attained by any compromise, approximating to the so-called "German Catholic movement," but simply and solely by the advance on both sides to a higher position; viz. pure humanitarianism: which is, being interpreted, any thing or nothing. Kings and ministers are quite mistaken, according to Strauss, in imagining that the poor require the prospect of a future life to reconcile them to their earthly lot. Not a whit. When they are only sufficiently imbued with humanitarian principles, and persuaded that all things end here, they will find strength within them to endure the keenest miseries without flinching. True, Strauss admits humanitarianism is a wide word; for the instincts of man's nature might be used to justify any course of action: but it appears that, after all, he is contented to abide by Christian morality, as he cannot well go beyond it, though he manages to dispense with Christian religion. Now that this morality has been once established on a dogmatic basis, the basis, he thinks, may be swept away, and the moral code will remain standing. On what purely moral principle, separate from religious considerations, let us ask, should we love our enemies? Will the mere general link of humanity appeal to the heart, as does the knowledge that our Lord and God has died in his boundless love for our foes as for ourselves?

The main point Strauss here insists on as decisive against dogmatic Christianity, is its Asiatic origin: but unfortunately he has forgotten that the common belief of mankind, as well as the

researches of science, unite in ascribing to mankind an Asiatic origin also. But it should appear that our western or European knowledge teaches us to look on nature as a long link of causes and effects, so that the direct and immediate interpositions of Providence in miracles must clash with our convictions. The infidel doctor again forgets that the longest chain of causes and effects cannot hang on nothing, must have a beginning, and *that* in God; and that God need not be supposed to interfere on each occasion of miraculous visitation, as it were by an effort, but can, from the beginning, have so hung the chain, that here and there the links may be "*regularly irregular!*" There is much flippancy and self-sufficient silliness conveyed in a few sentences, in which the physician is described as being unable to credit that leprosy was removed by a word, when a week's exertions on his part may not have stirred a boil; and the minister of state is said to be necessarily incredulous that thousands could be fed with a few loaves and fishes, when he finds himself unable with life-long study to provide food for the consumption of a nation. Worse than meaningless are such suggestions. To the minister or physician who believes there is a God,—not the soul of nature, not nature herself, but above nature, creating, controlling, guiding her,—and who sees it to be natural that God should reveal Himself to humanity, occasional suspensions of the ordinary laws of nature for the attainment of such an end will appear most natural also, and almost inevitable. For, were no miracle granted, there could be no external proof of revelation's truth; whilst faith would be converted into absolute knowledge, and the whole visible scheme of Providence overthrown, were miracles allowed to be constant or continuous. Dr. Strauss has, we fear, some few secret followers among ourselves. We blush for the intellectual weakness as well as the deadness of heart of those who can attach importance to such effete theories, which were far better propounded by Voltaire a full century ago. Germany must surely, ere long, awake from her rationalistic trance. As Southey said of her, "Let the dry bones shake!" She is capable and worthy of better things. If she listen to this humanitarian teaching, the Future before her must indeed be "big with terrors."

111.—*Sharpe's London Magazine*. Hall and Co., Paternoster-row.

It is not our wonted habit to review Reviews or Magazines, save after the most cursory fashion, in "the Coda" of our critical sketches. But the decided excellence of "*Sharpe*," as a whole, in its new form, and under its new directory, induces us to waive

our established rule. Without being in any party sense "High Church," it is yet eminently Anglican, and at the same time very amusing. For one shilling, more matter—and more valuable matter—is conveyed, besides two good plates, than in any other periodical published for this sum, or any sum approaching to it. Amongst the contributors we find Agnes Strickland, Martin Farquhar Tupper, Miss Pardoe, and other familiar names: but the main props of the magazine are, the author of Frank Fairleigh, now the editor, and a certain "S. M.," who has here published some exquisite tales, under the general title of "The Maiden Aunt." We use a strong expression in the word "exquisite;" but those who know the grace, the pathos, the sound sense, and the deep religious feeling of the tales adverted to, will not deem this encomium too high. "The Story of a Family," by the same authoress, is now publishing in Sharpe. It is admirably written, not as yet as intense in its effects as the tales which have gone before it; but equally valuable of its kind. We like far less another long tale now publishing in this magazine, entitled, "Harry Sumner's Revenge," by Polydore. There are clever sketches of living characters introduced in this; that of D'Israeli as D'Araoni is remarkably well done; but there is an air of artificial gentility, especially in the passages meant to be fine, which is displeasing. Still the general bearings of this tale also are to be commended, as good and catholic in the right sense; so far, at least, as we have yet seen. We were very much struck by a recent tale in this periodical, "Reminiscences of the Early Life of Sir K. F. B., General Officer;" we quote from memory, the number not lying before us. It appeared to us worthy of De Foe in its life-like distinctness and graphic energy. The poetry in Sharpe is, generally speaking, not to be commended; but this is a deficiency for which we can scarcely hope for remedy, and we must exclude some of S. M.'s lyrics, and one or two other effusions, from the sweeping charge. The reviews in this magazine (there are now generally four or five, occupying some twenty columns) are remarkably well done. They have not the stereotype deadness of the Athenæum, nor the false flashiness of the Examiner, nor the dull ill-nature of the Spectator, but are earnest and true-hearted in tone and spirit, and generally, in our estimation, correct. We fancy that we recognize the Roman hand of "S. M.," and the light and playful pen of the editor. The latter is peculiarly suited to his office, being always healthful and honest, racy and English in his tone; bearing, in fact, no slight affinity with one of his apparent supporters, "Martin Farquhar Tupper." His "Frank Fairleigh" was a model of easy conversational storytelling.

We have taken the trouble to bestow all this praise, because so many of the papers tend, even by their praises of "Sharpe," to give an incorrect impression of its contents. They talk of it as a kind of superior Chambers' Magazine. The truth is, that though it does contain some papers of practical information, it is, take it for all in all, the best magazine of the day. Blackwood's, as a whole, is very slow, despite the valuable politico-economical contributions of Mr. Alison; and Bulwer's tale of "The Caxtons," which it is now publishing, is much too like his "Devereux," and other earlier tales, to please us: that is, it is flashy and unsubstantial, with occasional touches of pathos. Fraser's, to speak the plain truth, is, under its new management, too often twaddly and too purposeless. Ainsworth's magazines—that bearing his cognomen, and the New Monthly—are very poor indeed. Bentley's Miscellany is beneath serious criticism. Tait's is perhaps better than either of these, but furiously radical, and very monotonous. The Mirror, now a monthly shilling magazine, cannot be compared to Sharpe's. And therefore, on the whole, we end as we began, by lauding "Sharpe" above its fellows, and consequently recommending it to the perusal of all good Anglicans, who want a periodical with interesting tales, breathing a religious spirit, and with sound doctrinal tendencies, good practical papers, and honest criticisms of the books of the day. Some readers may thank us for the hint, which is impartially given.

"Mentiri nescio: librum,  
Si malus est, nequeo laudare."

IV.—*The Ministry of Reconciliation. A Sermon preached on Trinity Sunday, 1848, at the opening of a building, formerly used by a congregation of Dissenters, for the celebration of the Church's Service, in St. James's, Devonport. By W. B. KILLPACK, M.A. London: Rivingtons.*

WE have abridged this long title; which, however, has the effect of attracting attention. On a truly interesting occasion was this sermon preached. We here mention it, mainly for the purpose of calling attention to this fact, that those who had formed the dissenting congregation, have at once, generally speaking, come over to the Church of England; confirming our impression that men are Dissenters in the west or in the north, because they cannot, morally speaking, be Churchmen: because the Church has never been brought home, can scarcely be said to have been offered, to them. Here is a great argument for the increase of church accommodation; but perhaps still more for that of the number of the Church's ministers: for the same Church may be

used for continual services, throughout Sunday and all other days, but the same clergyman cannot perform more than a certain amount of work. There is an interesting account of the conversion of the dissenting minister in the Preface to this publication. The sermon itself is sound, and clear, and sensible; and must have, no doubt, been very instructive to its auditors. We should like to have seen a more explicit recognition of the long bondage of the Church in the middle ages; nevertheless the whole spirit of the sermon is Anglican and Catholic, but by no means Romish. Mr. Killpack seems to have a difficult task before him. May he be found equal to it! On the winning or losing of the rising generation may depend the establishment, though not the existence, of the English Church.

v.—*Mirabeau. A Life History.* 2 vols. 8vo. London: Smith and Elder.

WE notice this book only to stamp it with our severest reprobation. It is an echo of all the most offensive follies of Carlyle; and, like all copies, infinitely more offensive than its original. The theory of hero-worship, that is, of the adoration of what may be termed brute force separate from goodness, whether intellectual or physical, is here pushed to its vilest excess. We are taught to think (as by Carlyle, in his "Cromwell," and elsewhere) that success palliates all things; nay, crowns villany with glory; or, rather, changes the very essence of thoughts, words, and deeds, and makes the bad worthy of enthusiastic praise. Mirabeau is represented as an unprincipled scoundrel, as he indeed was: but his very scoundrelism is pronounced heroic, which weaker mortals have but to bow down before. How strange appears this oriental slavishness of soul in self-dubbed rationalists, who dare to despise their God! Power, indeed, as manifested in various phases of humanity, *is* their God: and this they worship in the most ecstatic phrases. And strange it is—strange and portentous, to him who watches "the signs of the times"—that all these idol-worshippers, nay, even an Emerson, who affects to proclaim the divinity of self-idolatry, and will worship nothing out of himself, call, now loudly, and now in a tone of mystic awe, for some *one* new teacher, some mystic incarnation of humanity, destined, they suggest, to arise and preach a new religion! May not these be, in very sooth, the forerunners of some individual antichrist?



VI.—1. *Memorials of Keats, &c.* Edited by MONCKTON MILNES.  
2 vols.

2. *Memorials of Lamb, &c.* Edited by N. T. TALFOURD.  
2 vols.

BOTH of these works are well executed, and contain valuable matter; the former, by far the most. Lamb was a very small thinker and poor critic; and of this many proofs are afforded in the volumes before us; but he had a kind and feeling heart. The want of true religion was as much his bane, as it was that of the far more brilliant Keats. The former would not have taken refuge from sorrow in intoxication, nor the latter have cherished a passion of so worthless a nature for one whom he respected not, with such infatuation, had either realized true Christianity. The grief, indeed, of beholding the periodical return of madness in a beloved sister, which was Lamb's trial, must be great; but confidence in God might have enabled him to bear even this. The passion of Keats might have been more difficult to conquer, when it had once attained to maturity; but it is obvious that its very growth was attributable to the absence of Christian principle. The perusal of his first letter on the subject, to his sister, should convince his greatest admirers of the fact.

To resume our brief critical disquisition, we need scarcely say that Lamb was no poet, and indeed could have no perception of poetry, beyond, perhaps, the Elizabethan: for his own verses are wretched, and his intense admiration of every thing in the shape of a rhyme which fell from a friend, and apparent deadness to all without this sphere, seem to show that he valued poetry, as many do music, more by association than from any real perception of its beauty. Keats, on the other hand, in his own special line was a poet of the highest order. "Endymion" is, indeed, weak and watery, and fraught with a kind of milky sensuality, which has for us something repulsive. We scarcely wonder at the indignation of the Quarterly at such powers evidently thrown away; but then *the power* should have been acknowledged. But his "Lamia" yielded earnest of his peculiar combination of brilliant colouring with graceful originality; and the soft and sweet pathos of "Isabella," but, above all, the gorgeous, and yet rare and fragrant beauty of the "St. Agnes' Eve," touching, even to tears, manifest a poetical capacity of the highest order. Grandeur and majesty were, on the other hand, manifested in "Hyperion." And yet, with all this, we question whether, if he had lived, his poetry would not have effected more harm than good in every sense, moral and

literary. There is a strong tendency to a refined sensuality, even in his most beautiful works: it is the Pagan, and not the Christian ideal which is presented to us. We entertain the faith, that Providence throws nothing needlessly away; and that men are not suffered to die, who have any great work to achieve; unless others follow them who can perform it better. We would not push this general credence into an absolute rule; but still we think *Caesar* was right when he told the boatman, "*As need not fear, who carried Caesar and his fortunes.*" According to this theory, Keats would not have given us much more worth having. Perhaps his intellect was scarcely capable of any great expansion, of grasping sound generalities firmly: the freshness of his youthful imagination, no doubt wonderful, might have worn off; and he might then have only more and more yielded to his Sybaritic literary tendencies, and so have effected no little injury to his readers. But, taking his works for what they are, and excluding "*Endymion*," and some of the lyrics, from our contemplation, we recognize precious jewels of pure water in the remaining poems; not diamonds, perhaps, but amethysts, sapphires, emeralds, and topazes. We have seemed to speak slightly of *Lamb*. One word of admiration for his delightful "*Elia's Essays*" will, therefore, not be out of place. They are like a mild and genial autumn afternoon, when the shadows fall softly over the old manor-house, and the brook steals silently along, and the rooks are cawing in the distance. But Keats's best poetry is like a bright morn in summer-tide: the azure ocean rolls before us, tipped with gold; the snowy clouds, that now and then flit lightly o'er our heads, seem only the courtiers of the sun, that do him reverence, and reflect his beams: and on the rich green shore the flowers are opening, the birds are singing, and the butterflies are sporting in air. Keats's poetical reputation, we may add, will not have gained much from the effusions published in these volumes. Many of his letters, on the contrary, are deeply interesting. He was, in fine, a young *Apollo*: *Lamb*, a quiet, sylvan, pipe-blower, reposing in the woodland shade.

VII.—*Sermons preached at Winchester College. Second Series. With a Preface on Fagging.* By GEORGE MOBERLY, D.C.L., Head Master of Winchester College, and late Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. Rivingtons.

PERHAPS some of the best published sermons, of a recent date, are those which have been preached to schoolboys. And of these we have no hesitation in assigning the first place to the productions of Dr. Moberly; not, however, to the disparagement

of the excellent volumes of his late coadjutor, Mr. O. Wordsworth. In them we have the excellences of Dr. Arnold and other writers, without their defects. They are eminently practical and earnest in their tone, while they illustrate and enforce with admirable skill and power the distinctive doctrines of the Church. Considered as an attempt, and certainly a most successful one, to show from the pulpit the application of true Church of England principles to schoolboy life, they possess an interest and importance which belong to few of the multitudinous volumes of sermons which are constantly issuing from the press: and we cannot but cherish the highest hopes of an institution, the pupils of which are reared under such an influence as is indicated in these discourses. Time only will show the fruit which may be thus engendered; but we confidently trust that many a future son and champion of the Church, will have reason to thank God that his early years were spent under the guidance and instruction of the writer of these sermons.

It would be impossible by means of extracts, to enable the reader to form an adequate judgment of the sermons before us. The subjects will be found to be well chosen; and some of them being such as are not, perhaps, very commonly treated in the pulpit, will prove to have been not the less capable of profitable discussion, or suggestive of practical exhortation to the interesting class of hearers to whom they were addressed.

The Preface on Fagging is a masterly and valuable exposition of a question, concerning which many prejudices and mistakes are abroad; and to which the attention of the public has been of late more than usually directed. It will hardly be questioned that the "Preface" is a successful defence of the theory of fagging; and those who have been accustomed to regard it as nothing better than a system of tyrannical bullying on the one side, and degrading servitude on the other, will probably be surprised to find how much may be said in its favour.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the popular horror of fagging is not altogether without foundation. That which Dr. Moberly so ably vindicates is, not the system, we apprehend, with which the experience of our public schools has been mainly conversant. Too commonly fagging has been known only by its abuses: and the prevalence of these has not unnaturally brought the system itself into disrepute. It is quite true that the abuse of a thing is no valid argument against the use of it: but if it be found that in practice the latter seldom or never exists without the former, it will be the practice, and not the theory, upon which men will judge of its usefulness. For our own part, if we felt that such evils as have extensively prevailed in connexion with

fagging are inseparable from its operation, we should not hesitate to vote for its abolition. It were better, surely, to sacrifice all its advantages, than to perpetuate the moral mischief of which it has been the occasion; the misery to the weak and helpless; the hard-heartedness and self-indulgence which it has fostered among those who have had the power in their hands. We are persuaded, however, that these evils are by no means unavoidable: but rather, that when they exist to any serious amount, it is owing to a culpable slackness of supervision on the part of the masters of the school. Fagging, properly administered, will undoubtedly conduce greatly to the good management of the school, and to the formation of a high and manly tone of feeling among the boys: but in order that it may be so administered, and be productive of such results, it must be carefully watched and controlled by those to whom the education of the boys is entrusted. We are satisfied that such watchfulness is exercised in the time-honoured institution of S. Mary Winton College; and we confidently hope that the good fruits of "fagging," as it is there maintained, may lead to the correction of its abuses, and thereby to the continuance of its benefits, in other similar establishments.

VIII.—*Practical Sermons. By the Rev. W. GRESLEY, M.A., Prebendary of Lichfield.* London: Masters.

THE author of this volume has proposed to himself in its publication to select those topics, and treat them in the way which appears to him most suitable to the particular times in which we live. It is accordingly directed to explain the doctrines of the Gospel on such subjects as are either matter of controversy, or are too much neglected, and to enforce such rules of Christian morality and holiness as are peculiarly disregarded in the present times. To enter into detail on this subject would be impossible at present. But we may express our gratification at the plain, distinct, and truthful mode of treatment of the different points, which is exactly what might have been anticipated from Mr. Grosley's other works.

IX.—*Some Account of the Foundation of Eton College, and of the past and present Condition of the School.* By E. S. CREAM, M.A., Professor of History at University College, London, &c. London: Longmans.

WE have looked with some curiosity into a work on Eton College, proceeding from a Professor of the London University, as we certainly should not have supposed that much cordiality of feeling could exist between the members of the one institution and

of the other. But Mr. Creasy, as an old Eton man, is connected with *both* institutions, and accordingly we find no unfriendly tone of criticism—indeed no criticism at all; but a very cordial and admiring description of the Eton system, with some little outline of the history of the College. This little work will be very useful to persons in any way connected with Eton, from the details which it affords of the management of the school, and the Examination papers which it appends. The earlier history of the College is briefly told, and we should have been glad to have seen more facts brought together.

x.—*Reading Lessons for the Higher Classes in Classical, Middle, and Diocesan Schools.* By the Rev. W. B. FLOWER, B.A., &c. London: Masters.

As far as we can judge of this Reading Book, it appears to be a very judicious and well-selected compilation. The pieces included in it are arranged under the heads of “Imaginative;” “Descriptive Geography;” “Oratory;” “Natural History;” “Biography;” “Religion;” “Science;” and “Poetry.” We can safely recommend the volume to those who are anxious to obtain a good reading book.

xi.—1. *Popery Delineated in a Brief Examination and Confutation, &c. Second Edition.* London: Painter.

2. *Archbishop Murray's Douay and Rhemish Bible, and the Bordeaux New Testament, &c.* By a LAY BARONET. London: Painter.

THE first of these little volumes is a kind of Manual, in which all the errors of Romanism, and its principal pretences, are treated of. It comprises certainly much very useful information, and much plain vigorous argument, put in that short and clear way which is adapted to the understanding of the middle classes. We can have no doubt of its being eminently useful in many cases, and we should decidedly recommend it to the notice of the clergy; but there are a few blemishes, which prevent us from saying that it may be circulated with perfect satisfaction by Churchmen. We refer, in particular, to the contrast between the doctrine of Scripture, and of the Church of Rome on the subject of Transubstantiation (p. 157), which appears to us injudicious, if not unsound. We should be truly glad to see occasional faults of this kind removed from this otherwise well-conceived and useful volume.

The little work on “Archbishop Murray's Douay and Rhemish

Bible," &c., is of a different character from what its title would seem to infer at first sight; for it has very little reference to the Douay and Rhemish Bible, or its notes, but is a brief controversial work against Romanism, and we can speak of it in almost exactly the same terms as we have of the preceding work. It contains a great deal of very valuable matter in a short compass, but with occasional blemishes, which might be easily removed.

XII.—*Hours of Recreation; a Collection of Poems, written to the age of Twenty-one.* By CHARLES S. MIDDLETON. London: J. R. Smith.

JUVENILE poems are very seldom worth publication, and we naturally feel prejudice against a volume which comes before us with a deprecation of criticism in its very title-page. We are inclined to throw it aside without perusal; for the question naturally occurs,—“If a work has been composed at so early an age as to claim exemption from criticism, why has it been published at all; why add to the multitude of second and third rate books, by which we are inundated at the present day?” We deem such appeals to indulgence ill-advised in general; but, at the same time, there is so much modesty, and, we will add, feeling, in the author's preface, that we are rather reluctantly compelled to sympathize with his exertions, and more especially so, as his great wish is to create within his reader's mind a “spirit of love.” As might have been anticipated, there is not much power in the volume, but it is very pleasing in tone and spirit, and shows the workings of a gentle, and thoughtful, and cultivated mind. The versification is extremely good. Altogether we do not see why these poems should not rank pretty nearly with those of Henry Kirke White. There is much of the same kind of tone throughout, and nearly the same amount of poetical power.

XIII.—*Holy Times and Scenes.* By the Rev. J. S. TATE. *Second Series.* London: Masters.

THIS volume of poems consists of short pieces, chiefly on religious and devotional subjects; and we have been gratified at all that we have seen of it. There is one series entitled “Lessons from Nature,” which forms a whole in itself, and is very pleasingly written. We select a short example of the mode in which the author combines instruction and thought with the sights and scenes of every-day rural life. It is taken from a poem on “The Morning.”

“The toiling bees sing out their busy hum  
From flower to flower, in silence gathering sweets,

Like poets from each laden nectary :  
And e'en contentedly amid the air  
Sing rich melodious bass, when barren flowers  
No honey yield to their industrious search.  
So should we soar amid the purple air,  
And thankful sing; and e'en in poverty  
Contentedly lift up the louder hymn.

Upon a bank, some blue campanula,  
Hanging on wiry stems its little bells,  
Caught by the breeze, rings out a merry chime;  
Rustling among the slender leaves of grass:  
Where in green vest the shrill-toned grasshopper  
Sits twittering out his tune; with buoyant heart  
Then leaps on high to thank the morning air,  
As o'er the bending leaves it softly steps  
And flusters with a transient glow of health  
Some pallid son of woe, who early winds  
Through lanes and fields his sad, yet hasty way."

It is impossible to open this volume without meeting some passage like that we have quoted, full of pleasing imagery, and of the spirit of religion.

xiv.—*The Churches of Scarborough, Filey, and the Neighbourhood.* By GEORGE AYLIFFE POOLE, M.A., Vicar of Welford; and JOHN WEST HUGALL, of Pontefract, Architect. London: Masters.

THIS will be found a very interesting and instructive Manual for the use of persons visiting Scarborough. It is adorned with numerous woodcuts, which are always essential in works of this description. Every contribution to the knowledge of the architecture of our parochial churches is valuable in itself, and we have seldom seen a volume which is, in all respects, better executed than this.

xv.—*The Gospel of St. Matthew. Illustrated from Ancient and Modern Authors.* By the Rev. JAMES FORD, M.A., &c. London: Masters.

IN examining this work we have been struck by its adaptation to the use of preachers. The collection of thoughts, extracted from a great variety of ancient and modern authors, and arranged under the texts of the Gospel of St. Matthew, accompanied by apposite references to Scripture, seems to us eminently calculated to supply valuable aid and material of instruction to those who are about to explain the Word of God. The tone of the Preface



is excellent, and inspires confidence in the principles of the writer, and, as far as we can judge, his selections are very good.

xvi.—*The Whole Armour of God. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, &c. By HENRY JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., &c.* London: Hatchards.

THESE are plain, sensible discourses, and apparently very well adapted to engage the attention of those to whom they were addressed. Mr. Hastings is a strenuous advocate of the right of private judgment, and of the supremacy of Scripture; and he has certainly spoken throughout his sermons in a very distinct and unequivocal manner against the errors of Romanism. Perhaps it would be too much to expect that, in so short a compass, he should have guarded himself equally against the inferences of dissenters, and of those who deny the legitimate authority of the Church.

xvii.—*Female Examples. Selected from the Holy Scriptures. For Young Persons. By a CLERGYMAN'S DAUGHTER.* London: Hatchards.

THIS is a very pleasing and useful little book. Eleven characters are selected from the Old and New Testament; and the tale of their actions is very simply and well told, and interspersed with remarks tending to point out the example which they should be to women.

xviii.—*Hymns for Public Worship and Private Devotion. For the Benefit of the London German Hospital, Dalston.* London: Hatchards.

THIS collection of hymns presents many pleasing features, and has been brought together by an Editor who is apparently fully competent to his task. The hymns themselves are selected from all kinds of sources. We do not object to a good hymn merely because it may be one of Wesley's, or a Moravian composition, or a translation from the Roman Breviary; but we would prefer, if possible, to see hymns either derived from the Early Church, or from writers of the English Church. The tunes of these hymns, which are published in a separate volume, are, in many instances, derived from the fine old music still in use in Germany; and they deserve particular attention from all who are interested in the subject.

xix.—*Contributions towards an Harmony of the Holy Gospels.* London: Rivingtons.

THE author of this Harmony is of opinion, that there is yet room

for advancement in the harmony of the Gospels ; and he is anxious in his undertaking to avoid the faults which he has observed in preceding writers on the same subject, who have undertaken " at once too much and too little."

" Topics," he says, " in themselves comparatively trivial, and if relevant at all to the end contemplated, only relevant in the most remote degree, are handled with disproportionate assiduity and copiousness ; while inquiries, vital to the argument, are slurred over with the most cursory mention. Of both extremes I have been anxious to keep clear ; whatever topic seemed cognate to the main design, has received my best attention : whatever seemed cumbersome or excrescent, I have not scrupled to discard."

The author has availed himself of the researches of preceding writers, and has proposed his own view from a comparison of the facts and arguments supplied to his hands. Space does not permit us to do more than commend the general execution of the work as highly creditable to the author, as a scholar, and a divine. We extract the following remarks on the local origin of the Gospels :—

" Long before the close of the first century, as we have seen, each of the patriarchal cities had been furnished with what we may call its own *use* of the primary and purely historical Gospel. *Jerusalem*, receiving St. Matthew's narrative, had supplied it, not only to Palestine in the Hebrew, but to the Jews of the Dispersion in Greek ; *Antioch*, receiving St. Luke's, had spread it throughout Syria, Asia Minor, and the Grecian Peninsula ; *Rome* and *Alexandria*, receiving St. Mark's, had given it to the suffragan Churches, not only of Italy and Egypt, but of Europe and Asia generally. The original circulation of the earlier Gospels, I hold to have been precisely analogous to that of the ancient Liturgies."—p. 55.

This is a very striking remark, and opens out a field of thought. It seems an opening into the history of times on which so much obscurity rests, as those which immediately followed the history of the Acts of the Apostles.

xx.—*The Lord's Prayer. Nine Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn. By F. D. MAURICE, M.A., &c. London : Parker.*

WE own to a slight sensation of surprise in opening the first of these sermons, where we find this Professor of *Divinity* in King's College, giving the Lord's Prayer the title of " the Pater-noster ;" a mode of speaking which might induce a cursory reader to do a great injustice to Mr. Maurice's views. Judging from the volume

before us, this author cannot be suspected of any predilection for the Church of Rome, or indeed for any other system. "Priests" and "priesthoods" are his aversion, though he has experienced the misfortune of having been *ordained* "a priest." It is unfortunate for writers holding Mr. Maurice's views, that the Ordination Service is in existence, as their language on the subject of the priesthood is simply contradictory to the language of that formulary of the Church, as it is indeed to the Book of Common Prayer generally. Mr. Maurice censures the Church of England severely for her alleged neglect of the poor.

"Beneath all the distinctions of property and of rank lie the obligations of a common creation, redemption, and humanity; and these are not mere ultimate obligations to be confessed when the others are satisfied. . . . The Church proclaims tacitly by her existence—she should have proclaimed openly by her voice—that property and rank are held upon this tenure; that they can stand by no other. Alas! she has not spoken out this truth clearly and strongly here or any where. She has fancied that it was her first work to watch over the protection of those who would have protected themselves well enough without her, provided she had been true to her vocation of caring for those whom the world did not care for, of protecting them continually, of fitting them to be citizens of any society on earth, by showing them what is implied in the heavenly filial citizenship into which God has freely adopted them. Failing in this duty, she has become powerless for the one she ignominiously preferred. She can give but feeble help to the rich in the hour of need, because she ministered to them with such sad fidelity in their hour of triumph and prosperity."—p. 65.

XXI.—*An Abridgment of Wall's History of Infant Baptism. By the Rev. WILLIAM HENRY SPENCER.* London: Rivingtons.

THIS will be found a very complete and useful manual on the subject on which it treats. It contains an account of the works written in answer to Wall.

XXII.—*The Youthful Christian Soldier; or, The Younger Members of the Church admonished of their Baptismal Vow, &c. By RICHARD, LORD BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR, AND DROMORE.* Dublin: Hodges and Smith. London: J. W. Parker.

THIS work comprises several Charges delivered by the Bishop of Down to candidates for Confirmation. They will be found useful, as furnishing hints for elementary instruction to young people by parish priests. There is much poetry in various parts of the volume, which will gratify many readers; indeed, throughout

there is little of stiffness or superfluous dignity. The right reverend author condescends to enlist our sympathies with the poet and the man, quite as much as he commands our respect for his religious sincerity and plainness of speaking.

XXIII.—*Israel's Journeys and Stations in the Wilderness, considered as illustrative of the Christian Pilgrimage. By the Rev. W. CARDALL, M.A., &c. London: Hatchards.*

THE volume before us contains a series of lectures, in which the different events of the journey in the wilderness are regarded in an allegorical sense, as referring to the various events of the Christian's life on earth. Undoubtedly much pious and moral instruction may be connected with Scripture thus viewed, and the ancient Fathers wrote very generally in this way; but we think that it should be cautiously used; and that there may be doubts as to the expediency of pursuing it so far as Mr. Cardall has done in the work before us. Mr. Cardall is a disciple of the school of Mr. Simeon, and is familiar with its phraseology. His work appears to us to be written in a tone which is calculated to promote religious feelings in the hearers; but it has not much pretension to a high order of literary merit.

XXIV.—*The Ministry of St. John the Baptist, and the Baptism and Temptation of the Lord Jesus Christ. An Exegetical Essay upon the First Three Gospels. By the Rev. EDGAR HUXTABLE, B.A., &c. London: J. W. Parker.*

MR. Huxtable has, we think, afforded, in this essay, evidence of attainments and powers which are of no ordinary character; and which yield promise of valuable results hereafter. The style of this essay is pointed and condensed, and the research which it evidences is very considerable. We are glad to observe that he contemplates a more extended work of the same kind.

XXV.—*Devotional Aids; being Reflections and Prayers intended to occupy the time and engage the attention of devout worshippers previous to the commencement of Divine Service. By A CHURCHMAN. London: Longmans.*

A WELL-INTENDED little work, and one which appears perfectly unexceptionable in its contents. The idea strikes us as new. We should have supposed that the Prayer Book itself would furnish subjects enough of study and reflection to piously-disposed persons.

XXVI.—*A History of Rome for Young Persons.* By the Rev. SAMUEL FOX, M.A., F.S.A., &c. London: Masters.

THIS is just the history of Rome which ought to be put in the hands of children. It retains the old traditional history, to which we have all been accustomed, and which, though we know now to be in its earlier portions greatly mingled with fable, is yet necessary in order to enable young persons to comprehend the allusions and references of classical and other works. On this ground we should recommend a well-written compendium, like Mr. Fox's, in preference to any works conveying more critical views, reserving the latter for a more advanced stage in the course of education. Mr. Fox's book is the best work of the kind that we have seen.

XXVII.—*Reflections on the European Revolution of 1848.* By a SUPERIOR SPIRIT. London: Longmans.

WE certainly think the writer of this little volume was quite right in attempting to give an explanation of the meaning of his somewhat ambitious title. His meaning is, that he has contemplated the subject "from the highest attainable point of elevation," and not that he possesses "any mental or moral superiority." The "Superior Spirit," however, is not gifted with any prophetic power, and the whole aspect of political affairs in Europe has changed almost as rapidly in the last month or two as it did at the beginning of the year. Europe is a Kaleidoscope in the multiplicity and rapidity of its changes; and there seems a prospect of the spirit of revolution being ridden down in the greater part of the Continent, either by the old monarchical principle, or in mere desperation at its results.

XXVIII.—*A Short Course of Grecian, Roman, and English History; written for the use of the lower classes of the junior department of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.* By H. LE M. CHEPMELL, M.A. London: Whittaker.

THIS seems to be a well-executed compendium of history. One of its merits consists in the Chronological Tables which are prefixed to each chapter.

XXIX.—*Instructions on Confirmation. To which is added a Manual of Devotions, &c.* By the Rev. GEORGE NUGÉE, M.A. Curate of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. London: J. H. Parker.

MR. NUGÉE has added another to the long list of Manuals of Confirmation already in existence. We think about twenty new

manuals per annum would not be too large an estimate of the number added. It is in some respects very satisfactory to see so many works on the subject. They are all very good, no doubt—but their number is becoming somewhat bewildering. Mr. Nugée's Manual is a very respectable one: but what chance has it of attracting notice amidst so many others of about equal pretensions? The swarm of publications on this subject is becoming nearly as dense as that of new sermons.

xxx.—*English Repetitions in Prose and Verse. For the use of the Senior Classes of Schools; with Introductory Remarks on the cultivation of taste in the young, through the medium of our own writers.* By J. F. Boyes, M.A., &c. London: Whittaker.

THE object of the work before us, is to furnish a collection of short passages from our best poets and other writers, to be committed to memory by children, with a view to create a taste for the beauties of literature. There is a very long and well-written Preface on the subject, deserving of much attention.

xxxI.—*Scholia Hellenistica in Novum Testamentum, Philone et Josepho Patribus Apostolicis aliisque Ecclesiæ antiquæ Scriptoribus necnon Libris Apocryphis maxime deprompta. Instruxit atque ornavit Novi Testamenti Hellenistice illustrati Recens Editor.* Londini: Pickering.

THE title of the volumes before us sufficiently explains their general object. They consist of a series of short extracts, in the original Greek, from Philo-Judæus, Josephus, the Apostolic Fathers, and occasionally from Chrysostom and other early writers, and from the Apocryphal books of the New Testament, interspersed with remarks of Grotius, Carpzov, Valckenaer, and other modern writers on Sacred Criticism. The extracts are arranged in connexion with each verse of the New Testament, and are accompanied by Scripture references. Mr. Grinfield must have bestowed a vast amount of labour in bringing together such a mass of erudition, bearing on the subject of the illustration of the New Testament; and we feel assured that his labours on so great a subject will be justly appreciated by the Church. His work is the fruit of a ripe scholarship, and we rarely meet now with such elegant Latinity as in his Preface, which it is a positive pleasure to peruse.

XXXII.—*The Progress of Piety, whose Jesses lead into the Harbour of Heavenly Heart's Ease.* By JOHN NORDEN. Reprinted for the Parker Society. Cambridge: University Press.

THIS little work had become one of extreme rarity, until the recent reprint of it by the Parker Society, which we have now before us. Its author lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was a layman. The "Progress of Piety" appears to have been published in 1591: it consists of a series of reflections, prayers, and short metrical pieces on various spiritual and moral subjects connected with the Christian life. The Author was a contemporary of Hooker, and we should suppose from the general tone of his work, that he was as faithful a son of the English Church as that great divine. There is not the slightest trace of Puritanism in the work before us; and his loyal devotion to Queen Elizabeth is manifest throughout. He is anxious to engage his readers' prayers in behalf of a sovereign to whom he considers the cause of truth, and of the Church, to be so deeply indebted; and from the simple and devotional character of the whole work, we think it evident that this sprang from higher motives than a mere wish to conciliate the favour of royalty. We extract the following stanzas from one of the poems,—

Corrupt and filthy are we all,  
The proudest man is dust:  
No comfort here; we live in thrall,  
And linger here in lust.  
The sweetest of delights that we  
Can choose to please our will,  
What brings it us? Who doth not see  
That pleasures turn to ill?  
Art thou a man whose state is great;  
If pomp exalt thy mind,  
What then! Thy mind with sin impleat  
Bewrays thy pleasures blind.  
A dolefull bell doth wait to ring,  
When thou secure shalt die:  
What song of glory can'st thou sing,  
When corpse in grave shall lie?  
What shall avail thy lofty looks,  
Whereat the poor do quake?  
And what thy Machinvelian books?  
Whose cursed sleights forsake.  
Thy bravest buildings, high in state,  
Thy golden gods but dust:  
Thy Thrascos and thy Gnathos mate  
No more shall serve thy lust.



As might have been anticipated, there is occasional quaintness in the style, but on the whole we have been very highly gratified and edified by the tone of simple and fervent piety which characterizes this book of devotions.

XXXIII.—*The Substance of a Series of Discourses on Baptism, preached prior to a General Confirmation ; in which it is shown that the Teaching of the Church of England on the subject is consentient with Holy Scripture. By the Rev. RICHARD HIBBS, M.A., Curate of Corton, Suffolk ; late of St. John's College, Cambridge.* London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co. ; Norwich : Charles Muskell, 1848.

WE think this pamphlet chiefly remarkable as a specimen of the attempts not unfrequently made to reconcile the Prayer Book with certain uncatholic views on the subject of Baptismal Regeneration ; and we see in such attempts, an additional reason against confining the test of sound doctrine to the Articles ; for if people who entertain erroneous notions, endeavour to override the Public Offices, and think they can do so successfully, it is plain that they would be less easily convinced if they had nothing but the Articles to deal with.

Mr. Hibbs, who took his degree in the year 1841, and is, therefore, still on the right side of thirty, has, it seems, "for some years past weighed" a "certain view" of Baptism, and discovered arguments in its favour, "never before propounded." This view is "scriptural" and "consistent," but "least of all known or received." It is, moreover, the Church of England view on the subject of Baptism. Having thus far prepared for its introduction, Mr. Hibbs clears the way in the most summary manner. He allows no authority but Scripture, and (of course) his own interpretation of it. Authorities are equal on all sides (p. 5) : what use, therefore, in appealing to them ? And as to the "writings of the earliest divines, subsequent" to the Apostles, they are, "*providentially,*" very "meagre in all that relates to doctrine ; and, *for the most part, disfigured by gross conceits and the veriest puerilities.*" (p. 6.) Having thus a fair field and no favour, we are left to gather up Mr. Hibbs's view ; which, however, is not so determined as might have been expected. At page 45 we are told, that "Baptism is an appointed means of Grace ;" but at page 17, that it is "a sign or seal of acceptance with God," to be given to those who repent "and believe the Gospel ;" and this is adopted by Mr. Hibbs as "a correct definition."

Again, page 58, we read, that "all persons who have received

Baptism rightly are born again of God, but that unless they *afterwards* evince repentance and faith they were *not* born again;" so that the fact of a man's regeneration does not depend upon the Sacrament, or the right reception of it, but upon its own consequences; which is saying, in other words, that unless a man exhibits signs of life he never was born. And in accordance with this we are told, page 59, that the Church declares our state [of regeneration] *conditionally*. No doubt, faith and repentance, either expressed or implied, are required as conditions of our receiving Baptism; and no doubt the blessings of Baptism will be forfeited by those who, growing up to man's estate, do not perform their baptismal engagements. Is this all that Mr. Hibbs means? If so, why write a book about it? But Mr. Hibbs has a further meaning; his notion is, that unless a man lives a Christian life, he never was made a child of God. And this being his notion, he denies that infants are necessarily regenerate in baptism; or that they can be so declared, except upon the charitable presumption, that they will afterwards perform their baptismal engagements. After all, there is nothing uncommon in this view, as Mr. Hibbs seems to think, and nothing new in the arguments with which it is supported.

Perhaps we should not have been tempted to speak harshly of Mr. Hibbs, had it not been for a tone of self-confidence and presumption which is only too apparent. He tells us (p. 10) that *nothing can be more unfounded than to imagine, as not a few have done, that the discourse with Nicodemus refers exclusively to Baptism*. Yet Wall held that opinion; and he refers us to the Fifth Book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, where Hooker has these words:—

"Of all the ancients there is not one to be named that ever did otherwise, either expound or allege the place, than as implying external Baptism."

But we forget, Mr. Hibbs has disclaimed appeal to names of "acknowledged weight;" and, accordingly,

"Proceeds to weigh doctrines in the balances of the Sanctuary, as provided in God's Word."—p. 5.

From page 16 to 21, Mr. Hibbs has some good remarks upon the subject of Infant Baptism. We cannot, however, agree with him in the opinion, more than once put forward, that errors connected with the time of administering this holy ordinance, are harmless in comparison of the error of those who hold, "that all who are baptized in infancy are necessarily Christ's, as having received thereby his Holy Spirit."—p. 22.

We had always thought that this was the Church of England

doctrine upon this subject; but Mr. Hibbs makes no distinction between this view, and the popish doctrine of "regeneration in baptism, *ex opere operato*."

We cannot fall in with the idea that "regeneration is presumed to have taken place before baptism" (p. 22), or admit, that it is any argument in favour of this position, that faith and repentance are prerequisites for baptism. It may be enough to remind Mr. Hibbs that repentance is an act, and faith a faculty, regeneration a condition of the soul, and therefore that they are not to be confounded. We entirely agree with Mr. Hibbs in the position, that the final appeal should be made to the Scriptures; but we must be excused if we deny his conclusion, that "the defenders of baptismal regeneration, as it is wont to be called, must for ever be silenced by that appeal."—p. 23.

Mr. Hibbs asserts that, in the case of infant as well as adult baptism, the person baptized is the party with whom the covenant is made; which is a just observation; and he denies that the faith of the sponsors is accepted instead of the faith of the child:—here also we are disposed to agree with him. On the whole, we cannot help believing, that a better acquaintance with certain views which he *imagines* he controverts, will bring Mr. Hibbs into greater charity with them. They are as far removed from popery as his own, and much more easily reconcilable with the Prayer Book. We venture to say, that for all his tone of confidence, Mr. Hibbs has his misgivings; and in respect of his professed disregard for the countenance of authority, we would recommend to him the example of the learned Joseph Mede, who, in his exposition of Exodus iv. 25, having given his own interpretation with no little force of conviction, is careful to "free it from novelty," modestly doubting his own sense, or, at least, not desiring that others should be tied to it, unless he could free it from the imputation of strangeness and singularity.

XXXIV.—*Insanity tested by Science, and shown to be a Disease rarely connected with permanent Organic Lesion of the Brain, and on that account far more susceptible of Cure than has hitherto been supposed.* By C. M. BURNETT, M.D. London: Samuel Highley, 32, Fleet-street.

THERE is much in this work which appears extremely well worthy of attention. The author connects insanity with a disordered state of the blood, in which he regards the vital and the mental principle as residing. He remarks how little has hitherto been accomplished in a curative sense by those who have given attention to the subject, and ascribes the want of success partly to the popular

idea that the disease is mental, and that it does not admit of cure in the ordinary sense of the word, and partly to the conflicting evidence furnished by pathology, and particularly by morbid anatomy. He also attributes much to the prevalent misunderstanding of the value and meaning of restraint, which is only one of the means for effecting a cure, and should not receive an undue or exclusive attention. Much of Dr. Burnett's disquisition is employed in tracing the connexion of this disease with the state of the blood; and many curious and valuable cases are mentioned in illustration. On the whole, the work bears the marks of an attentive examination of this highly important subject.

xxxv.—*Excerpta Protestantia; comprising a View of the Church of England in the Aspect of her Articles and Homilies, and of her Antagonism to the Church of Rome.* London: Hatchards.

THIS little volume consists chiefly of extracts from the Homilies adduced in illustration of the Articles. Its object is good, but it is not written in a popular style.

xxxvi.—1. *Reports of the Commissions of Enquiry into the State of Education in Wales, appointed by the Committee of Council on Education, &c.* London: Clowes.

2. *Artegall: or, Remarks on the Reports of the Commissioners of Enquiry into the State of Education in Wales.* London: Longmans.

THE inquiry which has been instituted into the state of education in Wales, by direction of the Committee of Council, has brought to light much which is of very great and serious importance to the Church. It seems that the Church day schools contain a respectable proportion of those children who attend day schools; but the greater part of the people are educated in the Sunday schools; and it is *here* that the Church fails. It is of great importance, doubtless, to improve the system of education in day schools; the exertions made in this respect in Wales will be most valuable in their results; but we feel convinced that the Church does not bestir herself as she ought in the management of her Sunday schools. We feel assured that *this* is the point which a clergyman in Wales ought to attend to chiefly. The Church in Wales has permitted the population to become, to a great extent, alienated from her. She has now to re-convert them by persuasion. And we should suppose that the great amount of religious division in Wales affords her a hope of success. Much care and caution, doubtless, is requisite in deal-

ing with the Welsh mind, which appears to be jealous and irritable; but we trust that it will be found that dissent in its various shapes has been preparing many a man to become a more enlightened and more zealous Churchman than he would have been without passing through its teaching. The task is most arduous, we admit; but it is very far from being a hopeless one if undertaken in a Christian spirit, and with discretion.

The author of "Artegall" is, we should think, a dissenter; and is very angry at the notion of any interference with the present system of education in Wales.

XXXVII.—*The Outward Means of Grace: a Sermon, preached in the Church of St. Mary, Totnes, at the Triennial Visitation of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Exeter. By the Rev. W. MASKELL, M.A., of St. Mary's Church, and Domestic Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Exeter.* London: Pickering.

THIS sermon is marked by the intellectual acumen, and the command of his subject, which might have been expected from the author of writings like those of Mr. Maskell; and yet we must confess that we have not read it without some degree of uneasiness and regret at the tone of some portions of it, which seem to evidence a disposition to diverge from ordinary modes of thought and expression without sufficient cause. We do not wish to dwell on the questionable expediency of quoting the Vulgate, (although we think it ought to have been avoided under the circumstances of the diocese in which the sermon was delivered;) nor in that of employing, under the same circumstances, the word "Sacrament" in the larger acceptation in which it has been sometimes taken; but we rather refer to the author's statements on the head of Absolution, which appear to us to be more dogmatic in tone, and, at the same time, more remote from the ordinary opinions of English theologians, and more approximating to what we must regard as error, than we should have anticipated from the author's writings or position. We think that some of his doctrines on this subject are incorrect, and without sufficient foundation. On what ground he can hold that the benefit of Absolution is restricted to a case in which previous confession has been made, "by word of mouth, of all known and remembered sins," we are at a loss to conceive. Certainly, Scripture does not teach this doctrine, nor the formularies of the Church of England, —nor, as far as we know, any General Council, or any consent of Fathers. Mr. Maskell's view of the Absolution in the Daily Service, which he thinks may be said by the minister, even when in Deacon's orders, is, at least, unusual; and we regret to see statements of this kind thrown out cursorily in a Sermon.

XXXVIII.—*Birch on Shakspeare*. London. 1848.

To say that this Birch should be birched, were an obviously dreary joke; yet is it only the more suitable to the author of this production. Viler twaddle we never met with. Conceive a man sitting down to maintain seriously, and elucidate by copious illustrations, the theory, that the poet, who may be said to have contributed more towards the formation of the national mind, than all the other poets of his country put together, who has never failed to excite abhorrence of the evil, and sympathy with the good, who has uniformly written with a moral, and frequently with a religious purpose, who is eminently reverential in spirit, and so imbued with all the first principles of theology and truths of Revelation, as to contain more frequent, and incidental, and apparently inevitable references to them, than any other not directly devotional writer extant; that Shakspeare, in fine, must from the tenor of his writings be held an atheist, and be further convicted of the constant design to instil his atheistic principles into the minds of his fellow-countrymen, and of the world's inhabitants at large. We dismiss this wretched book without further comments on its malevolent folly; only remarking, by way of illustration, that Iago's sneers at Revelation are held to be utterances, intentional utterances, of Shakspeare's own convictions. Further than this, it were impossible for folly to go.

Let us, however, take this occasion to remark, that the deep religious value of Shakspeare's master-pieces is, perhaps, scarcely yet appreciated as it should be. It is not generally perceived that quasi-philosophical indifferentism, and weak negation, (alas! too prevalent in the present day,) are held up to contempt in "Hamlet, the Dane," who even after the apparition of his own father from the grave, can talk "of that bourn from which no traveller returns;" can spend his time, when some great decision is required of him, in purposeless misty, barren disquisitions, who scarcely dares to look the king, his uncle, in the face, yet vents the most cowardly and malignant spite on his helpless mother; who casts the heart-broken Ophelia to the winds without a sigh, and apes sorrow for her loss from a mean prompting of envy and self-reproval; when he sees the true grief of Laertes, who is, in fine, a full-blown specimen of the German of this nineteenth century, (save in the articles of grace and cleanliness,) knowing a little of every thing and much of nothing, mean, low-spirited, cowardly, Hegelian, and decided in nothing but doubting; fresh from "the university of Wittenberg," as Shakspeare informs us, with his usual discrimination, which seemed to give him supernatural knowledge of things past, present,

and future. Men generally suppose that Hamlet is meant for a really great philosopher, and take his doubts and quibbles to be Shakspeare's own; though it is as plain as a pikestaff, to the intelligent reader, that the poet entertained the most supreme contempt for his quasi-philosophical "nineteenth century infidel" hero. So, again, in "King Lear," people do not appreciate the lesson of moral retribution conveyed in the terrible punishment of the old monarch for a life of selfishness; his very affection for his children having been of the most selfish order, as glaringly indicated in the first scene. They do not see that even Cordelia's earthly suffering and early death are *due*, her father's miseries having been all occasioned by her stubborn refusal to condescend to his infirmities; a refusal, despite her real nobility of soul, inexcusable in her, who stood so high above her father's level, and could so well afford to stoop. Again, people do not, or is it that they will not? see the same lesson of moral retribution most powerfully read us in the exquisite "Romeo and Juliet." Is it possible not to perceive that Shakspeare wishes to teach us that such love as theirs, such all-engrossing passion, must become sinful in its excess, perverting the most exquisite of human affections to idolatry. It is not once or twice, but throughout, that the lesson is read,—

"These violent delights have violent ends."

Or as Friar Lawrence still more forcibly expresses it, in rebuking Romeo for his heedless, godless passion, in a severe yet purely Christian strain:—

"Take heed, take heed, for such die miserable."

The very catastrophe is brought about by Romeo's crime of suicide, performed with his usual haste, and almost without inquiry. So again in "Macbeth" we see in "the Thane" and "his wife" specimens of mean ambition and of haughty strength of will, both avowedly free from the influence of religion. "Were we safe," Macbeth says with his usual meanness,

"We'd jump the life to come;"

and the nobler, though perhaps direr Lady Macbeth, (who subsequently dies of remorse, whilst her tyrant husband becomes only more and more callous in his detested selfishness,) makes no further reference to Revelation than by a sneer at

"The eye of childhood,  
That fears a painted devil."

But we have said enough on this score. Suffice it to assert that the morality, nay more, the religious faith, of Shakspeare is invariable. To quote as proofs to the contrary, those loose



humorous speeches or half-comic references to religious truths, which are to be discovered in his plays, would argue only want of sense in the quoter. The first class are altogether objectionable: we can only palliate their errors by the example of even religious writers of those days, who scrupled not to joke on matters which are now banished from polite literature: with regard to the latter class, such as honest Slender's declaration that he would only get drunk again "with honest, civil, godly company," "with those that had the fear of God, and not with drunken knaves;" these to us are, we confess, sometimes pleasurable, and very rarely offensive: they could scarcely ever be injurious. But if any more direct proof of Shakspeare's own religious convictions be demanded, let it be noted, that the obviously highest favourite with the Immortal Bard of all his heroes, Henry V., is also the most directly pious. Here be it remarked, too, that Shakspeare's theology is essentially Catholic and anti-Roman, on the all-important subject of "Grace versus works:" for

" In the course of justice, none of us  
Should see salvation."

His energetic protest against the Papacy, and its claims to supremacy, in "King John," also speak trumpet-tongued against the imputation of Romanism to our "Swan of Avon." That he was a Churchman and a true Catholic, his habitual and remarkable reverence for all ecclesiastical dignities, as well as his universal sympathies for authority and order, do abundantly testify. We may even observe that he was a "true blue" tory, in the modern sense of the term, witness his objurgations of mob folly and tyranny in "Coriolanus" and "King Henry the VIth," and his noble-hearted loyalty, contrasting so strongly with the spirit of his contemporaries, manifested even in the portraiture of Hamlet's royal uncle, and of the weak and unfortunate Richard II. And so we arrive at the conclusion, which we of course desiderate, that our own convictions, and those of the great majority of our readers, religious, moral, social, and political, were shared and plainly expressed by "the applause, delight, and wonder" of all ages, the Glorious and Immortal Shakspeare.

xxxix.—*The Triumphs of Practical Faith, set forth in a Series of Twelve Discourses. By the Rev. W. SPENCER PHILIPS, B.D. Vicar of New Church with Ryde.* London: Rivingtons.

SOUND, earnest, and practical. We quote a striking observation:

"The heathen was astonished that the mere element of water should constitute so essential a part of the Sacrament of Baptism; and when

the early Christian talked to him, in exulting strains, of the blessed effects of regeneration, he would exclaim with the captain of the host of Syria, 'Are not Abana and Pharphar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? may I not wash in them and be clean?' and like him would turn away offended. When again he spoke to him of the spiritual comfort and holy joy imparted in the Lord's Supper, he could see nothing but the broken bread and the cup of wine; so true it is that faith alone can give to unostentatious ceremonies their true and vital efficacy."

But the general tone and spirit of this volume of discourses is especially to be commended for its freedom from all excess. Faith is assigned its due place in the Christian economy, as the foundation of holy obedience, but it is not lauded at the expense of works, nor otherwise exalted above charity. Surely those who confound that primary justification yielded in Baptism, and to faith, with the by no means inevitable sanctification that may or may not follow, according to the use of the grace granted in the Christian covenant, must close their eyes to that remarkable decision of St. Paul's; "And now remaineth these three, Faith, Hope, and Charity: but the greatest of these is Charity." Nevertheless, it is true, that the faith which justifies must include incipient charity, whilst the faith which sanctifies, must work by love. We have been especially pleased by the discourses on the patriarchs Abel and Noah.

XL.—"*Our Holy and our Beautiful House:*" a Sermon. By WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D. London: Rivingtons.

THE preface to this very admirable sermon recounts a striking example of the stratagems practised by the schismatics in this land, and more especially by the apostates from our Anglican communion. We here find a former clergyman of the Church of England, who had been formally enrolled as one of that Church's adversaries, with his wife, returning to her service without the slightest intimation of his apostasy, subsequently officiating for a period of two years at her altars, then retiring for a month from motives of health, and finally writing an insulting letter, announcing himself openly to be a Romanist. In sympathising heartily with Dr. Hook on this melancholy occasion, and admiring the firmness, moral courage, and moderation he has displayed, we cannot refrain from awakening a slight reminiscence of our old difference concerning his views on national education. We trust that there is now no difference of opinion amongst churchmen on this subject. We, ourselves, are not satisfied with any system of national education which votes a farthing

for the direct support of heresy and schism. Nay, we consider such a measure to be diametrically opposed to the first principles of our constitution in Church and State. We see the great practical difficulties in the way of any other arrangement; but we still hope and believe that, ere long, no theological instruction, save on Church principles, will be administered in any national school; children, whose parents wish them so to do, being allowed to retire at the hour when such instruction is directly communicated. But this "*quæstio vexatissima*" must not be further debated here. Finally, may we be permitted to congratulate the inhabitants of Leeds in their possession of such a Parish Church and of such a Vicar. Whatever be Dr. Hook's politics, his theology is irreproachable, and utterly devoid of party spirit in any sense. We admire his clearness; we applaud his strong sense and moral courage; we may even add, that we love his indefatigable zeal and earnestness "in spending and being spent" in the cause of our Blessed Lord and Saviour.

Since the above was written, we have seen a correspondence in the public prints, which in some degree tends to exempt from the more serious part of the charges against him, the person referred to at the beginning of this notice.

**XL1.—1.** *First Principles of Arithmetic.* By THOMAS TATE, *Mathematical Master of the National Society's Training School at Battersea.* Fifth Edition, with additions and improvements. London: Longmans. 1848.

**2.** *Exercises in Arithmetic.* Published under the sanction of the "*Committee of Council on Education.*" By THOMAS TATE, &c. London: Longmans.

**3.** *The Intellectual Calculator.* By JOHN THOMAS CROSSLEY and WILLIAM MARTIN. *Forty-second Edition.* London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

ALL very excellent works, which we can heartily recommend to "Teachers and Monitors in Elementary Schools," or elsewhere.

**XLII.** *The Autobiography of Rose Allen.* Edited by A LADY. London: Longmans. 1847.

THOUGH pleasingly written, kindly in tone and well intended, this little tale is full from one end to the other of the false and latitudinarian notions so generally in vogue with those who in Church matters think that good nature is a better thing than godly discipline or sound doctrine. The authoress is evidently of opinion that heresy is a venial sin, and schism perfectly immaculate.

"It is hoped, however, that the story may help to induce a more

general recognition of the reciprocal duties of master and servant, and a more conscientious appreciation of the responsibilities of their respective stations."

It concludes in the following words, to which we gladly give circulation, anxiously wishing that it may arrest the attention and influence the practice of those to whom this censure applies :

"I have written these sketches of the different situations which I have filled, hoping that they may suggest to those who do not *always* pay due attention to the welfare of their households, the duty of consulting their servants' feelings, which are so often the same as their own ; hoping also that they will endeavour to bear in mind how easily they may wound, and easily they may gratify those who are dependent upon them for the daily comfort of their lives. *Very strong* are the mutual bonds of duty and obligation between servants and employers. And when they are properly felt and attended to, very valuable are the friendships which may be formed. At all events, very pleasant may their mutual intercourse be rendered, when servants give themselves up with heartiness and good-will to the performance of their various duties ; and when their employers remember that kindness and consideration are as much due to their feelings as is attention to their bodily comfort, or the punctual payment of their wages."—pp. 161, 162.

XLIII.—1. *Allen and Cornwell's School Grammar. Eleventh Edition.* London : Simpkin and Marshall.

2. *Grammar for Beginners, being an Introduction to Allen and Cornwell's School Grammar.* London : Simpkin and Marshall.

THESE are the best English grammars that we have seen ; but, like other good things, they have defects. We have noticed three prominent faults.

Instead of following the old plan of dividing substantives into *three* genders ; these authors declare that there are only *two*, and that nouns of the neuter gender belong to neither, thus :—

" GENDER.

"EXAMPLES.—*Man, woman ; boy, girl ; horse, mare.*

"EXPLANATION.—*Man* means *he*, and is of the MASCULINE gender ; *woman* means *she*, and is of the FEMININE gender. *Boy* means *he*, and is masculine ; *girl* means *she*, and is feminine. *Horse* means *he*, and is masculine ; *mare* means *she*, and is feminine.

"22. There are two genders, the masculine and the feminine.

"23. The masculine denotes the *he* ; the feminine denotes the *she* ; a *man*, masculine ; *woman*, feminine." After an exercise on the above follows :

"EXAMPLES.—Desk, candle, glass, watch.

"EXPLANATION.—*Desk* is neither he nor she ; so it is neither masculine nor feminine ; *desk* is, therefore, said to be NEUTER, for neuter means *neither*.

"Candle too is neither he nor she ; so it is neither masculine nor feminine ; candle, therefore, is NEUTER. . . . .

"24. Names of things without life are of no gender, and therefore called neuter nouns ; as *table, pen.*"—*Grammar for Beginners*, pp. 23, 24.

This we decidedly condemn ; it is pedantic without being scholar-like, and a novelty but no improvement ; besides, it is in itself incorrect, and calculated to produce mischiefs. This should be altered.

We should be glad if Messrs. A. and O. would tell us what gender a working bee belongs to : it is "neither *he* nor *she*," and yet it is not "without life."

We object again to denominating "I have loved," the present complete tense. It is a gross blunder, apparently derived from a confusion of two things entirely different,—the Greek Perfect and the English Preterite ;—the first of which may indeed be called by those who feel a pleasure in giving new names to old things—the *complete present*—the latter of which cannot be called so without violence to the meaning of words.

In their larger work the writers thus express their views on the subject :—

"Obs. 3. The form *I have written* is usually called the Perfect Tense. This is a correct term : for *perfect* means *complete* ; and *I have written*, implies that the writing is *complete*. But it is complete *now*. So it is Present as well as Complete. It asserts the completion of an action at the *present* time. [In passing, we may observe that the authors have in this instance written *completion* instead of *completeness*. To assert the completion of an action at the present time, is to assert that it is *just completed*.] The *doing* of the action is *past*, but the *completeness* of the action is spoken of as *present*.

"Obs. 4. The Present complete is used to express an action, the effects of which are spoken of as coming down to the *present* time. Thus we say, *Cæsar has written his Commentaries in a very chaste style*. But we cannot say *Cæsar HAS WRITTEN his work on language in a very chaste style* ; for it has not come down to us. We must say, *Cæsar wrote his work on language in a very chaste style.*"—p. 32.

Take these instances as a proof to the contrary :—

"PORTIA. Why doth the Jew pause ? Take thy forfeiture.

"SHYLOCK. Give me my principal, and let me go.

"BASSANIO. I have it ready for thee ; here it is.

"PORTIA. He HATH REFUSED it in the open court ;

He shall have merely justice, and his bond."

*Merchant of Venice.*

Here it is quite evident that the Preterite, *HATH REFUSED*, is not identical with the Greek Perfect.

Take, again, this citation from Lord Byron's *Manfred* :—

•        •        •        " we were not made  
To torture thus each other, though it were  
The deadliest sin to love as we HAVE LOVED.  
*Say that thou loath'st me not,*" &c.

Here again it is quite evident that *have loved* denotes a something *past*, and a state of feeling which is supposed not to continue to the present.

Again, in the celebrated battle scene in Moore's *Veiled Prophet of Khorassan*, we read :—

"Twice HATH the sun upon their conflict SET  
And RISEN again, and found them grappling yet."

Assuredly Messrs. A. and C.'s statement does not hold good here.

There is a passage in Crabbe which strikingly illustrates our view of the case :—

"Much HAVE I FEAR'D, but *am no more afraid,*" &c.

*Borough*, Letter XX. line 79.

New or uncommon names should not be introduced into elementary works without grave reason—none such exists in the present case—in fact, the whole affair is a mistake.

A stranger and graver blunder, however, occurs in the observation which follows immediately that last quoted :—

"121. Obs. 5.—For the Incomplete in the Passive Voice there are two forms, one with the participle in *ing* after the Auxiliary *be*, as, *the house is building*; the other with *being* and the Past Participle after the Auxiliary, as, *the house is being built*. . . . Generally, where it can be used, the form with the participle in *ing* merely is preferable, and in such phrases as, *the house is building, the book is printing*, &c., is nearly always used: but sometimes this form would cause ambiguity, or be wholly unintelligible; as if we were to say, *the book is praising*."

*Allen and Cornwell's School Grammar*, p. 32.

The ingenuity and research displayed in hunting out this "form" of the "Incomplete Present" deserved certainly better success.—Messrs. A. and C., however, in this instance, remind us of the adventurous seamen who having discovered, as they supposed, a new island, landed to take possession of it. But no sooner had they lighted their fire than all their dreams were dispelled by the disappearance of their island, which turned out to be a monster of the deep, instead of a piece of *terra firma*.

In the instances adduced to prove the existence of this new tense, the word terminating in *ing* is not a participle, and the phrases are merely just within the extreme pale of grammatical licence, even if so much as this be granted to them.

*The house is building* is a contraction of the elegant phrase, *the house is a-building*—the preposition represented by the par-

ticle *a-* is invariably understood in every such case—consequently the words *building, printing, &c.*, are not participles. Some will call them gerunds, others verbal nouns, others (as we have seen somewhere, we forget where) another form of the English Infinitive; but no one who carefully investigates the case, and compares the analogous phrases of other languages with this “form of the incomplete present,” will admit that the words are participles, nor will any one, we think, except the authors of the work before us, recommend such expressions as ‘the house is building,’ ‘the book is printing,’ ‘the cow is milking,’ *the mistake is making, the letter is writing*, as models to be generally imitated.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

“THE *Matin Bell*; or, the Church’s Call to Daily Prayer,” by Bishop Mant (Oxford: Parker), is a poem in which the duty and privileges of Daily Service are described in such a manner as to lend an additional charm to the exercise of this sacred office. Would that we were not so immersed in the bustle of life, as to avail ourselves so little of the privilege, where it is afforded! This money-loving tendency of the age is ably referred to by Mr. Bosanquet, in “a Letter to Lord John Russell, on the Safety of the Nation” (Hatchards), in which the evils of our political system are traced to it.

Mr. Burns is republishing his series of *Tales*, translated chiefly from German authors, at an extremely cheap rate. Chamisso and La Motte Fouqué furnish the greater portion of the material.

We have read with much satisfaction a pamphlet by the Rev. J. B. P. Dennis (Rivingtons), entitled, “Some Thoughts on the Necessity of Rites and Ceremonies in the Church, and on the Apostolical Succession.” This publication, which was called forth by a Visitation Sermon, in which unsound doctrines on these points had been broached, is highly creditable to the learning, judgment, and Christian feeling of the author.

An acute and able pamphlet on Auricular Confession, “*Kappa to Delta, &c.*” (Davy: London) is deserving of notice; as also a publication “On the Importance of the Episcopal Office in a newly-founded Mission,” by the Rev. H. M. White (Oxford: Parker). The latter work is to promote the Borneo Mission.

Amongst detached sermons we may notice the Rev. E. B. Eardley Wilmot’s Discourse on “Christian Loyalty” (Hatchards), as a manly assertion of old-fashioned political principles, which we should gladly see recognized by our statesmen. A new edition of the Rev. T. A. Holland’s Sermon on “Harvest Time,” (Rivingtons,) is very appropriate to the season. We may also mention the Rev. T. Ainger’s Discourse, “Sound Education the Security of National Tranquillity” (Longmans), as judicious and sound.



## Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

**AUSTRALIA.**—*The Bishops of Newcastle and Melbourne.*—Intelligence has been received of the safe arrival of the Bishops of Newcastle and Melbourne in their respective dioceses, in the course of January last. Addresses of welcome and congratulation were presented to the Bishop of Newcastle from the Australian Diocesan Committee of the Parent Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Church of England Lay Association. The former contains the following passage: "The announcement of the division of this extensive diocese into four, and of the consecration in one day of three Bishops destined for the newly-erected sees of Newcastle, Melbourne, and Adelaide, excited in our minds the liveliest feelings of joy and gratitude; and we sincerely trust that they may prosper in their endeavours to extend to this newly-erected province of the Church the full advantage of apostolic order and discipline." The Bishop of Melbourne was greeted on his arrival by a deputation, which came to pay their respects to him on board the *Diamond* steamer, on its arrival in Hobson's Bay. His lordship was installed on Friday, January 28th, in St. James's Church, which was crowded to excess.

**BARBADOS.**—*Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Trinidad.*—The Bishop of Barbados has been engaged, between March 11th and May 8th, in a Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Trinidad, comprising the islands of Trinidad, Grenada, and Tobago. In Trinidad he confirmed 205 persons, ordained two deacons, consecrated a burial-ground and two churches, and held a Visitation of the Clergy, of whom thirteen were present. From Trinidad his lordship proceeded to Tobago, where he confirmed 649 persons, and visited several schools. The Bishop also, after an inspection of the ruins, made arrangements with the rectors of the different parishes for the restoration, as far as practicable, of the ecclesiastical buildings overthrown or injured in the hurricane, out of the grants made to the Bishop for this purpose by religious societies in England. From Tobago the Bishop proceeded to Grenada, where he instituted the Rev. J. A. Anton, on the presentation of the Governor, to the rectory of St. George, and thence to Carriacou, where he held a Confirmation, and examined the different schools of Carriacou, five in number. His lordship then returned to Grenada, and remained there for a fortnight, visiting the different parishes, and their schools. The number of persons confirmed in the rural deanery of Grenada, was one hundred and twenty-seven.

**CANADA. DIOCESE OF QUEBEC.**—*Visitation at Montreal.*—The Lord Bishop of Montreal held the triennial Visitation of the Clergy

of the diocese of Quebec, in the parish church of Montreal, on Wednesday, July 5th. Fifty-eight clergymen were present, besides the three chaplains in attendance upon the Bishop, and two retired missionaries. In the evening of the same day the annual meeting of the Diocesan Church Society was held. The report spoke favourably of the progress of the Society's operations.

*Ordination.*—At the ordination held by the Bishop of Montreal on Trinity Sunday last, seven candidates were admitted to deacons', and three deacons to priests' orders. Of the ten, seven were from Bishop's College, Lennoxville, and one from King's College, Fredericton. There was a large attendance of laity, fifty-four of whom remained to receive the Holy Communion with the clergy.

*Death of a Clergyman from Emigrant Fever.*—One of the clergymen who responded to the call of the Bishop of Montreal, mentioned in our last<sup>1</sup>, for voluntary assistance in ministering to the emigrants at Grosse Isle, has fallen a victim to his devoted zeal. The name of the deceased was the Rev. W. Thompson. It appears that in early life he had been an officer in the British navy. He had lost his wife, and all his children but one, shortly after his arrival in Canada; the surviving child, which had been sent home at the time, was recently sent for back to Canada; and it was partly with a view to welcome his child, that Mr. Thompson volunteered to take the first turn of duty at Grosse Isle this year.

*Proposed Division of the Diocese.*—The Annual Report of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* concludes its account of the diocese of Quebec by the following statement:—

"The Bishop has repeatedly, during the last two or three years, brought before the Society the urgent need of a division of his diocese; and the fact"—mentioned in the Report—"of two clergymen having to travel more than 700 miles in such a country to attend his last Visitation, is a convincing proof of the necessity of such a measure. Under the arrangements at present existing, the bishopric of Montreal is a mere title, the city of Montreal being within the jurisdiction of the see of Quebec, which is the residence of the Bishop. It is obvious, however, that Montreal, which is the seat of government, and incomparably the first city in Her Majesty's North American dominions, should not any longer be left without a Bishop of its own." A similar opinion expressed in the fourth Report of the Colonial Bishops' Committee, encourages us to hope that this desirable object will ere long be carried into effect.

CANADA. DIOCESE OF TORONTO.—*Ordination and Confirmations.*—An Ordination was held by the Lord Bishop of Toronto in Christ Church, Hamilton, on Sunday, the 30th of July, when ten candidates were admitted to deacons' and five deacons to priests' orders. Of the ten deacons, seven were from the Diocesan Theological College at Cobourg, and three from King's College, Toronto. In holding the Ordination in the city of Hamilton, the Lord Bishop

<sup>1</sup> Vol. IX. pp. 457, 468.

acted upon an intention entertained for some time, of performing this solemn service occasionally, and in turns, in such of the principal parishes of the diocese as it may be found practicable to include in such an arrangement. Accommodation was provided for the candidates at the residences of the gentry in the city. Not less than 1000 persons were present on this occasion, many of whom attended from neighbouring parishes. In the evening a Confirmation was held in the same church, at which seventy-five persons received that holy rite. On Saturday, the 5th of August, the Lord Bishop left Toronto for a Confirmation in the Indian Mission, at Manitoulin Island.

*Church Society's Sixth Annual Report.*—The Sixth Annual Meeting of the Toronto Church Society was held on the 9th of June last. The Report announces an addition of two missionaries during the year, making a total of ten clergymen supported wholly or in part through the medium of the Society; and a further increase, contemplated by the Bishop after his next Ordination, when three or four new travelling missions were to be opened. Four Indian interpreters are also supported by the Society.

The receipts of the Society, including its branches, are stated at 3059*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.*, exclusive of the offertory collections made on Good Friday, 1847, for the distressed Irish and Scotch, which amounted to 583*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* Of this amount two-thirds were forwarded to the Primate of Ireland, and one-third to the Primus of the Church in Scotland.

This was the first year in which the whole of the four annual sermons were preached under Article XIX. of the Constitution; namely, one in behalf of the Widow and Orphans' Fund; two for the support of Missionaries within the diocese; and the fourth in aid of the Bishop's Students' Fund, for assistance to candidates for holy orders at the Diocesan Theological College at Cobourg.

The number of students during the year was seventeen, of whom nine received an allowance from the funds at the rate of 40*l.* currency per annum. The Theological College was expected to furnish at least seven candidates for holy orders at the ensuing general Ordination.

The circulation of the Society's depository during the year was as follows:—Bibles, 513; Testaments, 843; Prayer Books, 1416; Publications of the Society, bound 21; Tracts, 30; Publications of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Bound books, 1612; Tracts, 7562; of the Bristol Tract Society, 808; miscellaneous, bound, 957; Tracts, 498.

The district branches are now ten in number; the district of Colborne having been separated from the Newcastle district, and made into a separate district branch, under the title of the Colborne district branch. The districts are:—1. Newcastle. 2. Midland and Victoria. 3. Prince Edward. 4. Eastern, Johnstown, Bathurst, and Dalhousie. 5. Niagara. 6. Gore and Wellington. 7. London, Western, and Huron. 8. Brock. 9. Talbot. 10. Colborne.

In the Report of the Prince Edward district branch it is stated, that at the annual meeting held in September last, there were either mem-

bers, letters, or messages from every township in the Peninsula, giving in their adhesion to the Society.

*Administration of Clergy Reserves.*—The Annual Report of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* contains the following "Regulations for the appropriation of the share of the Clergy Reserves Fund in the diocese of Toronto, 'for the support and maintenance of public worship, and the propagation of religious knowledge,' under the authority of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, pursuant to the Act 3 & 4 Victoria, cap. 78:—

"I. That a sum of 1200*l.* per annum, currency, be appropriated to the maintenance of a theological institution for the diocese of Toronto.

"II. That annual grants of 60*l.* currency be made to travelling missionaries.

"III. That stipends to the clergy in the settled districts be paid, equal in amount to the sum raised within the diocese; that in no case shall such stipend be less than 50*l.* currency, or more than 150*l.* currency; and that, of the sum raised from sources within the diocese, at least 50*l.* currency shall be raised within the mission itself, and a house provided.

"IV. That the sum of 60*l.* sterling be allowed to each unmarried, and 100*l.* sterling to each married missionary proceeding from England, for passage and outfit; and that a further sum of 60*l.* currency be allowed to each missionary, travelling or settled, on his taking possession of his first charge, to meet the expense of first establishing himself.

"V. That the continuance of the clergyman's services in any particular mission must be understood to depend on the fulfilment, by the people, of the conditions on which he was sent to reside among them.

"VI. That the missionaries at present on the Society's list be allowed to take advantage of the above arrangements, should they desire to do so."

*Indian Industrial School.*—An interesting scene took place on the 10th of June last at Alderville, in laying the foundation-stone of a school-house for the Industrial Indian School in the Indian village of Alnwick, in the presence of a large number of Indians who had assembled on the occasion. Already many of the young of both sexes of the Indians of Alnwick have been trained at this school, which, in addition to the usual education, will give them additional practical knowledge, and so make them valuable members of society.

*CANARY ISLANDS.—Religious condition of English Residents.*—Two correspondents of the *Colonial Church Chronicle* give an interesting account of the religious condition of the English residents in these islands. They are scattered over five islands in the group, and are altogether about one hundred in number. The greater part of them are settled in one or other of the principal towns of Teneriffe; viz. Santa Cruz on the south side of the island, and Tratará on the north, a distance of about five-and-twenty miles from each other. At Las

Palmas, the capital of Grand Canary, there are between thirty and forty; in the Isle of Palma there is but one Englishman, who united himself to the Church of Rome last winter. In Tuertaventura two English families reside, and there are three or four Englishmen in the island of Lauzarote. All these are usually without Church ministrations of any kind. In the spring of the present year, a large party visited Teneriffe from Madeira, when an attempt was made to establish a Church-service at Santa Cruz. A large congregation assembled at the house of H. B. M.'s consul; but the public celebration of the Lord's Supper, a privilege which has never yet been afforded to the English in Teneriffe, could not be accomplished.

Some of the consuls and vice-consuls have at different times established lay-services in their houses, and occasionally an English clergyman, visiting the islands, has performed duty during his sojourn. The feeling of the English residents is said to be such as to secure a favourable welcome to a clergyman offering his ministrations. The conduct of the Spanish Church is here, as every where, most intolerant; at Las Palmas, those English that have been compelled to have their children baptized by Roman Catholic clergy, have experienced the greatest difficulty in burying in their own cemetery such as have died, and after burying them, in preventing the people from tearing up the body. There are two small burying-places appropriated to the English, one at Orotara, the other at Santa Cruz; the condition of the former is described as being painfully in accordance with the waste and scattered state of the living temple.

*Condition of the Romish Church.*—The Romish Church at Teneriffe is described by one of the correspondents of the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, as being in a condition of utter decay and decrepitude. Although there is a Bishop in the island, resident at Laguna, no ordination has been held for twelve years. Owing to the suppression of the religious orders, and the general confiscation of Church property, the means of maintaining even the present generation of clergy are hardly forthcoming. It is also mentioned, as an interesting fact, that many of the most influential Spanish families are either directly descended from Irish Roman Catholic refugees who fled thither in the time of Cromwell, or have intermarried with the descendants of such families, in consequence of which a knowledge of the English language is very widely diffused amongst the educated Spaniards. Hence it is thought that the establishment of our Church in the island, in a regular and efficient manner, might operate most beneficially.

The Spanish Church at Las Palmas is apparently in a more active and energetic state than in Teneriffe. A new Bishop has recently arrived, accompanied by a priest called "el misionario," who, after his arrival, made a practice of preaching every evening throughout Lent at one of the parish churches, and sometimes from the balcony of the palace. When the Bishop descended from the pulpit, the missionary took his place, and followed up the Bishop's practical addresses by an appeal to the feelings.

**CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—Supply of Clergy.**—In reference to the important diocese of Cape Town, the Annual Report of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* contains the following striking statement:—

"Never, certainly, was the oft-repeated assertion, that the best way to procure a due supply of clergy for any colony is first of all to send a Bishop, more entirely made good than by the Bishop of Cape Town. His lordship was accompanied from England by the Hon. and Rev. H. Douglas, the Rev. H. Badnall, Dr. Orpen, Mr. J. Davidson, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Steabler, and Mr. Wheeler. He has since been followed, at various times, by the Rev. W. A. Newman, the Rev. James Green, Mr. Colin Campbell, and Mr. Bull; while the following important reinforcement to the Mission sailed by the *Gwalior* on Sunday, August 27th:—the Ven. Archdeacon Merriman, the Rev. H. M. White, Fellow of New College; the Rev. George Thompson, W. Andrews, M.D., Mr. Henry T. Waters, Mr. James Baker, and Mr. Thomas Henchman. Last of all, the Rev. M. A. Camilleri sailed by the *Zion*, on the 16th September, for the Mission to the Mahometans in Cape Town. The Rev. H. Bousfield had been sent before by the Bishop to the island of St. Helena, which is comprised within the diocese of Cape Town."

**CHINA.—The Church at Hong Kong.**—The Rev. V. Stanton, British chaplain at Hong Kong, has formally applied, in a letter dated April 24th, 1848, to the Lord Bishop of London for a licence to perform Divine service in the newly-erected church at Hong Kong, until an opportunity may offer for its consecration, stating that the building was expected to be completed about the middle of September. The following extracts from the chaplain's letter will be read with interest:—

"There will be accommodation for about 900 persons, which is much beyond our present requirements: supposing a large increase to the population and garrison, and a larger proportion of Protestants, a separate military service would secure the comfort of all.

"The church at Canton may be finished soon after, and the church at Shanghai in a month from the present time.

"I have also the prospect of commencing my Chinese school, with two English assistants, who I hope are now on their way.

"The English school is in a very satisfactory state, under a competent master; but we have no mistress, and Mrs. Stanton's time and strength are much occupied in supplying the deficiency. Her Majesty's Government have as yet given no assistance, notwithstanding repeated appeals; and the ordinary subscriptions falling short, I have suffered considerable loss."

**Protestant Missionaries in China.**—A printed list of Protestant missionaries, sent to China by different societies, has been forwarded to the Lord Bishop of London by the chaplain at Hong Kong, of which the following is a digest:—

<i>When sent.</i>	<i>Number of Missions.</i>	<i>Name of Society.</i>	<i>Station.</i>	<i>Number sent to the Stations.</i>
1817	1	London Missionary Society . . . .	Shanghai . . . .	1
1827	1	Chas. Gutzlaff . . . . .	Hong Kong . . . .	1
1829	1	American Commiss. Board . . . .	Canton . . . . .	1
1833	1	American Commiss. Board . . . .	Funchau . . . . .	1
1834	1	American Baptist Miss. Un. . . .	Hong Kong . . . .	2
"	1	American Commiss. Board . . . .	Canton . . . . .	2
1835	1	London Missionary Society . . . .	Amoy . . . . .	1
1836	1	American Baptist Soc. Con. . . .	Canton . . . . .	3
"	1	" " " " " " " " " " " "	Shanghai . . . .	2
1837	1	{ AMERICAN EPISCOPAL BOARD. Rt. Rev. W. J. Boone, D.D. }	Shanghai . . . .	3
"	1	American Commiss. Board . . . .	Amoy . . . . .	2
1838	1	" " " " " " " " " " " "	Amoy . . . . .	3
"	2	London " Missionary " Society . . . .	Amoy . . . . .	5
1839	1	" " " " " " " " " " " "	Canton . . . . .	4
"	1	" " " " " " " " " " " "	Hong Kong . . . .	3
"	1	" " " " " " " " " " " "	Shanghai . . . .	4
"	1	Morrison Education Society . . . .	Hong Kong . . . .	4
"	1	American Commiss. Board . . . .	Funchau . . . . .	2
"	1	American Baptist Miss. Un. . . .	Bangkok Siam . .	1
1842	1	American Presbyter. Board . . . .	Amoy . . . . .	6
1843	1	American Baptist Union . . . . .	Ningpo . . . . .	1
1844	1	American Commiss. Board . . . .	Canton . . . . .	5
"	1	American Presbyter. Board . . . .	Canton . . . . .	6
"	1	London Missionary Society . . . .	Hong Kong . . . .	5
"	1	American Presbyter. Board . . . .	Amoy . . . . .	7
"	3	" " " " " " " " " " " "	Ningpo . . . . .	4
"	1	CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY . . . .	Shanghai . . . .	5
1845	1	American Commiss. Board . . . .	Canton . . . . .	7
"	1	American Presbyterian Board . . . .	Amoy . . . . .	8
"	2	English Gen. Baptist Soc. . . . .	Ningpo . . . . .	6
"	1	AMERICAN EPISCOPAL BOARD . . . .	Shanghai . . . .	6
1846	2	American Presbyterian Board . . . .	Canton . . . . .	9
"	1	American Baptist Soc. Con. . . .	Canton . . . . .	10
"	1	London Missionary Society . . . .	Hong Kong . . . .	6
"	1	Moravian Education Society . . . .	Hong Kong . . . .	7
"	1	American Presbyterian Board . . . .	Ningpo . . . . .	7
"	1	American Baptist Miss. Un. . . .	Bangkok Siam . .	2
1847	1	American Baptist Soc. Con. . . .	Canton . . . . .	11
"	2	Basle Evangel. Miss. Soc. . . . .	Hong Kong . . . .	9
"	1	Rhenish Mission. Soc. . . . .	Hong Kong . . . .	10
"	1	English Presbyter. Soc. . . . .	Hong Kong . . . .	11
"	1	American Commiss. Board . . . .	Amoy . . . . .	9
"	2	Methodist Episcopal U. S. . . . .	Funchau . . . . .	4
"	1	American Bapt. Miss. Un. . . . .	Ningpo . . . . .	8
"	3	London Missionary Society . . . .	Shanghai . . . .	9
"	1	AMERICAN EPISCOPAL BOARD . . . .	Shanghai . . . .	10
"	2	Baptist South Con. . . . .	Shanghai . . . .	12
"	2	Sabbatarian Society . . . . .	Shanghai . . . .	14
1848	1	American Bapt. Miss. Union . . . .	Hong Kong . . . .	12
"	2	Methodist Episcopal U. S. . . . .	Funchau . . . . .	6
"	4	CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY . . . .	Shanghai . . . .	18



SUMMARY.	CHURCH.		DISSENTING BODIES.
	ENGLISH.	AMERICAN.	
Canton . . . . .	—	—	11
Hong Kong . . . . .	—	—	12
Amoy . . . . .	—	—	9
Funchau . . . . .	—	—	6
Ningpo . . . . .	—	—	8
Shanghai . . . . .	5	3	10
Bangkok Siam . . . . .	—	—	2

**EGYPT.**—*Letter from the Coptic Patriarch to the Archbishop of Canterbury.*—The following document possesses great interest, as a symptom of incipient communion between the English and the Eastern Churches. It is an acknowledgment of 500 copies of the four Gospels in Coptic, which had been forwarded last year by the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, for the use of the Christians in Egypt :—

“ From Petros, Patriarch of Alexandria, Egypt, and Abyssinia, servant of Jesus Christ, to the Lordship of his beloved brother in the Spirit, the Archbishop of Canterbury. May God the Most High keep and preserve him. Amen.

“ After presenting our salutation and hearty affection to your spiritual fraternity, (may God the Most High guard it from all evil and harm !) we state to your sincere and hearty love, that now, in the most pleasant of times and the best of hours, we were informed by our son, Mr. Lieder, of the succession of your Grace to the ministry of the office to which you have been called by the Father of lights. This gave us great joy and delight, and our heart rejoiced thereat. But we felt a great grief for the death of his Grace, who has received mercy, the Archbishop, your predecessor. And yet our grief turns to joy, as he is removed from a world of sorrows and misery to a world of bliss and eternity. May God the Most High, through His favour, extend your days for a long time in that office, and make you a blessed means of promoting true Christian knowledge in perfect peace and tranquillity ; as we hear of you good and agreeable reports. We inform your Grace, our brother, that we have received the five hundred copies of the Arabic and Coptic four Gospels. They are properly distributed gratis to every one that desires them. There have also arrived, through our son, Mr. Lieder, six hundred copies of the Homilies of St. Macarius in Arabic, which are also distributed gratis amongst such as wish them. We pray our Lord and God to reward you for this, with such things as, ‘ eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man ;’ that is, permanent things for temporary ones, and heavenly things for those that are earthly, in the kingdom of heaven, in accordance with your desire and wish, from the favour of the Most High God, for your labours, which we hope to be one day by His beneficence and goodness rewarded in the world to come. Moreover, you say that if we should wish to have more of the Coptic Gospels, after these are distributed, you would send us as many. We, our brother, pray and beseech Christ our God to pour upon you His spiritual benefits, and to

keep you and prolong your period and your peace, out of the abundance of His grace and mercy, and that He may shed over you a shower of His heavenly blessings and Divine favours. May you continue to be surrounded with felicity by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ to eternity. And praise be to God for ever and ever. Amen.

“ The 8th of Bashans, 1565, Coptic era, or  
15th of May, 1848.”

FRANCE.—*The Romish Church and the Republic.*—The position of the Romish clergy in their relation to the republic, though less precarious than it was three months ago, is yet far from secure, and infinitely less favourable to their Ultramontane aspirations than the clergy themselves anticipated in the early days of the republic. The factitious *éclat*<sup>2</sup> which followed the death of the Archbishop of Paris, for a moment revived their hopes; but the unceremonious manner in which the Minister of Worship cashiered an ordinance of the Archbishop issued a short time before his death, and another ordinance by the Chapter, intended to carry out the views of the former, for regulating the ecclesiastical rank of the assistant clergy and the distribution of the surplice fees, soon convinced the clergy that the eulogies passed by the republic upon the “martyrdom” of Mgr. Affre were the extent of advantage which the Church would derive from that circumstance. Several of the questions affecting the future position of the Church have, it is true, been decided in a conservative sense; more especially the nomination to vacant bishoprics, and the support of the clergy, as heretofore, by a charge upon the budget. Nevertheless, the influence of the Church is evidently but small, and the Bishops and Priests who have found their way into the National Assembly are disappointed in

<sup>2</sup> The following comments on this event in the *John Bull* present the whole matter in its true aspect:—

“ A Christian pastor—going forth with the cross in his hand, as a messenger of peace, to arrest the fury of civil war—is a spectacle which cannot but command the admiration of the beholder, and death, while so engaged, is heroic death, but one step removed from the glory of martyrdom. Such would have been the judgment, such the feeling with which we must have regarded the death of the Archbishop, had we been ignorant of his antecedents. We will not stop now to inquire why he did not volunteer the service of mediator, in which at last he lost his life, at the beginning of the fearful catastrophe, before the blood flowed in rivers, and the streets were strewn with thousands of the slain—why he offered his mediation only when the “insurrection” was practically subdued, when the side with which the victory would remain could no longer be doubtful. The motives, the calculations which caused him to suspend his action till that moment, can be judged of only by Him who searcheth the hearts. But we dare not lose sight of the part which the deceased prelate enacted four months ago—when he, whom the favour of Louis-Philippe and his devout queen had raised from a low and obscure condition, and placed on the see of the capital of France, did not give his royal master and benefactor time to get out of hearing of his orisons, before he discarded him from his prayers, and substituted successful rebellion under the name of the Republic, as the object of his intercession, in his time-serving litanies. Far be it from us to presume to scan the mysteries of Divine government; yet is there truth in the question, though it was a Jezebel that asked it, ‘*Had Zimri peace, who slew his master?*’ ”

their expectations. A striking proof of their real insignificance was afforded by the spirit in which the Assembly received, or rather scouted, the proposal of M. Sibour to procure for the workmen in factories cessation from labour on Sunday, which received support only from a few members of the extreme right, and from a portion of the Communists. Even in the Committee of Worship the clerical members find it difficult to maintain their ground in defence of ecclesiastical principles; and the freedom with which its deliberations have been commented upon, even by the *Ami de la Religion*, has provoked, in the first instance, a remonstrance from the Bishop of Langres, who is a member of the Committee, and who deprecated this aggravation of the difficulties experienced by himself and his colleagues, and subsequently a resolution of the Committee not to suffer the result of its deliberations to transpire for the future. Whatever that may be, and whatever decisions the Assembly may come to hereafter on the Report of the Committee, it is evident already that the freedom of action of the Romish Church in France will not be greater under the republic than it was under the rule of Louis-Philippe.

*Proposed Restoration of Pantheistic Idolatry.*—The frightful extent to which irreligion is concerned in the present social revolution in France, may be collected from the following extracts from some of the leading journals. Any description that we could give would at once exceed the bounds of credibility, and fall short of the reality; we therefore prefer transcribing the original documents. The first extract, taken from the *National*, proposes to abrogate all religion properly so called, and to substitute in its place a social theory.

"There is no mistaking it, whatever priestly conclaves may say, all moral authority, that which must preside over the eternally upward movement of the human race, is no longer to be found in theological dogmas. Progress is laical, and the march of civilization advances entirely apart from Catholicism; consequently, all moral authority now resides in that heirloom of truth which successive generations bequeath to each other, constantly increasing it by the incessant labour of thought. The theological law is evicted, and civil law has in its place become a dogma. All the progressive developments of mankind towards perfection will henceforth be recorded in the constitutions, and resolve themselves into duties of a higher order and a more holy character. The constitutions are the religious codes of modern times. This is the reason why, through an invariable instinct, the French people have striven to sum up in their different constitutions the substance of universally-recognised moral and political verities."

A step further in advance, in the development of this theory of irreligion, the *Démocratie Pacifique* propounds the following blasphemies:—

"The whole sum of the work of the *bourgeoisie* is contained in the religious question. It has most properly overthrown that avenging and wrathful feudal and monarchical God, who reckoned many reprobates and few elect. But, alas! it has found nothing but dry metaphysics,

criticisms, doubts, scepticism, and atheism, wherewith to fill up the void in men's souls; its utmost flight of religious faith has not risen higher than the invention of a constitutional, *juste-milieu*, eclectic God, who is neither spirit nor flesh, neither good nor evil; who is inviolable but irresponsible, who reigns and does not govern, who swears allegiance to the constitution of mathematical laws voted by the agents of nature, but who has no immediate, living, and sympathetic connexion or contact with the things, the beings, and ideas of this world.

"No; this is not the God of the new democracy. The regenerated man of the people will desire to feel God on earth as in heaven, and to bless him in himself as well as in his neighbours. He will be himself a priest and prophet by the same right by which he is a sovereign, proprietor, scholar, or artist. To him God will be the universal life, the association and harmony of all beings. The positive religion of the people will have for its doctrine the combination of sciences; for its worship, attractive industry; for its temple, the universe; for its altar, the earth; for priests and ministers, all mankind, according to their degree of intelligence and of love."

Extravagant as all this sounds, it is yet tame in comparison with the programme of certain works which are to be executed under the direction of M. Chenavard, a French artist, and under the auspices of M. Ledru Rollin, at the Pantheon, which will thus at last be appropriated to the purpose which its name indicates. The programme is contained in a succession of articles in *La Presse*, from the pen of M. Théophile Gauthier; the general nature and character of which may be gathered from the following samples:—

"The Pantheon will be the temple of reason; not, however, in the sense of the revolutionists of the Voltaire school, that is, not the temple of negative and barren reason, but the temple of affirmative and fruitful reason.

"The philosophic artist has not declared himself for any religious system; he has admitted all systems, as expressive of the same want, assigning to each a larger or smaller space, according as they have, in a greater or less degree, contributed to the welfare and the progress of humanity. Like the Pantheon of Rome, the Pantheon of Chenavard receives all the gods; there they are, each with his attributes, guiding the people and the civilization which worshipped them, all reproduced with pious fidelity, and invested with their beautiful forms by the scrupulous pencil of the artist.

"Men of all nations and of all ages may enter into this temple, and find there the objects of their veneration. The Chaldean will find there his stars; the Egyptian his Osiris, his Isis, and his Typhon; the Indian, Brahma and all his Avatars; the Hebrew, Jehovah; the Persian, Ormuzd and Ahriman; the Greek and Roman their Olympus in full force; the Christian his Christ eighteen times glorified; the northern barbarian his gods shivering under polar snow; the Mussulman, who hates images, his prophet, with his face veiled by a flame; the Druse his Chaliff Hakem, with his azure eyes and lion mask. All will be able

to say their prayers in this universal, truly metropolitical, church of the entire race of man.

"In the middle, under a triple colonnade, there rises an idol of strange and mysterious aspect, and of hybrid composition, which calls to mind the Indian deities. Yet neither the pyramidal pagoda of Juggernaut, nor the cryptic temple of Elephanta, have seen upon their altars this strange and new creation.

"In the centre, the Brahmin cow, with her face turned full towards you, and her knees drawn in beneath her dewlap, is seen ruminating some thought of cosmogony. On the right, the Persian griffin, with elongated claw and shaking wing, seems to guard a treasure; while on the left the Chaldean sphinx makes a mock of eternity in her granite dreams.

"On the back of these three beasts soldered together, rests the Egyptian skiff, the mystic Bari, which ferries the souls; the skiff bears the ark of the covenant, itself surmounted by the ciborium with the host encircled by glittering rays.

"This symbol, executed in red granite, will be repeated at the further end of the temple, and stand in the place of the altar, under a dome supported on twelve columns, which will be surmounted by a frieze with twelve compartments, with the Olympian gods sculptured in bas-relief.

"By this monument, composed of the symbols of all kinds of worship confounded together, Chenavard wished to denote that all religions are but different forms of one and the same idea, and that, viewed from a certain elevation, these forms must become indifferent: it is the Word, the great Pan, whom humanity adores under a multiplicity of pseudonymous appellations; all the names of deities are the epithets of the litany of that one universal and eternal God; the Word floating in its light, that is, the supreme and ruling intelligence, of which every animate being contains a particle, and which man alone bears consciously within his head and heart.

"He has, therefore, *made an idol*, that is, a plastic image which every body may worship, for it contains the worship of each with its genealogy: such must, of necessity, be the high altar of a pantheistic temple; for it is the mission of pantheism to absorb in its vast bosom every idea and every form; it excludes no religion, but assimilates them all."

GERMANY.—*Religious State of the Country.*—As far as religious questions can make themselves heard, in the din of political convulsions, it is evident from the tone adopted by the different parties, that a general dissolution of all the existing religious establishments is at hand in Germany. The only party that exhibits any thing like a compact appearance is the Romish Church; but even that is miserably divided. The hierarchy is every where exerting itself to stem the tide of innovation, and taking advantage of the liberalism of the day to call aloud for the removal of the various restraints under which the Romish Church has hitherto been kept by the different governments, both Roman Catholic and Protestant.

A "Catholic Union" has been established, with the Archbishop of Freiburg (Breisgau) at its head, whose object is to uphold the ultramontane principles of Romanism with the utmost rigour, and in total separation from the civil power. But while the hierarchy is thus engaged, the population manifests not unfrequently the most decided tendency to infidelity. At Vienna itself the Romish priests have been publicly hooted, and subjected to every description of indignity and ill-treatment, and similar scenes have been enacted elsewhere. The Neo-Catholicism of Ronge, which has since openly merged into Communism, has come to honour, and been admitted in regular places of worship from the total inability of the public authorities to prevent their forcible occupation. Another internal opposition against which the Romish hierarchy has to contend, is that of a vast body of clergy, especially in Baden, who have long been seeking to obtain a moderate reform<sup>3</sup>, and who are also raising their heads again. As regards the Protestant communions, all is confusion. In Prussia the reins of the Cæsaro-Episcopate exercised by the king have completely dropped from his hands. The Rationalistic preachers, who had been recently deposed from their offices, have been re-instated by authority; some refused to accept the boon; others had already retaken possession of their churches under favour of the popular will. The most notorious of the seceders, Uhlich, has dissolved the separatist body which he had formed, and procured his election to the National Assembly at Berlin. Meanwhile the Royal Ordinance for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly of the Prussian Church, mentioned in our last, has provoked numberless protests from synods and clerical conferences; the principle of universal suffrage, without religious qualification, which it adopts, having a manifest tendency to swamp the Church altogether in the worst form of popular rationalism. The ill-compacted elements of Lutheranism and Calvinism which the union of 1817 combined together, but which never amalgamated, are showing signs of separating again. These conflicting movements in the Protestant communion of Germany are not confined to Prussia; they have appeared elsewhere, though, on the whole, Prussia is undoubtedly the chief theatre of religious agitation. Meanwhile the Central Assembly at Frankfort has taken up the question of Church and State, in its declaration of "fundamental rights" in a manner, which, if acquiesced in by the different governments and legislatures of the federative empire, will produce the most sweeping changes in the ecclesiastical affairs of Germany. The Articles in question are as follows:

Art. 14.—Every religious community regulates and administers its own affairs, but it is, like every other society within the State, subject to the laws of the State.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of this party, and of the objects aimed at by them, we refer our readers to former numbers of our "Intelligence," vol. iv. p. 251, and vol. v. pp. 260—263, where their petition for reform, addressed to the Archbishop, will be found at full length.

New religious communities may be formed without requiring the recognition of the State.

No religious community is to be favoured by the State, to the exclusion of others. There is to be henceforward no State Church.

Art. 15.—No one can be compelled to take part in the religious ceremonies and acts of any mode of worship. The form of oath is to be the same for all, and to be unconnected with any definite religious belief.

Art. 16.—The validity of marriage depends solely upon the execution of the civil act. The religious ceremony of marriage can be performed only after the civil act. Difference of religion is no obstacle to civil marriage. The registers of the civil *status* are to be kept by the civil authority.

GUIANA.—*Distressing position of the Clergy.*—The Lord Bishop of Guiana writes, under date of January 17th, 1848, to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, as follows:—

"I regret to inform the Society, that the very deplorable state into which the colony has been thrown by the financial changes which have lately taken place, has so completely alarmed the community, as to have drawn from the Legislature the expression of a determination to reduce all salaries at least 25 per cent., and to abolish a great many offices altogether. It is needless for me to say, that the clergy will feel this drawback to their necessary comforts very much; and although I feel assured that they will not complain, should the present necessity be found to exist two or three months hence, yet it is impossible to conceal from myself the very great distress which will arise to those who are not in circumstances to meet so sudden a check."

INDIA. DIOCESE OF CALCUTTA.—*Consecration of the Cathedral.*—The Annual Report of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* contains several communications from the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, in reference to the cathedral, which was consecrated on the 8th of October, 1847, being the anniversary of the day on which the first stone was laid in 1839. The following are extracts:—"The cathedral has been adapted for the three fold purpose of—1, a parish church for the numerous Christian inhabitants of the district, who for the last twenty-five years have felt the want of a church; 2, a mission church for service in the vernacular languages; 3, the cathedral of the metropolitan diocese of Calcutta. The three fold objects speak for themselves to every pious and considerate Christian. In the present state of the public mind, and amidst the different efforts in education which have been making for the last thirty years, it is a great step in advance to have founded a cathedral with its own endowments, and not dependent on the contributions of societies at home for its missionary proceedings. It gives a front and face to Christianity—it claims India as the Lord's. When the chapter is formed, it will give a *status* to the Gospel in the heart of our magnificent heathen and Mahomedan empire. It will naturalize



the Christian religion. A small body of cathedral clergy will surround the bishop; will aid him in the diffusion of the blessings of salvation, assist him in his jurisdiction, help him in drawing up confutations of Hindoo and Mahomedan systems of idolatry and error, labour with him in the translation of the Bible and Prayer Book into the vernacular languages, hold up his hand in conferences with learned natives, deliver Lectures, under his direction, on the Evidences of the Christian Religion, and compose theological works adapted to the Oriental inquirer after truth."

*Bishop's College.*—A document transmitted to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* contains a list of the students which have passed through the college and their subsequent destinations; from which it appears, that out of forty-five students, admitted into the college since the year 1824, twenty-five have been admitted into holy orders, and appointed to missionary and other ecclesiastical stations; sixteen have received missionary appointments as catechists, three have been put in charge of schools, and one remains as Natt Syndic Fellow at the college. Of the catechists several have subsequently returned to secular employments. This account does not include some lay students, i.e. non-foundationers, and several others, who after a longer or shorter period of study were compelled by circumstances, or otherwise induced, to renounce the calling with a view to which they had entered the college. There are now twenty-three students in residence.

The List of Books published at Bishop's College Press, under the direction of the Syndicate, contains among others:—The Liturgy of the Church of England; the Psalter; the New Testament and the Pentateuch, in *Arabic*; the History of Joseph, in *Persian*; the History of our Blessed Saviour and our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, in *Sanscrit verse*. And in *Bengali* characters the following:—History of Joseph; Discourses of our Saviour; the Parables of our Saviour; the Church Catechism; the Book of Common Prayer; a Version of the Exposition of the Church Catechism; a Version of the Bishop of Calcutta's Tract on the Lord's Supper; a Version of the Bishop of Calcutta's Tract on Confirmation; a Scripture Catechism, introductory to the Church Catechism; an Original Catechism for Catechumens; the *Sacra Privata* of Bishop Wilson; Select Sermons of Bishop Wilson; and Sermons addressed to Native Christians and Inquirers, by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, who is the translator of the different publications before mentioned, except those which consist of portions of Scripture and the Liturgy.

*Necessity of subdividing the Diocese.*—On this important subject the Bishop says: "As to the Agra bishopric, now a part of this unwieldy diocese, and stretching over the conquered Punjaub, the necessity of a see being erected is as clear as the sun at noon-day. It is a question of pure geography. Tinnevelly will also want a bishop."

INDIA. DIOCESE OF MADRAS.—*Establishment of Church Societies.*—Two Church Societies have been established in this diocese, one for

the supply of additional clergy, the other a church-building society. The Bishop is president *ex officio* of both, and the Archdeacon an *ex officio* member of the committee. The other members of the committees of the two societies respectively, eleven in number, are to be elected annually, and six of them must be laymen. The Additional Clergy Society proposes to provide necessitous districts with clergymen, under the Bishop's licence, paying them at the rate of from 100 to 300 rupees per month, on condition of their being provided with a residence in the district.

*Spiritual Destitution.—Extension of Romish Missions.*—The following are extracts from a letter addressed by the Archdeacon of Madras to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, giving an account of a recent Visitation tour:—

"Wherever I have proceeded, the universal complaint has been, the insufficient number of clergymen, and want of adequate church accommodation, even for the English and East Indian communities. From one end of the diocese to the other there is one unvaried cry from the congregations under the patronage of Government, consisting of its civil and military servants, and from those which form the especial care of our Missionary Societies, for a greatly increased supply of ministers, even for the instruction and establishment in their most holy faith, of those who are professedly the people of God, and how much more for the myriads who, on every side, are lying in darkness and the shadow of death.

"The number of distinct English congregations, great and small, is about 100, and several of them are so large as to require two clergymen; while, making allowance for those absent on sick leave or on furlough, the number of chaplains available does not, on an average, exceed twenty; and I need hardly say, the fifty missionary clergymen in this diocese are still more inadequate for the great work which is committed to them, of building up our 50,000 native Christians in the faith and hope of salvation, and at the same time making known the unsearchable riches of Christ to those who are perishing for lack of knowledge.

"The Romish priests already outnumber us, three or four to one; and within the limits of Southern India the Church of Rome has no fewer than ten Bishops; viz. at Madras, St. Thomé, Secunderabad, Pondicherry, Coimbatore, Mysore, Mangalore, Goa, Quilon, and Veropoly.

"Most earnest and unceasing, therefore, must be our appeal to England to send us men competent not only to carry on this great spiritual warfare, but even to maintain our present position, which is threatened by the combined hosts of those who preach another Gospel, no less than by the votaries of idolatry and Mahommedanism."

*ITALY.—Waning power of the Pope. Protestantism at Rome.*—The position of the Roman See has, within the last three months, been such as to give to the history of recent events a political, rather than a reli-

gious character. But for the successes of Radetzki, it is extremely probable that the Pope would by this time have been reduced to the utmost extremity of helplessness. Since he has begun to breathe again more freely, he has had recourse to a remarkable method of discrediting the radical party, and enlisting the religious fanaticism of the Roman people on his side. What may have been the nature of the attempts to introduce Protestantism into Rome, does not appear, further than that the *Giornale Romano* intimated the existence of such attempts. We must therefore leave the Papal manifesto to explain itself; merely adding, that it was on the occasion of the process of beatification of Peter Claver, a Jesuit, that Pius IX. delivered himself of the following observations:—

“It is not a slight encouragement which the Lord vouchsafes to us in giving us to contemplate, through so many ages, devoted men who have enriched the Church with fresh conquests. This consolation is the more sweet to us in proportion as we are pained to see, in the time in which we live, audacity carried so far as to attempt to introduce into all-Catholic Italy, and into the very centre of Christendom itself, Protestantism, by means of one, nay, of a thousand, and of ten thousand accomplices. They profess the most ardent zeal for the cause of Italian nationality, and employ for its service an abominable means, directly calculated to destroy it. At the moment when Germany, animated by the same spirit, acknowledges that difference of religion is the greatest obstacle to the end proposed, so much so that the Protestants form projects of union; men are to be found in Italy, who do not fear to raise an immense religious scandal, as well as an immense political danger, by endeavouring to introduce the pestilential seed of separation from the unity of the faith, in order to obtain the unity of the nation. This is what the blindness of passion leads to. Let us pray God to dissipate this darkness, and, confiding in the Divine promises, let us remember that ‘the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church.’ ”

**JAMAICA.—Subdivision of the Diocese.**—On the resignation of the Archdeaconry of Jamaica by the Rev. Dr. Pope, who had held the appointment ever since the foundation of the see, the diocese has, on the recommendation of the Bishop, been divided into three archdeaconries.

**Religious Destitution.**—The Archdeacon of the Bahamas reports that the northern islands of his archdeaconry, viz. Aboca, with a population of about 2000 souls; Grand Bahama, 850; Andros Island, 760; Berry Island, 100; are without a single licensed representative of the Church of England, either lay or clerical. Neither is there a resident European missionary of any religious denomination, save at Aboca, where there is a Wesleyan minister.

**Distressed State of the Island.**—In consequence of the general distress in Jamaica, the Bishop, in a letter dated June 30, and addressed to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, thus expresses his

apprehensions respecting the difficulties and embarrassments in which the clergy are likely to be involved :—

"The aid of your excellent Society, at all past periods most valuable, is at this crisis absolutely necessary to the preservation of Church agency in many parts of this magnificent, but humiliated colony. How far the financial difficulties which press upon the island can be obviated, without a very considerable retrenchment of its annual expenditure, a just portion of which has been always liberally assigned to the Church, it is not easy to conjecture. A deficiency in one of the principal sources of revenue, which it was computed might occur to the amount of 14,000*l.* in the course of the whole year, has now appeared to the extent of 24,000*l.* within six months. To meet this exigency, the Legislature has been convened for the 3rd of August, and until some expedient shall be devised for replenishing the treasury, the public functionaries, including the parochial clergy, will be without salary.

"The anxiety and embarrassment consequent on this state of things are universal. The merchants are withholding their supplies, the planters throwing up their estates, the shopkeepers closing their doors ; and, while all feel the evil, none appears to project the remedy. God only knows what will be the result ! but so far as the calamity is consequent on the righteous act of emancipation, I feel confident that His gracious Providence will overrule it to our final benefit. The sentiments of the great majority of the population of Jamaica are essentially loyal ; and a large proportion of the better informed classes is still strongly inclined, under every privation, to sustain the Church, as the most hopeful shelter from impending ruin. My earnest and continual efforts shall be directed to fortify and increase this good inclination, by developing the real efficacy of our ecclesiastical establishment, in supervising the Christian education of the people, in stimulating the peasantry to habits of industry and order, and in administering to all classes of the community the only true and solid consolation under their present bitter and trying adversity."

*Confirmation of the young King of Mosquito.*—The Annual Report of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* contains the following extract of a letter from the Bishop of Jamaica, dated November 20, 1847 :—

"The Society will, perhaps, be interested in hearing that after the consecration of our little mountain church at Conington, on the 18th instant, I had the satisfaction of confirming the young King of Mosquito, who came hither principally for that purpose about a fortnight ago. The first convictions of Christian faith which have evidently taken hold of the mind of this young prince, argue well for the gradual conversion of his subjects ; and if it were within the charter and the power of the Society to establish a mission at Blewfields, the capital of his dominions, they would add to their history the record of another triumph of the Cross, well worthy of the name and object of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.*"

**NEW BRUNSWICK.—Return of the Bishop.—The New Cathedral.**—The Lord Bishop of Fredericton left England on the 26th of August last, on his return to his diocese. Before his departure his Lordship addressed a few lines to his friends in this country who had assisted him in the objects of his visit. A sum of nearly 1800*l.* was contributed, chiefly towards the erection of his cathedral in the place of the existing parish church, used as the cathedral at present, which is a mean wooden structure, containing only thirty free sittings. The cathedral in course of erection will contain about 800 persons, and all the sittings will be free. The external walls of the nave and aisles (eighty-three feet by fifty-seven) have already been erected, and the nave-roof was to be put on this summer. The remaining works to be added were the choir, about forty feet in length, of which the tower will form a part; the roofing of the aisles, the completion of the western porch, the fitting-up of the interior, and the erection of a building to serve as a vestry, chapter-house, and clerical library. The sum still deficient is about 2000*l.* The total expense of the cathedral is estimated at about 10,000*l.*, of which 3000*l.* has been raised in the colony. The Bishop himself has expended on it a sum nearly equal to the whole income of the see for the three years during which he has presided over it. The very eligible site of five acres on which it stands, was granted gratuitously by the Governor in council, on a petition signed by nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants of Fredericton, Dissenters as well as Churchmen. The Bishop was preceded on his return by three candidates for holy orders, one of whom is to be a travelling missionary, supported by funds contributed in this country.

**Division of the Diocese into Rural Deaneries.**—The Bishop, with a view to the more complete organization of the diocese, has divided it into seven rural deaneries; the deans to be nominated by the clergy resident within the limits of the several deaneries, subject to the approbation of the Bishop. The appointments are as follows:—*Fredericton*: The Ven. Archdeacon Coster; *St. John's*: Rev. Dr. Gray; *Woodstock*: Rev. S. D. L. Street; *St. Andrew's*: Rev. Dr. Alley; *Shediac*: Rev. Dr. Jarvis; *Chatham*: Rev. S. Bacon; *Kingston*: Rev. W. E. Scovil.

**NEWFOUNDLAND.—Visitation of the Diocese.**—The Bishop commenced the Visitation of this extensive diocese by the delivery of his charge at St. John's, on St. Matthew's-day, the 21st September of last year, and has been engaged during this summer in a voyage of Visitation along its shores, in the Church-ship. As a proof of the difficulty of communication and intercourse, the Bishop mentions, in his report to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, that "one-third of his clergy could not reach St. John's in time for the Visitation." Another painfully interesting instance of the delays and difficulties attending a Visitation by sea on the coast of Newfoundland, which occurred in July last, is thus related by the Bishop:—"After being bewildered and lost in a fog, which lasted nearly a week, and during which we

drifted many miles beyond our destination, and then knocked about in a gale which made the good Church-ship reel and shake, I arrive in St. George's Bay, anticipating a happy meeting and greeting with Mr. Meek and his people, who had not seen me, or any other clergyman, and had not partaken of the Holy Sacrament for three years; (Mr. Meek being in deacon's orders only, and the nearest priest 200 miles distant;) and lo! Mr. Meek is departed to St. John's, and the whole object of my visit is defeated." It appears that the vessel by which the Bishop's letter, notifying his arrangements, was sent, had been lost; and not anticipating the much-desired visit of his Diocesan, Mr. Meek had taken advantage of an opportunity, which so rarely occurs, of going direct to St. John's.

*Organization of the Diocese.*—The diocese, including the Bermudas, has been divided into seven rural deaneries. The Rev. Thomas J. Jones, M.A., of Oriel College, Oxford, has been appointed Principal of the Theological Institution, and he will reside with the students. The collegiate building being much too small, the bishop is anxious to commence the erection of a more suitable building, but is for the present prevented by want of funds. The Bishop has also resolved to open a school at St. John's, for the daughters of the upper classes; two ladies have left England to take the direction of it, and to superintend, in connexion with it, a girls' school for the poor.

*The Romish Episcopate.*—A coadjutor, with future succession, to the present Roman Catholic Bishop of Newfoundland, arrived at St. John's in May last.

NOVA SCOTIA.—*New Church Periodical.*—A new weekly paper has been established at Halifax under the title of the *Church Times*. It is to be conducted in accordance with the principles of "evangelical truth and apostolic order;" and will be ordinarily used by the Bishop as a medium of communication with the clergy.

RUSSIA.—*Concordat between the Emperor and the Pope.*—A concordat has been concluded, the particulars of which were officially published at the Consistory of July 3rd. In his allocution Pius IX. intimates that there are yet many points on which he desires a more satisfactory settlement; that, in fact, the present concessions obtained from Russia are considered by him in the light of an instalment. The following are the principal provisions of the Concordat: Art. I. The establishment, in the Russian empire, of one Archbishopric—Mohilew, and six Bishoprics—Wilna, Telsca, Minsk, Luceoria and Zytomeria, Kameniec, and the new diocese of Kherson, for Bessarabia, the Caucasus, and the adjoining provinces. Art. II. The Pope to settle the dioceses according to the preceding article; and the Imperial Government, with the sanction of the Holy See, the parochial divisions. Art. III. The six suffragan bishoprics established in 1789 to remain undisturbed. Art. IV. A suffragan of the Bishop of Kherson to be established at Saratow. Arts. V. to X. regulate details relative to the diocese of Kherson. Art. XI. The Polish dioceses to remain as settled in 1818.

Art. XII. The nomination of bishops to be a subject of negotiation between the Emperor and the Pope. Arts. XIII. to XVI. constitute the bishop sole judge and administrator of the ecclesiastical affairs of his diocese, reserving his canonical subjection to the Apostolic See; requiring him in certain cases to consult the diocesan consistory, but leaving the ultimate decision absolutely in his hands. Arts. XVII. to XX. regulate the appointment of the diocesan consistory and certain officers by the bishop. Arts. XXI. and XXII. vest the management of the diocesan seminaries in the hands of the bishop. Arts. XXIII. and XXIV. give the Archbishop of Mohilew similar power in the University of St. Petersburg. Arts. XXV. to XXIX. relate to certain administrative details connected with the university and the diocesan seminaries. Art. XXX. gives to the bishop the appointment of the clergy under certain restrictions. Art. XXXI. provides for the repairs of churches, the building of new churches, and the formation of new parishes.

SPAIN.—*Reconciliation with the Roman See.*—The long-pending negotiations between the Spanish Court and the Roman See have at length been brought to a conclusion. In a secret consistory, held on July 3, the Pope filled up the vacant sees; a Spanish ambassador has arrived at Rome, and presented his credentials; and the extraordinary envoy of the Pope at the Court of Madrid, Mgr. Brunelli, has been formally accredited as Nuncio Apostolic. In her reply to the address of the Nuncio, on his presentation in his new character, the Queen assured him that she would “strive to follow the illustrious examples of so many Catholic kings, her august predecessors, who had regarded that sacred title as the fairest flower of their crown.”

UNITED STATES.—*Increase of the Church in New Jersey Diocese.*—The Bishop of New Jersey, in an address delivered by him on the occasion of his sixteenth convention, states that since 1832 the number of his clergy have increased from eighteen to sixty-one; the churches from twenty-nine to forty-nine. Twenty-nine churches have been built, about one-third of which were rebuilt or nearly so. Nine parsonage-houses have also been erected. This revival and increase the Bishop ascribes, under God, to the influence of the two institutions established eleven years ago at Burlington; viz., Burlington College, which, besides being a theological training institution, is designed also as a central home for missionary deacons; and an institution for general education upon Christian principles, in which there are at present nearly three hundred scholars collected from every part of the country.

*Western New York Convention.*—The Convention of the Diocese of Western New York was opened on the 16th of August last. In his charge Bishop de Lancey animadverted upon the proceedings of the Society, calling itself the Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Knowledge, in terms which provoked, on the part of some of the clergy, a remonstrance in the form of a written protest against the Bishop's



doctrine. The manifest impropriety of the document, however, caused it to be ultimately withheld from official use ; but it is given *in extenso* in the columns of the *New York Churchman*. In it the remonstrants say :

" We cannot admit the justice of the opinion expressed in the Bishop's address, that our association is unwarranted in principle, nor that it ' is an irregular, needless, or distracting measure.' It is certainly adapted to the end which we have in view—the promotion of evangelical knowledge ; for the press is confessedly the greatest agency of the present day for the enlightenment of the world. It can only be considered ' irregular ' upon the ground that it is a violation of some canon or rule of the Church, which is not affirmed, and most obviously cannot be maintained ; it can be considered ' needless ' only upon the ground that no such agency is now required for the dissemination of evangelical knowledge ; it can be pronounced ' distracting ' only upon the ground that diversity of opinion is not allowable, and that our duty to the Church forbids us to express our conscientious convictions upon principles intimately connected with eternal salvation. That voluntary associations may not lawfully be formed in the Church, or that their formation involves the sin of schism, or is of mischievous tendency, we think cannot be maintained.

" The Church is full of voluntary associations. Many of our agencies for the Church at large, and in every particular congregation, are purely voluntary. We presume there is scarcely a flourishing congregation in the Union that has not its various benevolent and charitable societies. We are not aware that these various voluntary associations have ever been censured or particularly opposed by the Bishops or clergy of the Church.

" In view of these facts, and yielding to no one in our attachment to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, to its polity, its Articles, its Liturgy, and its sacred Services, we express our most respectful but decided dissent from the opinions set forth in his Address to this Convention by the Bishop, in respect to the Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Knowledge in Western New York. Of the Parent Society the Right Rev. Bishop Meade, of Virginia, certainly one of the ablest and most devoted of the Bishops, is president, and several other Bishops expressly sanctioned its formation. An auxiliary society has been formed in the city of New York, by many of the most eminent and devoted of the resident clergy.

" Auxiliaries have also been formed in several of the States of the Union, without any particular opposition of which we are aware, except in the single diocese of Mississippi, by its provisional Bishop ; we cannot believe that a society which is so extensively sanctioned by Bishops, clergy, and laity throughout the Union, involves any schismatic tendencies, or any dangerous element of discord or disunion. We deem our right to organize such a society, fundamentally, one of Christian liberty. We cannot admit that in this country, where freedom of speech and freedom of the press are deemed among the inviolable rights of the citizen, that we can be justly censured for associating to use these

agencies for the sole purpose of promoting evangelical knowledge. Considering, therefore, the official denial in the Bishop's Address of the right to form voluntary associations for proper objects, however disconnected, as ours is, and seeks to be, from the constituted authorities of the Church, as a practical invasion—though doubtless not so intended—of the rights of conscience and the great Protestant doctrine of the right of private judgment, we should deem ourselves faithless to our duty not to express our conviction upon this subject to this Convention; and that our dissent may accompany the opinions referred to, we respectfully ask that this statement may be received by the Convention, and entered upon its journal."

*An Indian Member of a Synod.*—At the last meeting of the Annual Session of the Diocese of Michigan, an Indian chief was present as one of the lay delegates from the mission within the diocese. In adverting to the circumstance, a correspondent of the *New York Churchman* says, "He was a noble-looking son of the forest. I thought I noticed a shade of sadness on his thoughtful countenance, which seemed to say, I feel that I belong to a race which is rapidly passing away. It was deeply affecting to witness his approach to the holy table, and his reverent demeanour during the reception of the sacred elements."

*General Theological Seminary.—Retirement of Dr. Wilson.*—The Rev. Dr. Wilson has intimated to the Episcopal Bench his intention of retiring from the General Theological Seminary. In his letter Dr. Wilson says :

"I have for some time contemplated the purpose of retiring from the General Theological Seminary, and have been making the necessary preparations for it. My advanced age (as I shall complete my seventy-second year very soon after the commencement of the next session of this Institution), together with the increased difficulty and responsibility of the duties of my Professorship in the present state of our Church, makes it very desirable to me to be relieved from those duties."

*Missionary Institution of Valle Crucis.*—An interesting missionary institution has for some time been established by the Bishop of North Carolina, in the Alleghany Mountains, called *Valle Crucis*. The following are extracts from an account given of it by a visitor, in the *Church Times* :—

"The clergy officiate at the *Valle*, and for a distance of eighty miles from the mission-house. In addition to the missionary work in which they are engaged, they are training up a number of young men for the ministry. At the time of the visit there were three clergy, and ten students preparing for holy orders; another clergyman, and two young men, were expected. Every member of the institution has his own particular employments for the general good. The clergy hold service, preach, visit among the people, and catechize the children. The clergy instruct the candidates for orders and the more advanced students; the candidates for orders instruct the younger students and the children of the neighbourhood in the week-day and Sunday schools. All the catechumens, including occasionally adult candidates for baptism, are catechized in the chapel on Sunday afternoons. The benefit of the

mission is not, however, confined to the candidates for the ministry and the neighbouring population; its salutary influence extends for eighty miles, to Lenoir, Wilksboro', Rockford, and elsewhere throughout the valley of the Yadkin. Large numbers have become members of the Church; at Wilksboro', where a year ago there were but three or four female Church members, there is now a flourishing congregation, who are building a church for themselves. The brethren at *Valla* are 'all of one heart, and of one mind;' neither do they say 'that aught of the things which they possess are their own.' The directors of the mission have given to it their all, even to their books. They have common property in every thing, and, if it shall please God to permit them to be reduced to want, are all pledged to suffer alike. None of them receive any fee or reward; they have put themselves in the hands of the Bishop, to stay and labour as long as he may see fit; neither asking nor expecting any thing more than food and raiment, however coarse, and consenting to trust to the voluntary offerings of their fellow-Christians even for these."

*Ecclesiological Society at New York.*—At the last meeting of the New York Ecclesiological Society,—a flourishing society, in correspondence with the society of the same name in London,—a paper was read by Mr. W. A. McVickar on the style of architecture to be recommended for ecclesiastical buildings in the United States.

*Proposed Church and Hospital for British Emigrants at New York.*—An interesting institution has been projected at New York, of which the *John Bull* gives the following account:—"The Rev. M. Marcus, B.D., a clergyman of the Church of England, who has, for the last fourteen years, resided in the United States, where he holds the rectory of St. George-the-Martyr, New York, is at present on a visit in this country, for the purpose of soliciting funds towards the erection of a church and hospital for the poor British emigrants in the city of New York. In his appeal to the public he states that of the many thousand emigrants who annually arrive at the port of New York, no inconsiderable number are British subjects, and members of the Church of England; many of whom, through ignorance of the existence of the Anglo-American Church, and from other causes, become alienated from the Church of their baptism. In addition to this spiritual destitution, a vast amount of sickness, distress, and misery prevails, not unfrequently even among the better class of British emigrants; and there is no asylum for them, except the almshouse, a common receptacle for vagrants, and persons of the lowest character and condition of life. The plan contemplated by Mr. Marcus is intended to relieve both these wants, and cannot fail to commend itself to the minds of English churchmen. We may add that the appeal has the sanction of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the Lord Bishop of London."

# THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

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DECEMBER, 1848.

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ART. I.—1. *Dombey and Son.* By CHARLES DICKENS. Bradbury and Evans. 1848.

2. *Vanity Fair.* By WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY. Bradbury and Evans. 1848.

Avoid “foolish talking and jesting,” says the Apostle, “which are not convenient;” and the inspired preacher hath taught us, “sorrow is better than laughter.” Nevertheless, there is “a time to weep, *and* a time to laugh.” “To the pure all things are pure.” The jesting of the heathen world was profane and unclean: to Christian ears “it was altogether abominable.” Even like sinful were its “banquetings” and “revellings,” though our blessed Lord scrupled not to prefigure the rejoicings in Heaven over “one sinner that repenteth” by earthly feasting, dancing, and merriment, and has thus indirectly sanctioned all of these. For, though the world be nothing out of Him, yet in Him it may be much to us; and the Christian rule is to cultivate innocently and freely, “whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, and lovely.” Now, laughter, in itself, is innocent; in childhood, it is often “lovely.” Inconsistency and imperfection, the consequences of sin, are undoubtedly the sources of the ludicrous. In Heaven there can be nothing incongruous, nothing out of place, nothing, therefore, it should seem, provocative of laughter: for it is the imperfect realization of the mind’s ideal which alone appears absurd; as where great pretensions are combined with small performances, or good intentions with silly and inadequate deeds. The laughter of childhood might be supposed derivable from another source: it seems to well forth from an inexhaustible fountain of enjoyment; the pure overflowings of delight, which take this channel of expression; and yet childhood, even, is liable to those perceptions of the ludicrous which arise from manifest incongruities. But, if an habitually grave, or indeed any elder person, contort the features and make wry “faces” in playing with a child, that child will almost invariably fall into ecstasies of laughter: or, if the nurse, or “papa” or “mama” pretend to be afraid and runs away from a little one, bursts of glad merriment will surely be elicited. Nay, it is oddity, and incongruity with the quietude of other things, which makes the very infant clap its hands and crow when the silver bells are made to sound before it.

Many other equally familiar instances of the influence exercised by incongruity over childhood might be enumerated: but we think we have said enough to prove our point. Certain it is, however, that if the mirth of very early years is sometimes the mere ebullition of animal spirits unconnected with any perception of the ludicrous, the laughter of maturity is almost invariably, if not invariably, prompted by imperfection of some kind, which is the concomitant of evil, and might therefore seem, in one sense, more worthy of tears than merriment. Puns, "jeux de mot," and that entire class of sayings which pertain to the category of wit, are rarely provocative of hearty laughter. It is humour which stirs the inner man to mirth. We may smile at Ben Jonson, but Shakspeare makes us "roar." Sometimes, however, humour may blend with wit, even in a pun, through the incongruous collocation of things really most dissimilar and inimical to one another therein conveyed: such as the coupling of quakerlike gravity with, say, a lady's hat and feathers. But the truth is, that, in such cases, we generally find the humour ourselves which is provocative of laughter: we fancy, for instance, almost unconsciously, what the grave quaker's feelings might be at finding himself subjected to such comparison, and the thought of his sadness makes us laugh. However, incongruity will be found in all such cases to lie at the root of the matter, if we *do* laugh; and incongruity is but a form and expression of imperfection.

But is it right to laugh! Should we not rather cry! We reply,—not as we are constituted for existence in this world. If the sight and presence of the imperfect could only move us to tears, or at least to grief, we should be so possessed with an unfathomable and boundless sorrow, that it would be practically impossible for us, "to rejoice in the Lord alway." Were we enabled to realize, and that continually, the amount of sin and suffering which exists upon this earth, nay, were we compelled so to do, by the organization of our being, we could never know a moment's peace; we must be always plunged in the abyss of woe. Under such circumstances, the business of life would come utterly to an end, arts and sciences would be annihilated, and the human race itself would soon vanish from the face of this habitable globe. And this fact, implying the indispensable need of relaxation, and happiness, in some degree, for the bare duration of humanity, supplies a sufficient answer to cavillers like poor Leigh Hunt, who tells us, that all Christians, professing to believe in future torments, are either hypocrites or brutes; as their hearts and minds should be exclusively possessed with pity for their fellow-creatures, and their whole lives devoted to intercessory prayers for the doomed. It is true, that the loving and faithful Christians

needs not to urge the insufficiency of human nature as his plea for pursuing rational happiness: for he knows, that his God is just and merciful as He is great, and feels, that whatever He has willed must, in some sense, be for the best, and that doubt or distrust on his part would be impious and practically atheistic: but it is no less true, that from the requirements of his nature, even under the direct influence of Heaven, all his feelings and perceptions are finite and liable to change. Light and shade are requisite for a world like this: even Heaven knows gradations of glory; and the All-Infinite alone, promoting and realizing all, enjoys absolute and boundless perfection.

But we may be waxing too grave "for the nonce." Let us be suffered to assume, then, that "there is a time to laugh," even for the righteous man: that the incongruous and imperfect may excite his mirth: that even that higher order of ridicule, which is animated by a sense of right and a love of goodness, may be permitted to him, while a tenant of this mortal sphere. And, so much conceded, let us proceed to proclaim, that the two works, of which we have placed the titles at the head of this brief essay, though by no means free from faults of various orders, are, on the whole, trophies of national humour, and additions to the treasury of human literature. Their purpose is in the main honest (that of the greater of the twain eminently so), and the execution is generally in keeping with the purpose. And therefore do we rejoice, as Christians and as Englishmen, in these creations of our living humourists, and conceive it our special duty, as Churchmen, to proclaim, that true humour may be hallowed by the love of God.

It may seem the stranger to question the compatibility of Christianity with humour, when we reflect, that we have comparatively few records of its existence under the domination of Paganism. Though it has long been the fashion to talk loosely of Aristophanic humour, we think that Aristophanic wit and fun would be the more fitting meed for praise. Without entering on another series of definitions, just at present, lest we should tire our readers out, or possess them with the idea that we only allowed ourselves to laugh by rule, and limited all perceptions of the ludicrous by arithmetical or geometrical proportions, let us content ourselves with the suggestion, that the highest humour in our eyes must not be far remote from pathos; must at least be drawn from an intimate sympathy with the nobler cravings as well as the failings of humanity. Now basely negative humour, critical and corrosive,—a species of vinegar distilled from wine on the lees, or the produce of sound sense, narrowed, distorted, and more or less falsified by ill-nature,—cannot challenge much of our admiration, and certainly never commands our laughter; though it may not be without a

use of its own, if nothing better can be obtained ; and such, mainly, is the Aristophanic produce. Direct satire, and more especially political satire, deals much with wit, and may deal with fun also, but makes little use of humour. It very rarely bids us laugh. He, who loves God and man, supposing him to be possessed of equally sound sense and fertile imagination with the misanthropic thinker, must needs be a far higher humourist. Man must sympathize with man, to be able to expose his weaknesses with success. Hate and scorn are repellants : they interpose a barrier ; they bring darkness in their train. Love is the great teacher, to lay bare the mysteries of humanity ; the guide, to traverse its depth and height, and measure its circumference ; the plummet, to sound its abyss ; and the living sunshine, to explore its every crevice and bring its darkness into day. Of this love Aristophanes had not much, and Terence and Plautus had little more. Nor was this strange. There was comparatively little to endear the human race to the Pagan moralist : he saw its vices and its follies ; but he knew not that for the lost and lowest of its slaves a Divine Saviour should expire.

With the growth of Christianity the principle of love extended its benignant influence : soon, indeed, corruption manifested itself, and Gnosticism poisoned some of the life-springs of devotion. The great principle that "to the pure all things are pure," quoted at the commencement of these remarks, was trampled under foot of man, the beautiful was condemned as unholy. Men could not forbid the stars to shine, nor the flowers to bud in spring, nor the glorious rainbow to span the sky ; but they could and did forbid any mental response to all these glories. A myriad dewdrops might glitter like diamonds every morn in the rays of the rising sun, but not one pearl of wit or humour was allowed to drop from Christian lips, lest the grace of the baptized man should be desecrated by common earthly joys. How this fearful error waxed and developed itself into the corruption of social life in Christian lands, and the severance of a redeemed world from its Redeemer, need not be narrated here. But Gnosticism and Gnostic asceticism was not the soil for humour, save one of a cold, and harsh, and bitter nature, of which "Jerome" and others have left us more than sufficient samples.

Even in the middle ages, humour, as far as it had any existence, was negative and hard-hearted. It showed itself, no doubt, here and there, in the famous "Reynard," that stern protest against hypocrisy and superstition ; but humour in the highest sense was almost an incompatibility with the then existing state of society. Freedom is its essential element ; and who possessed this when brute force reigned supreme, save where the influence of a com-

rupt, but Christian Church interposed to shield the helpless from overweening tyranny? The monks can alone be said to have enjoyed freedom, literary and social, such as might be consistent with the creation of humouristic works; and what a freedom was this! that of a bird in its cage; or, in the case of nobler and higher spirits, of a falcon in its coop, of a lion taken in the snares! If other men were chained by hourly need to the struggle for life, for existence; they, the monks, were like men, freed indeed from such fetters, but shrouded 'neath dreary cowls and robes of iron sackcloth, that checked their breath, and bound them to abide as statues upon one spot for ever. Monkish humour! What *should* it be, but bitter, harsh, and stern? Or else, where good-natured, small and weak, confined in sympathies, narrow in range, devoid of purpose? A pleasant chuckling over a little pious fraud for holy ends; a satisfactory conviction of the universal depravity of the human race, justifying an occasional lapse, to be atoned for by some subsequent penance; a quiet Latin joke at the expense of a rival community; these, and such as these, are ingredients for the cauldron of humouristic harmlessness in monkery. We will not describe the process of the more venomous decoction. However, the only works of the middle ages possessing, or professing any humour, *did* proceed from monks; and *they* are few indeed. The Jesters were, no doubt shrewd fellows; and happy should we be to make the acquaintance of some of them, in this present age and life, especially if dowered with the moral excellencies which distinguish "Shakspeare's" fools, of whom perchance anon. But "the jesters" dealt not much in vellum or parchment, and have left us few scraps of their handiwork. With the Reformation, or rather with that outpouring of intellectual energy which preceded and hastened it, humour first assumed its adequate position in literature. Rabelais led the way. We cannot say that this author is a great favourite of ours; he has geniality, too, and occasional largeness of heart; but exaggeration of delivery mars all. That order of wit, which the Americans have appropriated to themselves, and which consists in a monstrous and grotesque amplification of fact, is perhaps the easiest attainable, and has certainly little to recommend it to esteem. Still, there is a gigantic "*bonhomme*" about Gargantua and the other heroes of this strange work, which is nearly akin to true humour, and must always command our tribute of esteem. Of course, we can only think with disgust of the unnecessary ordure which Rabelais has heaped around his own pedestal, and in which he has sunk well-nigh up to the chin. Berni, Pulci, and other Italians, had indicated the possession of high humouristic qualities in their mock heroics; and Ariosto



himself, though more distinguished for romantic fancy, was not devoid of a humorous vein. A pleasing "*bonhomme*" might also be discovered in some of Boccaccio's stories. Nevertheless, the first great masterpiece of humour destined to electrify the world, was the "Don Quixote" of Spain. It was mainly negative indeed; but that which exposes imperfection and would correct it, must in some sort be negative; and "Don Quixote" teaches us to love human nature in the person of the unfortunate knight-errant, whose endeavours, however misdirected, were not the less genuine and true-hearted.

But it is not our present purpose to trace the progress of humour from clime to clime and age to age. Suffice it to profess, that our own national literature may claim a proud pre-eminence, in this as in so many other spheres. It is probable, that the stores of Europe united would not be found sufficient to counter-balance her humouristic treasury. Spain may quote Cervantes; France, Le Sage, Molière, Beaumarchais, perhaps Montaigne; Germany, Lessing, Wieland, and Jean Paul; Italy, her mock heroics. As for Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, we profess our ignorance. Strange, to say, we, though Quarterly Reviewers, are positively not omniscient; not even, though, under Providence, we indite our sentences in that royal style, which is the prerogative of the monarch and the anonymous *criticizing*. Yet let us not belie ourselves; we know Andersen the Dane, and Frederica Bremer the Swede, and we have further read some Russian works of fiction, in German versions of them, which certainly appeared any thing but humorous. We can affirm as much of those Polish and Hungarian works, with which it has been our fortune to become acquainted, in more familiar tongues. In fine, we believe, that these and other lands unnamed would add little to the store of the world's humorous creations, were one language common to all men, and they indited in the same. And now, we can oppose Shakespeare to Cervantes, Molière, Wieland; and oh! how far greater he than that or any other earthly triad!—How did he read the very heart of humanity, and how has he made it beat palpably before us in his immortal works!—How has he blended the sweetest sympathy with human virtues, with the keenest sense of the shortcomings of the best!—His fools, as was before suggested, are rarely mere things for mirth; but, living, breathing fellow-creatures, whom we learn to love, and pity, and regard. Let us think of the noble-hearted companion to the poor dis-crowned Lear, ever ready with a forced laugh and a biting jest to divert the maddening soul of his master from the contemplation of his inhuman wrongs; who knew Cordelia and loved her, and had no doubt been fully estimated by her; "Since my young

lady's going into France, Sir, the fool hath much pined away:" or let us remember the shrewd and somewhat artificial "Touchstone," who yet follows his mistress into banishment, and cheers her spirit with his quirks and his oddities: "I care not for my spirit, if my legs were not weary:" or the sentimental "Feste:" or even the marvellous good-tempered, long-suffering "Dromios." But it matters little to what class of humorous characters we turn our attention in the works of the bard of Avon; grotesque barbarism in Caliban, self-satisfied shallow silliness in Trinculo, common-place sensuality in Stephano, shrewd and yet good-hearted half-wittedness in Launce, vague and frothy pomposity in Shallow, imbecility in Slender, talkative laxity in Mistress Quickly, all are hit off to the life, some by a few rapid strokes; others in finished portraits, and with lines drawn close and fine; and without ever degenerating into that mere embodiment of humours at which Ben Jonson aimed, and of which Sir Walter Scott has given us an example in Sir Percy Shafton; though he, no doubt, has added various individualizing traits, which raise his knight above the artificial creatures whom rare old "Ben" employs for his machinery. After Shakspeare, then, we scarcely feel entitled to enumerate Ben Jonson, though we enjoy his exquisite masques, and own the able wit which distinguishes his comedies. But wit is not humour. Bobadil is not a living creature as Pistol is, that noisy swaggerer Pistol; and yet Bobadil is one of Ben Jonson's nearest approaches to a humorous character; his *most* successful is that of Justice Clement, who embodies an admirable idea very imperfectly developed; that of a remarkably kind-hearted old man who cannot hurt a mouse, but is always, in theory and in the first instance, for the strict letter of the law, and its immediate execution on all offenders, and endeavours to hide his real mildness under the veil of extreme severity of bearing. Beaumont and Fletcher have much wit; mainly wit of an offensive and odious nature, uttered at the expense of goodness and virtue; but we should declare humour to be utterly unknown to them, were it not for the one character of "Bessus," in which they have perhaps transcended "Pistol;" showing us a combination of real meanness and excessive smallness of nature with vanity and pomposity which is infinitely amusing, at least in the earlier scenes of the play where *he* is introduced; the latter are exaggerated and disagreeable. "Beaumont and Fletcher" never knew when they had given enough of any thing; being alike deficient in taste and principle, they went on, as they fancied, heaping up effects, until they sacrificed the very semblance of reality; not knowing or remembering that even sunshine itself, too fierce or too continuous, becomes a curse, not blessing, and impoverishes what it would

enrich. In fact, their want of common sense is a remarkable instance of the union of folly with wickedness in those who might be wise, if they loved and lived for God and man. Dryden and Pope too, though both possessing stores of wit, are deficient in true humour; and so is even Swift, much as his "Gulliver" delights us. But Sterne, on the other hand, Lawrence Sterne, with all the drawbacks which may justly be alleged against him, was a true master of humours; as "Corporal Trim" and his master will bear record to the end of time; and Fielding, despite undeniable coarseness, which would make us shrink from recommending his general perusal in these days, has, more especially in "Joseph Andrews," sounded the depths and shoals of humouristic comedy; and Goldsmith, too, in the delightful and inimitable "Vicar of Wakefield," has given us that exquisite combination of quiet cheerfulness and sweetness, with strong good sense, which prompts at once to tears and laughter, the most delightful of all combinations. We cannot say much for Farquhar, Congreve, Wycherley, Mrs. Centlivre, &c.; wit they all possess in abundance, and sometimes humour too; but it is sadly "marred in the delivery," and can "profit little." Sheridan, too, has more of wit than humour, and cannot be commended as a moralist. We have omitted Smollett from our list; for, as a whole, he pleases us not; and though Butler, Prior, and Steele have claims on men's regard, we stay not to enforce them. But for Addison a special word of recognition must be reserved, whose delightful "Sir Roger" has been so long the theme of admiration, and whose peculiar genius has inspired one modern but true-hearted American, Washington Irving, to efforts which have perchance surpassed the *chef d'œuvre* of his master.

Yet with all that has been enumerated, and far more not touched on here, we think that we can vindicate yet higher humouristic glories for the last half century. In poetry, the legendary ballads of Southey, those, at least, of a lighter order, have attained to an excellence of their kind not easily to be surpassed; who that has ever read them will not remember with delight "Queen Orlica and the Martyrs Five," and "Queen Mary's Christening?" Moore and Byron are not to be named in the same category with Southey; both have much wit, the former's sometimes playful, the latter's almost always evil and destructive; but neither of them excels in humour. The wit, and what some would call the humour of Byron's "Don Juan," resides almost exclusively in incongruous and, oftentimes, startlingly profane collocations of the sublime and the ridiculous, combined with a certain brilliant flashiness, and a wonderful knack at rhyming. But, in prose, Scott was, perhaps, the first great champion of supremacy

for the nineteenth century. We can only allude now to his "Caleb Balderstones" and "Dominie Sampsons;" his Antiquaries and his Friars. But he will be admitted to have familiarized us with all the more amiable and more ludicrous traits of Scottish nationality, and, writing from the fulness of the heart, and sympathizing with those whom he depicts, he has transcended a whole legion of wittings, and vindicated the propriety of the natural union betwixt sound principle and genuine humour. Miss Edgeworth, though with the sad drawback of irreligion—negative not positive, consisting in the absence of distinctive Christianity, not in the presence of offensive infidelity—performed in some degree a similar labour of love for our Irish neighbours; but, as might be expected, her humour is oftentimes cold and mechanical, and her morality wanting in the principle of genial charity. Various other humourists have arisen, of whom we might speak at length. Miss Austen has certainly claims on our consideration, and so has even Bulwer in some parts of "Pelham" and "Eugene Aram," and so most assuredly has Marryatt in "Peter Simple" and other of his naval creations: but Miss Austen is a little "coldish," and Bulwer is somewhat flimsy, and Marryatt is rather hard-hearted, as "The Naval Captain," and "Mr. Midshipman Easy," and "Percival Keene" evince, though not so much so as Smollett, to whom we prefer him on the whole. But, perhaps, this our own immediate day is the most highly favoured by a directly humouristic display, in two great Individualities, at least, to which we purpose to devote some cursory remarks.

We are not peculiarly proud of the pleasing prettynesses of Leigh Hunt, (the alliteration was not sought for,) though we like much his volume of "Wit and Humour," preferring, however, that on "Fancy and Imagination;" nor would we commend the harsh, and crude, and unwholesome sloeberries which Douglas Jerrold proffers us, as grapes from the vineyard of wit; nor does Mrs. Gore's flippancy, nor Mrs. Trollope's coarseness, engage our marked sympathies. And yet all these writers, and various others unnoted, have merits in their way which we must not be understood to question: thus, Mrs. Gore has real quickness and fertility of invention, and a certain superficial knowledge of the worst side of life; and Mrs. Trollope has strong masculine sense and energy, and living earnestness, and in one work, "The Widow Barnaby," despite the vulgarity of some scenes, has attained the excellent, and created what will long endure; and even Douglas Jerrold has generous impulses at times, when his head will allow his heart fair play, and always a brilliant imagination; and has attained some approach to truth in the "Caudle Papers," though

we question whether that production has not wrought more harm than good; but all these, and many other, comparatively feeble, luminaries, wax pale and dim within the sphere of the two suns of humour, Dickens and Thackeray. Wit, others may and do excel in; Jerrold, for instance, is far above either of these in this department, and so, perhaps, is Lever, whom we reserve for future consideration: but then wit is as inferior to humour as soap-bubbles to genial nectar, as the froth on the surface to the pure liquid beneath, or even as the shadow to the substance. Wit is no more than a curious collocation of apparently dissimilar objects; it is a lower form of expression of that poetic fancy, so characteristic of our English bards, which finds some type of beauty in the material world for every emotion of the soul. Humour, as has been before remarked, deals mainly with human character; it contrasts the real with the ideal in the spirit of genial love and pity, and moves at once to tears and laughter. Wit, then, is mainly external; humour internal: the former is dependant on the fancy; the latter on reason and feeling. Every great humourist will be probably found to possess wit, or the capacity for wit, as well, at least, in a degree: but a very mighty and brilliant wittling, or witmonger, may not possess a single spark of genuine humour. Wit is generally negative; humour as generally affirmative. But we will not carry our definitions further for the present, or we may haply seem to contradict ourselves; for we confess, that the boundaries of either region cannot be absolutely determined; that wit may be sometimes found in humour, and even humour in wit.

Let us proceed to consider Dickens and Thackeray. Some readers may wonder at our at once elevating the latter humourist, on the score of one great work, to a level with the author of "The Pickwick Papers," "Oliver Twist," "Nicholas Nickleby," and "Martin Chuzzlewit;" but were Thackeray never to complete his "Pendennis," or other works, and to rest his claim to the admiration of future generations on "Vanity Fair" alone, he would have already achieved a humouristic elevation, which admits, perhaps, of no supremacy, save that of the all-conquering "Shakespeare." Cervantes' fame rests on "Don Quixote;" Swift's practically on "Gulliver;" Sterne's on "Tristram Shandy;" and Goldsmith's on "The Vicar of Wakefield." We are now in the habit of expecting voluminous contributions to literature from all men of high literary genius; nor can it be denied, that the authors of most absolute merit have generally been the most fertile also. But "Vanity Fair" is enough of itself to ground a European, nay, a world-reputation, and that of the most enduring nature. But let us proceed in order due.

Dickens, who came first in order of time, claims also our first attention. Now, let us not hesitate to avow, and at once, that there is much we cannot approve of in this author's writings. We do not allude to the tendency to vague and pernicious sentimentalism apparent in his "Battle of Life," and other recent productions, but rather to that absence of direct reference to the *highest* motives, which led a critic to observe, that Sunday seemed to be struck out of the week in all the tales of Mr. Dickens. There is an improvement, and we are happy to record the fact, in this respect. Its first perceptible mark was the sympathetic bodying forth of the country clergyman who buries little Nell, in "The Old Curiosity Shop." And in this writer's latest work, "Dombey and Son," which we have noted at the head of this article, we have remarked, with much pleasure, a reverential tone as to the holy mystery of Baptism, and a general recognition of the practical value of religion, which leads us to hope for yet clearer, and better, and higher things. We have heard that Mr. Dickens was not, but has now become, a member of our Church. If this be so, we thank God that he has been led to such visible communion with us, and venture to pray that he may receive a more and more abundant revelation of Gospel, and therefore Catholic, truth. We believe that he is a friend of order, we are sure that his instincts are devotional; why, then, should he not be "one of us," in the terrible strife approaching betwixt unbelief and lawlessness and the spirit of obedience to our God? More of this anon. We should also desire that some careless expressions, tending indirectly to encourage a national sin, drunkenness, be avoided for the future; and that a sincere determination be shown to cling to truth, and throw "faction" overboard. We think there was a tendency in Mr. Dickens's mind, a few years ago, to hold our aristocratic institutions responsible for our partial social destitution, and other existing evils: his visit to the transatlantic land of democracy has, we believe, gone far to correct this impression. At least, we trace no *relics* of it, even, in the last great emanation of our author's spirit, "Dombey and Son." Not that we would be understood to dissent from the positions put forward in "The Chimes" for instance, or that we are inclined to condemn the forcible illustration therein conveyed of the miseries of the poor; or that we think the condemnation of Malthusian and anti-Christian theories a whit too *savage* and severe: but the picture there drawn was one-sided; the counter-balancing pole of truth was wanting: we heard much of the heroic virtues of the labouring-classes, and the vile selfishness of the rich, but saw nothing of the reverse side of the medal, which nevertheless also exists. Mr. Dickens appeared, in fine,

inclined to fall in with the sweeping allegations of Douglas Jerrold and other destructives, and either directly or indirectly to swell their cries for a violent social revolution. It may be, that calm reflection has induced far sounder views; and an instinctive dislike of these ravenous birds of carnage, which seem to scent the coming desolation and croak for their prey, may also have gone far to repel such alliance; and something, too, may have been wrought by the evidence of, and, if report may be credited, direct participation in, the charities of one of the most virtuous, noble-hearted, and Christian women with whose possession this country is blessed. But, however the change has been effected, it would certainly seem "for the time present" to be real. And, now, a truce to these more serious considerations; and let us devote a few words to comments on the humouristic excellencies of this great writer.

Genial sympathy with his fellow-men, and more especially with the pure and lovely, under a homely garb, and wearing the aspect of infantine innocence, is his predominant characteristic. No man, probably, has ever understood and portrayed children so well; realizing and dramatically rendering their sweet simplicity, their charming artlessness, and all their winning "words and ways." No man has ever depicted childlike characters, in various aspects and positions, with such truthfulness and delightful geniality, with such noble and genuine admiration and love. From "Pickwick" to "Pinch," and the glorious "Captain Cuttle," as we may fitly denominate him, a range of portraiture of this class has been presented to us, unequalled in all the stores of humour of all ages. That an author, thus imbued with a pure and lovely childlike spirit, (and this *he* must possess who could write thus, despite his keen sagacity, sound sense, and knowledge of the world,) must be eminently Christian, from a moral point of view, will surely not be questioned. Christianity alone has taught us to reverence this simple purity of heart; which we love and admire the more, the more we are constrained to laugh at its singular methods of expression. And here, be it observed, that though imperfection be laughable, downright vice never is so. The failings of the good, whom, taken for all in all, we are compelled "to look up to," whom we long to emulate, at least, in their better qualities, these, despite their incongruity, are rarely painful, especially when they are of an intellectual, not a moral nature. We certainly do not regard our dear friend "Pinch" the less, because his excessive simplicity sometimes moves us to tears of pity; and the intimate reliance of "Cap'n Cuttle" on the wisdom of his friend "Bunsby," though not remarkably sensible, does most undoubtedly enhance the beauty

of his character, and makes us love him, and even esteem him more. The Christian virtues of meekness, faith, unhesitating reliance, charity, are all shadowed forth in the characters of these humouristic heroes; and, in the case of "The Captain," they do further assume a directly devotional development, which some readers may think calculated to throw ridicule on religion, but which to us only appears to hallow it in its most unintellectual guise. Thus, the strange use made by "Cap'en Cuttle" of the Common Prayer Book for devotional purposes, is to us at once affecting and humouristically delightful; and when he makes the wrong responses with such emphasis, and with such a humble and loving intention, we feel that a great practical lesson is conveyed to us, teaching us to bear with all such errors of comprehension, more especially in the poor, as are not inconsistent with the spirit of loving obedience. Let us not be imagined to vindicate pious frauds, because their immediate effect on the poor and lowly may be good, or to palliate any error in the preacher or instructor. Where the Church pays no strict regard to truth, the educated will necessarily cast off all religion; and the poor, too, in time are like to follow the example set by their superiors: as the scenes now enacted in Roman Catholic Germany and other foreign states may teach us. But, to resume, Dickens adds to this remarkable and delightful power of depicting children and childlike spirits, of whose like is "the kingdom of heaven," a keen perception of the humorous in all classes, as evinced in "Sam Weller," and so many other creatures of his fertile fancy. We do not delight so much in the juvenile and aggressive class of characters of whom Sam is the type, because a certain amount of sauciness and real irreverence of spirit is manifest in their tone and deportment, for which their goodness of heart does not quite make amends: but even these have been softened down of late; for "Mark Tapwell," their latest representative, had more of the humility of a pure and noble heart than any of his predecessors. In "Dombey and Son," there is no individual exactly pertaining to this class; unless, indeed, "Miss Susan Nipper," that admirable embodiment of really amiable, but, at first, unpleasant, snappishness, pertain to the category, whose proximity for a long time to her almost too angelic and spiritual mistress, gradually corrects her propensities, and softens her into a most useful and pleasant member of society.

But we are hurrying out of bounds, pressing forward while so much lies behind us. First, before we consider "Dombey and Son," let us cast a rapid glance over the literary career of Mr. Dickens, and let us further enumerate one or two of his general qualities which we have as yet omitted to record. His graphic



power of "daguerreotyping" every object he has once beheld, in words, must not be forgotten; more especially his wondrous cognizance of all the ins and outs of the modern "urbs" of the world; which is emphatically "Town," London. Nor must we fail to acknowledge his keen powers of satire, developed in the portraiture of "Pecksniff" and so many other living characters, though on this point he must decidedly yield the palm to his great rival, or rather fellow-workman, Thackeray. Dickens came out at once "forty thousand strong," to speak colloquially. "Pickwick" carried us all by storm. It is still esteemed by many his best work. We admire it much, but cannot regard it in this light; for the earnestness, pathos, and poetry so conspicuous in his later great creations are almost wholly wanting to it. "Oliver Twist" was, in some respects, an advance; its subject, indeed, was eminently painful, and we must be allowed even to hazard the assertion, that some of the scenes in it, and more especially those connected with love matters, bordered on twaddle; but the exquisite touches of pathos here and there were revelations of beauty for which we were not prepared. Who can ever forget the exquisitely mournful and yet glad parting of the little dying orphan child and Oliver! Then came "Nicholas Nickleby;" we are compelled to pass on hurriedly, though we would willingly say much on each of these creations. As a whole, "Nicholas Nickleby" was a more pleasant work to us than either of those preceding it, though not, perhaps, as laughable as "Pickwick," or as powerful as "Oliver Twist." The story had far more of interest; and, perhaps, a higher artistic unity was attained. There was less, too, of caricature and exaggeration, and more reality in many respects, and a more equable balance of humour and pathos was preserved. Then came "The Old Curiosity Shop," more pathetic than any of its predecessors, though otherwise faulty; and then "Barnaby Rudge," possessing great merits too, and, perhaps, more manifest picturesqueness, more poetry of conception than its elder brethren. And then "Martin Chuzzlewit" was bodied forth; at first, forced and unnatural, begun by a very pert and "haberdasherlike" attack on all claims of ancestry and lofty birth, but afterwards assuming a special character of its own, sternly instructive in its American scenes, more directly moral than any other work from the same hand, genial and pious-hearted in the delineation of "Pinch" and his ways; as a whole, very delightful, though no doubt faulty also, because containing more of the strained and unnatural than its predecessors. Then came the Christmas books. The sketches of foreign travels we, for the present, pass over, confining ourselves to fiction. In the Christmas and New Year gifts there has decidedly been no advance.

The first delighted everybody from its geniality and practical utility. The second was very powerful, but rather bitter; admirable in its way, yet, perhaps, scarcely adapted for its purpose. The third, "The Cricket on the Hearth," though affected in parts, was pleasing as a whole, and in some passages delightful, but very defective in moral; encouraging a sentimental reserve betwixt husband and wife, calculated to effect extensive injury; and further, marvellously improbable. The last, "The Battle of Life," was infinitely below the level of the lowest of the former three; traces of a master-hand might, indeed, still be discerned in it; but improbability was therein developed into the impossible, and a false morbid notion of that holy thing, "self-sacrifice," inculcated, but too much in keeping with the exaggerations of the day; a loved and loving maiden being actually induced to abandon her lover and pretend to run away with another man, to the anguish and all but despair of that lover and her sister and father, in order that the said sister might have a chance of securing for herself that affection which the supposed lost one had cast away. And this childish, not childlike, mean, not noble, desire of the younger maid to rival her elder sister's natural and becoming self-sacrifice, since *she* was not beloved, is commended and held up by Charles Dickens as a model for the imitation of England's daughters! But let us not dwell on this unhappy theme.

Finally, then, "Dombey and Son" has appeared, in a great degree, to restore our confidence as to the moral soundness of this author and his recovery from morbid tendencies; and, on the other hand, to convince us that his reverence for revelation has deepened and is deepening. The first quarter of this work, up to little Dombey's death, is one of the most exquisite things in all literature; the sequel has great beauties, but suffers much by coming after it. Though we cannot understand the father's horror of the sweet sister, we can well understand why she should fail in replacing little Paul: we cannot attach that vivid interest to her which we did to the odd and yet so natural child, whose life and death are, from beginning to end, in such wonderful keeping with one another, and constitute in themselves a work of the highest art. But we have no intention of devoting a careful criticism to "Dombey and Son:" it is, in some respects, better written, though with more apparent labour, than any of the works that have gone before it. Its general purpose, to teach the valuelessness, in themselves, of the greatest earthly possessions, is highly to be commended; and the character of "Mr. Dombey," which elucidates this moral, is drawn with a master-hand, though the portraiture is exaggerated. "Mrs. Dombey" we think overdrawn, and her line of conduct appears to us most unnatural.

Such things *may* have happened in real life, but "truth is stronger than fiction:" that is, incongruities are discovered in life which may not be permitted in works of art. The probable alone is the relatively true; though, practically speaking, the all but impossible *may have* occurred. "Mr. Toots" is a delightful individuality in his way, and his union with "Miss Susan Nipper," despite her comparatively low origin, is highly satisfactory. Finally, "Dombey and Son" is, on many points, an advance; and, taken as a whole, evidence to us of yet higher powers residing in our author than he has till now exhibited: not that we believe he *will* exhibit these in straining after the romantic and poetical. No; unless correct principles, moral and intellectual, religious and political, broaden and deepen within his mind and soul, he will, in our opinion, retrograde in future works. But so much is certain; there is no standing still for Charles Dickens: if he adds to his stock of realized truths he will advance; if he does not, he will be driven to take refuge in exaggeration to avoid repetition; and then is sure to decline, perhaps to fall.

And now let us turn our attention to his great, in some respects, indeed, greater, contemporary, who, however, cedes the palm to him in various qualities of high art. For, first, Thackeray, though he has an accurate perception of the outward world in his way, cannot paint and describe as Dickens can; he has not that strong instinct of locality; he rather tells us what has happened than places all the scenes actually before us, as does the author of "Dombey and Son." Then, again, though he writes in the spirit of love, and though he has decidedly more of the serpent's wisdom, he is comparatively deficient in the harmlessness of the dove. He does not understand childhood in its ideal and oftentimes real purity and innocence, as does Dickens; his is a harsher, sterner view. He directs our attention to that "original sin" which manifests itself in the young child at so early a period: he has given us, indeed, one wonderful childlike and yet manly character, superior to any thing Dickens has achieved in that line, we mean "Dobbin;" but "Amelia," though meant to be innocent and amiable, is really mean and selfish; and, after all his exaggerated encomiums, the author is compelled to confess as much himself. There is not much unity of design in "Vanity Fair," for to this we propose to confine our remarks. The "Snob Papers," the "Yellow-Plush Papers," the "Travels, Irish and Egyptian," "Jeames's Diary," "Christmas Tales," and various papers contributed to "Fraser's," have possessed great merit in their way, though this merit has been generally tinctured by flippancy, and sometimes tainted by downright want of taste; but they fall far below the level of this one great work of fiction, "Vanity Fair." It is called "a novel

without a hero." It is scarcely a novel at all, for it is sadly deficient in unity. Could we regard "Dobbins" as the centre of interest, we should, indeed, secure a beginning, middle, and end; but he is too long removed from the scene, and only becomes very prominent towards the conclusion of the book. Its aim seems to be to castigate the follies and lighter vices of society. "Rebecca," who reflects them in an exaggerated yet pleasant shape, is the type of the "sinful use or abuse of this world," which is held up to contempt. Thackeray is, in truth, a far more powerful moralist than Dickens; he understands grown men and women better, at least in society: of the poor, of any, indeed, beyond what may be called the privileged classes, he has exhibited little cognizance. Unsparingly, and yet lovingly, has he mirrored all the conventional vices of modern life. Who can doubt that the life of young "Osborne," as here presented to us, is calculated to effect more extensive good among thoughtless youths, proud of their capacities for vice, than might be wrought by the most powerful of pulpit orators? Selfishness, under every guise, Thackeray delights to hold up to contempt; but, perhaps, he has never pilloried it with more evident "gusto" in the act, than in his portraiture of this vain and rather heartless fast young "Osborne," so much admired by the ladies, boasting of his "bonnes fortunes," lighting cigars with love-letters, and slavishly imitated and followed by the wonder-struck youngsters of his regiment. By repeated strokes of consummate art almost the impossible is achieved. Recklessness is made to appear despicable and licence mean. Well may Mr. Thackeray rejoice in his endeavours to effect such ends. If conceived and carried on in a spirit of faith and love, we scruple not to declare that they shall be a crown of glory to him even here. Such things carry with them their "exceeding great reward." The pathos of our author is very deep and very sweet, and none the less deep and sweet because used with a certain "retinue" and reserve; never "set in for," as it were, but appearing to come unsought for, arising naturally and inevitably from the circumstances of the tale, and generally conveyed in the most simple, plain, matter-of-fact language. Mr. Thackeray does not deal much in the flowers of fancy. Those of sentiment and thought spring spontaneously and constantly in his garden; he seeks for no hothouse plants, no exotics, however fragrant; nothing is forced, nothing artificial; the very gravel which strews the paths betwixt the flower-beds seems as if it must have lain there for ever.

Dickens, in music, would be a combination of "Meyerbeer" with "Bellini;" that is, of the latter's simple melody with the former's strong effects, startling and dramatic. Thackeray is

more equable, perhaps more genuine, bearing a stronger affinity with "Mozart." And yet there is the fairy lightness of "Mendelssohn," in his happiest moments, to be traced in Dickens's creations; and we must not be understood to place them beneath the more thoroughly self-consistent "Vanity Fair." Dickens certainly sinks far below Thackeray at times; he has done so in the greater part of "Dombey and Son;" but he also, at times, rises above him, and soars to a purer ideal. Nothing equal to little Paul Dombey's visit, and the children's party, and his subsequent death-bed scenes has, we think, proceeded from Thackeray's pen. If we balance, then, these merits, it would be hard to say on which side the balance preponderates. Shall we prefer a beautiful spring day, with all the sweetness of that season of youth and love, overclouded at noonday, but beauteous at its dawn and glorious at its eve! Or the genial happiness of fresh, sunny, healthful, delightful autumn weather—say in October—a frosty kindliness in the air, no raptures of delight from bird or beast, but an universal sense of healthful enjoyment; a little haze, perchance, now and then, here and there, but, generally speaking, a glorious day, leaving a sense of deep content and gratitude behind it! Both, no doubt, are good and beautiful; and for both may we thank the Giver of good things. But true it is, that Dickens has more of spring and Thackeray more of autumn. May they long enjoy a sunny summertide!

Both of these authors we would now remind solemnly, if we could impressively, that their responsibilities are *enormous*. No two men are capable of exercising a wider influence for good or evil over their fellow-creatures; the weapons in their hands are keen-edged tools; they *must* cut in one direction; they may cut in both; levelling the tares and the wheat. Now, that the rest of Europe is distracted and revolutionized, unable to listen to the voice of the literary charmer "charm he never so wisely," we have yet time and leisure in this country to sympathize with ideal woes, and indulge ourselves in that honest hearty merriment which true humour cannot but call from all who "mark" it. How long this comparative tranquillity shall continue, we know not. But we may deceive ourselves. A dread battle, moral, at least, if not physical, will have to be fought in this country, for the defence of the first principles of order and authority, which amongst us alone are preserved intact. We are well assured, that both of these great humourists are too deep and earnest thinkers to call us bigots, because we believe the State-Establishment of Christianity, under Providence, to be the main bulwark of this Christian land. Whatever be men's religious creed, they cannot but see how essential the principle of honest and just reverence is to

the maintenance of constitutional royalty. No doubt the "Divine right" of monarchs has been exaggerated, and no earthly embodiment or realization of the heavenly can demand absolute submission on our part. Nevertheless, if we think of the Queen as a mere conventional arrangement, a mechanical functionary; if we do not remember, that she holds her hereditary rights to her subjects' willing and generous service *from heaven*, even as every father of a family derives his prerogatives from the same high source; the throne will not long be preserved among us, and our country will be whelmed in the vortex of democratic lawlessness. So, too, the existence of the Peerage, as the third power in the State, the bond of union betwixt sovereign and people is indispensable to our national greatness and prosperity; and this Peerage will not stand its ground against the torrent of popular innovation, unless connected with the Church, and animated with a Christian spirit. And mere devotional feelings and principles are not sufficient to save us, as a State and a nation. They must have a distinct, dogmatic form, and be embodied in suitable institutions. We do not call on "Dickens" and "Thackeray" to plunge into the fray of politics; but we do charge them, as men and as Christians, to promote the spirit of reverence, both for Church and State, whilst they earnestly labour for the correction of abuses, and denounce all pretence and hypocrisy, howsoever and wheresoever practised.

One parting word then, on each of these great men. Both are honours to their age; both are standard classics of their country. Dickens, affectionate, earnest, at times sublime, speaks to rich and poor, high and low; to all, perhaps, save some of the middle classes, who think him "vulgar." His sphere of operation is almost boundless; he may be said to write for all, and work for all; and should keep before him this one great truth, that he is addressing the most mighty audience that ever yet listened to the voice of an uninspired mortal. Thackeray writes, on the contrary, for the elect of mankind; for keen intellects and lofty minds. He exercises the most potent influence over the greatest of his contemporaries, over those who in their turn are like to sway the mental world. Many indeed will admire, but not many may appreciate him. Dickens, then, is like corn, and wine, and oil, which refresh the heart of the human race; but Thackeray is refined gold. May Heaven bless, sustain, and enlighten both of them!

- ART. II.—1. *Presbytery Examined; an Essay, Critical and Historical, on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland since the Reformation. By the DUKE OF ARGYLL.* London: Moxon. 1848.
2. *The History of the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the present time. By THOMAS STEPHEN, Author of "The Book of the Constitution," "The Guide to the Morning and Evening Services of the Church of England," &c. &c. 4 Vols. with twenty-four Portraits engraved on Steel.* London: Longmans. 1848.
3. *The Scottish Church and the English Schismatics; being Letters on the Recent Schism in Scotland; with a Dedicatory Epistle to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Glasgow; and a Documentary Appendix. By the REV. ROBERT MONTGOMERY, M.A. Ozon. Author of "The Gospel in Advance of the Age," "Luther," &c. &c. 3rd Edition, revised and enlarged.* London: Masters. 1848.

WHETHER the world be created, and the Church called out of the world, for God or for man, is the fundamental question on which the great religious controversies of the day depend, into which the great religious conflicts of past ages resolve themselves. A clear and definite view of the answer which that question when pressed home, must of necessity receive, and consistency in reasoning out the consequences which flow from it, would save a vast deal of angry debate and vain jangling, of mischievous dissension and deadly error. However largely a regard for the happiness and the salvation of man may enter, as undoubtedly it does, into the counsel of Divine wisdom and love, which called both the world and the Church into being, it is manifestly impossible that a Divine purpose should terminate in the creature; manifestly necessary that every purpose of God, while it comprehends and absorbs the creature, should find its ultimate termination in God Himself. To admit a contrary supposition, is to invert the inevitable and unalterable relation between the Creator and the creature; to make the existence of the Creator subservient to the existence of the creature, instead of recognizing the self-evident fact that the creature's existence is and must be subservient to that of the Creator.

The fundamental proposition, that the purpose of the world's and the Church's existence centres in God, which results so clearly from a due appreciation of the relative ideas of Creator and creature, is, we need hardly add, confirmed by the direct evidence of Holy Scripture, which, while dilating on the wonderful love of God in giving His Son for us, fails not at the same time to remind us, that "all things are of Him, through Him, and to Him<sup>1</sup>," that the end of all things is that "God may be all in all<sup>2</sup>;" and by these and other similar declarations to impress upon the minds of men on earth that which is proclaimed by the worshippers in heaven:—"Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power; for Thou hast created all things, and *for Thy pleasure* they are, and were created<sup>3</sup>." The forgetfulness of this great truth, the want of a reverent recognition of God Himself and of His glory, as the centre to which all existence tends, is undoubtedly at the root of the many and various extravagancies of egotistical religionism, in which the present age abounds; nor is there any more effectual means of combating these extravagancies, than the emphatic assertion of the truth out of the disregard of which they have grown.

In saying this, we do not mean to assert that, even on lower ground than this, the wilfulness which pervades the religious opinions and sentiments of the age may not be successfully combated, and its absurdity conclusively demonstrated. Even if we abstract from the ultimate purpose of the Church, which is the glory of God in Christ Jesus, if we are content to view her merely as an institution for the salvation of man, as an infirmary for the cure of the spiritual disease of sin, there is abundant reason why the government of the Church should be vested, not in man's appointment, but in the ordinance of God. To make the spiritual power of the Church dependent, not on a gift and a commission from on high, but on the determinations and the suffrages of men, is as great an absurdity as it would be to place a lunatic asylum under the direction, not of a board of governors and physicians, but of a select committee, or a general meeting, of the patients.

These propositions are so simple, they follow with such irresistible cogency from the nature of things, and they commend themselves so powerfully to the conscience of every man who, imbued with a sense of his own sinfulness and need of salvation, looks with reverence and gratitude upon the inestimable privilege of his own admission within that body in which the means of grace and the mysteries of salvation are ministered, that it might

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xi. 36.<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 28.<sup>3</sup> Rev. iv. 11.



seem a work of supererogation to contend for them, instead of taking them for granted as axioms of theological science, but for the astonishing coolness and arrogance with which they are disregarded by some modern writers, who have the pretension of setting themselves up as burning and shining lights in matters of Divinity.

Among the different schools which lay themselves open to this imputation, both beyond the pale of the Church and within it, the Arnoldite school occupies the first rank, on account both of the cleverness and the high personal character of its founder, and of the favour which his views have obtained among men of high station and extensive influence. The fruit which the views of the late head-master of Rugby have already borne among the young men of the present generation, may well serve as a beacon to warn those who are placed in the advanced posts of public opinion, of the danger of setting up their private, and often paradoxical, notions as standards of thought for a host of followers, whose zeal mostly outstrips their discretion, and whose application of their views the instructors themselves can hardly contemplate without a blush. Nor, indeed, is he who first enunciates such mischievous notions, exempt from the responsibility of subsequent exaggerations; it is in the nature of error, as divergent from the line of truth, that it should depart farther from the truth, the farther it is prolonged; and the fault of this increasing distance from truth, rests not so much with him who proceeds in the direction once given, as with him who by the original deviation, however trifling in comparison, has first struck out a false pathway of thought. We are not, therefore, freeing the memory of the late Dr. Arnold from blame, if we express our deliberate conviction that even he would have been almost shocked to find published to the world, under the auspices of his name, such a mass of theological petulance and crudity, as is contained in the "Essay on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," from the pen of a young nobleman, which has more immediately led us into the foregoing train of reflection.

As the Duke of Argyll announces himself as the apologist of Presbyterianism, we were prepared for a *quantum suff.* of the prejudice and animosity which distinguish the members of that communion in their diatribes against "prelacy;" but His Grace must pardon us if we say that, whereas we might have expected to find the vulgar presbyterian hatred of Episcopacy somewhat mitigated in one of his exalted station and liberal professions, we have been grieved and surprised to find that, on the contrary, he has presumed on his high rank for the purpose of indulging in a tone of supercilious contempt and, occasionally, scoffing irreverence, which, as applied to the ordinance of God, amounts to more

than merely an offence against good taste. As an example of the style which the noble author of the "Essay" has seen fit to adopt in reference to one of the most sacred ordinances of the Church, and to the highest gift imparted to her from on high, "for the perfecting of the Saints, for the use of the Ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ," we transcribe the following "critical" account of the restoration of the regular succession of the Scottish Episcopate by the consecration, in London, of the three titulars, Spottiswoode, Archbishop of Glasgow, Lamb, Bishop of Brechin, and Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway :—

"Three or four years before his accession to the English throne, James, it will be remembered, had begun his scheme for the overthrow of Presbytery and the re-introduction of his 'creature' bishops. But when he acquired that new power, he had taken only a few initiatory steps. Now, however, genuine 'Churchmen,' such as his own heart could wish, were round him,—men who could flatter his pedantry, encourage his ambition, and sanctify his claims to despotism. But this was not all the English Bishops did, nor the most, for the Scottish prelacy—they not only helped to restore it to existence, but *they gave it, for the first time, an 'inner life.'* *They made the stuffed figures, with the crosiers and the rochets, living Bishops. They converted the 'chiselled marble' into 'living man.'* Yet, strange to say, they did not do this immediately. From some cause or other, there was a long delay. Perhaps it was that Gladstones, Spottiswoode, and the other Scottish prelates, had been so long accustomed to consider themselves veritable Bishops,—to argue as such,—to vote as such,—to minister as such,—that they could not bring themselves to allow that they wanted anything to complete their title. Perhaps it was that James, who had acted so often, when it suited him, in the character of a zealous Presbyterian, could not be sooner taught the true theory of the *Jus Divinum*, beyond what was enough to magnify sufficiently his own prerogative. We know not; but it was not until the year 1610 that three Scottish prelates were sent off to London, where they received episcopal consecration from the hands of the Bishops of London, Bath, and Ely. One of these three was John Spottiswoode, who had already been Bishop after the fashion of his own country for seven years; another had been such for four years; the third for the same period, whilst a fourth—Gladstones himself, then Archbishop of St. Andrew's—who *submitted to the same ceremony*, in the same year, had sat on the Episcopal Bench of Scotland for ten years.

"*It is difficult to say what may have been the hidden effect of this consecration. Those prelates, doubtless, must have been conscious of so great a change as that of being converted from 'chiselled marble' into 'living men.'* And, perhaps, like their modern champions, the members of the 'Spottiswoode,' they may have felt it an *ex post facto* vindication of their previous course. *Perhaps they felt themselves justified, at last, for having first practised deceit, and then instigated.*

violence, against the system under which they had themselves received the ministry, and to which their countrymen were so zealously attached, without having had before them, until then, *the only principle which could furnish even an excuse*. One thing, at least, is certain,—that there was no point in which Scottish prelacy seems to have been affected for the better, in its outward dealings, by *this newly-communicated inner life*.”—*Presbytery Examined*, pp. 159—161.

Such language as this, in reference to a proceeding which, if not in the estimation of His Grace the Duke of Argyll, at least in the intention of the parties engaged in it, had for its object to perpetuate the gift of God in His Church,—which was a direct appeal, in the apostolically appointed way, to the Holy Ghost, for His effectual blessing upon their ministrations,—requires no comment. The most moderate sense of Christian propriety might have sufficed to restrain the author from such an effusion of scornful party bitterness. Yet this is the man who cannot find language sufficiently vituperative to express his reprobation of the Spottiswoode Society, for the grievous offence of designating the Presbyterian establishment, or “the Kirk,” by “the more splenetic periphrasis of ‘that form of schism which is established in Scotland.’” His Grace might surely employ himself to advantage in removing a beam out of his own eye, before he ventures to pull out of the eye of the editor of Bishop Sage the mote—if mote it be—of giving the name of schism to that which, after all, can hardly be called by any other name. But the bigotry of latitudinarian unbelief is ever the worst, as it is the most inexcusable, of bigotries.

For the benefit of those of our readers who may not be sufficiently well versed in the history of the Scottish Church, to appreciate the causes which rendered such a renovation of the succession imperative at this time, if the reality of Episcopacy was to be preserved in that branch of the Church Catholic, we place by the side of the above pasquil the account given of the same transaction by Mr. Stephen, in his elaborate work on the history of the Church of Scotland, with the reflections which he is led to make upon it:—

“Soon after the dissolution of this Assembly, the king commanded the titular archbishop of Glasgow to select other two titulare, and repair to court. Accordingly, he chose the bishops of Brechin and Galloway. The titular bishops had been restored to their seats and votes in parliament, and the Glasgow Assembly had conferred on them more substantial power than they had hitherto enjoyed; but, as neither acts of parliament nor of Assembly can confer the spiritual character, of which they were wholly deficient, and which could only be conferred by the laying on of the hands of those who had themselves received it

‘from hand to hand from the apostles,’ according to the rules and canons of the primitive church, James determined that they should receive consecration at the hands of English bishops, whom he specially appointed for that purpose. The Scottish prelates arrived in September, and at their first audience the king informed them of his motives for calling them to London; and addressing them to the following effect, said—‘That he had, to his great charge, recovered the bishoprics forth of the hands of those that possessed them, and bestowed the same on such as he hoped should prove worthy of their places; but, since he could not make them bishops, nor could they assume that honour themselves, and that in Scotland there was not a sufficient number to enter charge by consecration, he had called them to England, that, being consecrated themselves, they might at their return give ordination to those at home, and so the adversaries’ mouths be stopped, who said that he did take upon him to create bishops and bestow spiritual offices, which he never did, nor would he presume to do, acknowledging that right to belong to Christ alone, and those He had authorized by His power.’

“To which the archbishop replied, in the name of the others, ‘that they were willing to obey his majesty’s desires, but only they feared that the church of Scotland, on account of former usurpations, might take this for a sort of subjection to the church of England.’ But the king’s patriotic affection for his native church had foreseen that objection, and provided against it, by excluding the two archbishops of Canterbury and York (who alone might have claimed any such supremacy) from the commission. Heylin says, that Bancroft, who had chiefly forwarded the good work, very cheerfully agreed, not caring who participated in its honour, so long as the churches of both kingdoms might receive the benefit of it. The commission was directed to George Abbot, bishop of London; Launcelot Andrews, bishop of Ely; and James Montague, bishop of Bath and Wells; and they were appointed to consecrate the Scottish titulars in the chapel of London House, on the 21st of October. Balfour states the bishops to have been ‘London, Ely, Worcester, and Rochester.’ Dr. Andrews, bishop of Ely, proposed that, previous to consecration, the Scottish bishops should be ordained presbyters, as the orders which they had received must be accounted null and void, the parties conferring them having had themselves no lawful mission. Archbishop Bancroft, who was present, objected to this proposal, inasmuch as the episcopal order included the two inferior degrees. He adduced the instances from antiquity of Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, and Nectarius, patriarch of Constantinople, who were consecrated to the episcopal office without having been ordained as priests. This reasoning being allowed, or, as Spottiswoode says, ‘having been applauded to by the rest,’ the Scottish prelates were duly consecrated, and became bishops in reality, their former ministrations in that character having been altogether an usurpation.

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“ ‘The three consecrated bishops,’ says a venerable author, ‘on their return home, conveyed the episcopal powers, which they had now received in a canonical way, to their former titular brethren: to George Gladstones, in St. Andrew’s; Peter Blackburn, in Aberdeen; Alexander Douglas, in Moray; George Graham, in Dunblane; David Lindsay, in Ross; Alexander Forbes, in Caithness; James Law, in Orkney; Alexander Lindsay, in Dunkeld; John Campbell, in Argyll; and Andrew Knox, in the Isles. Thus, after fifty years of confusion, and a multiplicity of turnings and windings, either to improve or to set aside the plan adopted in 1560, we see an episcopal church once more settled in Scotland, and a regular apostolic succession of episcopacy introduced, on the extinction of the old line [meaning the Roman Catholic], which had long before failed, without any attempt, real or pretended, to keep it up.’

“ The king had been long projecting this settlement, and had gone on, by gradual advances from one step to another, with much patience and great perseverance to the last. Yet it cannot be said, that the education he received in his youth was such as would prejudice him in favour of episcopacy, or that it was the ambition of the clergy which prompted him to the re-establishment of it. It is true, many of them were, even in the times of the greatest confusion, well inclined to the primitive episcopal model, and sufficiently acquainted with early antiquity to see the expediency and necessity of it; but a few turbulent incendiaries, such as Melville, Black, and Bruce,—who, when they appear, will always find some abettors and followers,—were perpetually raising such clamours and disturbances, as deterred the quiet lovers of truth from entering the lists, to struggle with such fiery and unmanageable tempers; and had not the king, by his learning, been able to confute their licentious principles, as well as steady to the resolutions he had formed, these few fanatical levellers would have kept both church and state in a continual ferment. But his constancy carried his point, and he lived to see the good effects of his policy. The persons now invested with the episcopal character made it their business, both by their example and authority, to stem the tumultuous torrent of former times, and to preserve peace and harmony among all ranks of people under their charge; inasmuch, that a presbyterian historian [Calderwood], contemporary with this solemn restoration of real episcopacy, makes a heavy complaint that *by far the greatest part of the nation submitted quietly to it*; and, happily, it was not in the power of the late democratical party for a long time to create any very powerful opposition to it.

“ Succession is the divine charter of the gospel priesthood, and is one of the *marks of a true church*. It is the duty, therefore, of every ambassador of Christ to be confident of his evidence, and of the people also, to know whether they live under the conduct of such a ministry as may lawfully preach, administer the sacraments, absolve penitents, thrust out stubborn offenders, and preserve the faith ‘once delivered to the saints,’ and which can be no otherwise done than by the apostolical

succession. But presbyters never received by their ordination authority to ordain others,—no word of God gives it to them,—and all the rules of the whole church take it from them;—therefore, their attempt to ordain without and against bishops must be void and of no effect, and only occasions schism by dividing the church upon an unjust cause. They could not receive the power of the keys from those who had no power to confer it; and therefore, in celebrating the eucharist, and baptizing, they did nothing but profane God's ordinances. This profanation had been in fearful operation for a long period of time. In the papal church of Scotland, laymen were preferred to bishoprics who had not the apostolic grace; and it is to be feared that they ministered at the altar in holy things, and, considering the lax and Erastian opinions then prevalent, it is not improbable that these commendators, as the lay bishops were called, may have assisted at consecrations, and so vitiated the whole succession of the papal church in Scotland. This is a species of profanation that had long existed, and which called loudly for reformation and deep penitence; for from the laxity of the papal discipline, laymen of the most immoral lives were permitted to offer strange fire before the Lord, like Nadab and Abihu, the younger sons of Aaron, and whom the Lord devoured with fire, as a warning to all future generations that none should offer incense before Him but the seed of Aaron, or those who are called with the same divine authority that he was. After the demolition of the Roman church, down to the period at which we are now arrived, none but laymen without any kind of orders, or even the apostolic ceremony of the laying on of hands, had ever officiated, with the exception of Knox and a few of the early preachers who were in priests' orders."—*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. chap. xi. pp. 449—453.

The latter part of this extract places the whole history of the so-called Reformation in Scotland in its true light; and while it exhibits the unusual difficulties with which the Church had to contend in that country, it goes a great way to account for the conduct of the early Scottish Reformers,—of whose designs the abrogation of Episcopacy certainly formed no part,—in attempting to substitute a species of Protestant Episcopate in the place of the corrupt Romish prelacy, which did all in its power to obstruct the reformation of the Church. This is, in fact, the weak point, historically, of the Presbyterian establishment, that its professed founders were not Presbyterians in the later sense of that word. And it is the masterly demonstration of this fact by Bishop Sage, whose elaborate argument on the subject<sup>1</sup> was republished four

<sup>1</sup> The work of Bishop Sage was originally published under the following title:—*"The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, as it hath been lately established in the Kingdom of Scotland, examined and disproved by the history, records, and public transactions of our nation. Together with a preface, wherein the vindicator of the Kirk is freely put in mind of his habitual infirmities. London, Brome, 1695."*

years ago by the Spottiswoode Society, that has evoked the controversial violence of the Duke of Argyll. His "Essay" was, as we learn from his preface, originally intended for a review of Bishop Sage's work, of which His Grace is pleased to speak in the following terms:—

"The work of which they were intended as a Review, is one published under the title of 'Presbytery Examined,' the author being a certain Right Rev. John Sage, who was a Bishop in the Scotch Episcopal Church, and died in 1711. It has been momentarily rescued from oblivion by being republished under the auspices of a body calling itself the 'Spottiswoode Society.' In originally selecting this work as the occasion of the Essay, I was not, certainly, determined by the importance of the book, or by the celebrity of the Society to which we owe its republication. The one is a controversial work of the times of the Revolution, with all the spite, dulness, and prolixity of such controversies at such a time. The other is a body of which probably most of my readers have never heard. Nevertheless, there are circumstances connected with both which rendered the selection natural. Presbytery 'examined' by a Bishop—any Bishop—stands more than an equal chance of being examined only on one side, and of having even that side not treated with perfect justice. But when the 'examining' Bishop is a Scotch Bishop, and one who suffered personally from its triumph, we may guess with great precision the charge of the Judge, and the finding of his court. That of JEFFRIES, on the Western Circuit, could not have been foretold more certainly. On such a trial the black cap is inseparable from the lawn sleeves."—*Presbytery Examined, Preface*, pp. xii., xiii.

Whether Episcopacy "examined" by as sturdy a Presbyterian, as the Duke of Argyll proves himself to be, is likely to be more justly dealt with, than Presbytery itself was by Bishop Sage, is a question which we are quite willing to leave in the hands of those of our readers who may be acquainted with the volume of Bishop Sage, and may take the trouble of reading the Duke's pretended answer to it. If Bishop Sage gives no quarter to Presbytery, his noble reviewer certainly gives none to "Prelacy;" the two combatants are equally unmerciful, with this only difference, that Bishop Sage states nothing in which he is not fully borne out by the documentary evidence which he adduces; whereas the Duke's argument flies confessedly in the face of existing documents, and has no other foundation to rest upon than the crude Arnoldite notions which constitute the staple of his book. According to these notions there never can be, or ought to be, any such body on the face of the earth, as a Church which professes to be a witness of the truth of God, speaking with authority of knowledge and of faith, and denouncing the errors of those who

oppose and separate themselves. We have rarely seen this insidious principle as extravagantly stated, and as arrogantly maintained, as it is in the volume before us. The idea of there being now upon earth a body entitled to call itself *the Church*, identified with the Church founded by the Apostles of our blessed Lord, under the inspiration, and with the promise of the continued guidance, of the Holy Ghost—who is not the author of confusion but of peace in all the Churches of the Saints—and, therefore, distinguished from other bodies of professing Christians, who by separating from it, through heretical misconception of doctrine, through uncharitable contention about things indifferent, or through wilful rebellion against the divinely-constituted authority of the Church, have committed the grievous and perilous sin of schism,—this idea, which is inseparable from the idea of the Church as it is set forth in the New Testament, is abomination in the eyes of the noble Duke. Whoever entertains it, no matter what his creed may be, is met throughout the pages of the “*Essay*” with the salutation “*Anathema Maran-atha.*”

“That is indeed,” we are told, “the heaviest responsibility which any party can incur, when it rashly identifies its own principles, and especially its own course in their support, with doctrines of pure religious truth. It is not merely that it may be wrong to do so; but that it cannot possibly be right. Every party is, indeed, bound to shape its course according to its own sense of religious duty. But none has a right to confound its own sense of religious duty with the positive doctrines of religious truth. It is not merely that that sense *may* be a delusion,—that it *probably* is full of error,—and that it *must* be mixed with some; but it is that such fanatic feeling survives the sounder principles with which it may have been associated at first; so that the subsequent course of a party may be, and frequently is, a continued violation of the principles,—a scandal to the interests,—which it was originally summoned to defend.”—*Presbytery Examined*, pp. 171, 172.

It is difficult to understand, how any man, moderately versed in the Holy Scriptures, and gifted with the power of reasoning correctly from given premises, can arrive at the conclusion that among all the different bodies which assume the Christian name *not one* MAY, in its constitution and doctrine, be conformable to the Apostolic model; or how he can entertain the self-contradictory notion that a body happening to be conformable to the Apostolic model, is not to be conscious of such conformity, or at all events not to assert the duty of such conformity against those who have departed from it, and thereby broken the bond of peace, and rent the unity of Christ's body. The fact that the Church was originally founded as one undivided body, separation from which,



on whatever ground, was declared a heinous sin by the Holy Ghost Himself—the One Spirit which dwells in the One body, and is the life of it—coupled with the fact that Christ's commission to His Apostles was accompanied with the promise that He would be with them "alway even unto the end of the world," and that "the gates of hell should not prevail against His Church," leaves no other conclusion open to us, but either that the whole Christian revelation is a fable, "a devout imagination," or else that to the end of the world there must be a continued existence of the one and undivided body, the Church, to which alone the promise of the Spirit belongs, and in contradistinction to which all the different bodies which are in a state of separation from it, and opposition against it, must be accounted as living in a state of error and of sin. Indeed, independently of the clear evidence of Holy Writ to the correctness of this position, it is in the very nature of truth, as such, that it must be found somewhere, and that, wherever it is found, it must be exclusive against error. The very Pyrrhonism of the school to which the Duke of Argyll belongs, asserts itself as exclusively as the dogmatism of the decrees of the Council of Trent. It is not, according to that school, an open question whether there be a Church which, to the exclusion of all separatist and dissentient communions, is *the* Church. There is, there can be, no such Church. But this proposition, negative though it be in its form, is itself a dogma; a dogma necessarily as exclusive as any other dogma. If any man asserts that there is such a Church, the Duke of Argyll unhesitatingly pronounces him to be in error, no matter whether he be Romanist, Episcopalian, or Presbyterian. By doing so, His Grace unconsciously pronounces himself, and the school which he represents, and of which he acknowledges Dr. Arnold to be the great prophet, to be alone in the right; the power of truth, recoiling upon him, exhibits him in the ridiculous position of asserting the existence of an exclusive church,—the "church," the *ecclesia*, of the disciples of Dr. Arnold,—in the very same breath with which he denies the existence of such a church; with this additional aggravation of absurdity, that the creed of his exclusive church, instead of being, like that of the true Church, a positive body of truth, the seed of faith in the soul, is a pure negation, destructive of all faith.

"No man, no Church, has a right to lay claim to the possession of the truth," is, in the Arnoldite church, the first and the only necessary article of faith; a proposition which at once takes away the possibility of faith; for faith without a full persuasion that the mind has laid hold upon the truth,\* or, more correctly speaking, has been laid hold upon by the truth, ceases to be faith.

What renders the wretched delusion of this negative creed still more melancholy, as well as more ridiculous, is the animosity and bitterness with which its professors declaim against all who hold a positive faith; an animosity and bitterness which is, not unnaturally so, directed with tenfold intensity against the true Church. The Duke of Argyll is, in this respect as in many others, a very fair specimen of the school he represents. He is not a little indignant at the exclusive claims of his own Presbyterian communion; the fanaticism of those who dissent from it, of the Independents of Cromwell's time, or of the Free Churchmen of our day, comes in for a large share of condemnation at his hands; Romanism is detestable in his eyes;—but the quintessence of his asperity and venom is reserved for the Episcopal communion, the Reformed Apostolic Church, established in England, and subsisting, though not established, in Scotland. It is when speaking of this body, more especially the branch of it which in Scotland continues to bear witness against the rebellious origin and constitution of the Presbyterian establishment, that the noble author of the "Essay" cannot disguise his unaffected scorn, nor suppress the sneers which perpetually rise to his lips, and descend into his quill. He has little patience with "the fanaticism of presbytery," which "identifies the cause of the covenant with that of the 'Cross of Christ,' His 'headship' with that of the General Assembly;"—but he loses all patience when he comes to speak of that hated "Prelacy" which ventures to designate the Presbyterian Kirk as "that form of schism which is established in Scotland."

The denial of the right of any body of Christians to the exclusive title, "the Church," is not, however, the only negation which characterizes the creed of the Duke of Argyll, and the school of whose opinions he professes himself the exponent. It is against the existence of an Apostolic commission of the ministry as a distinct Order, endued with special gifts, and entrusted with the stewardship of the mysteries of grace, that his unmitigated hostility is directed. His Grace's principles on this subject cannot be better elucidated than by the following brief *exposé* from his own pen :—

"Doctrinally—if the Christian ministry is not a priesthood, there is a final end of half the superstitions with which Rome deformed religion. Ecclesiastically—if they are not vested, as an order, with any exclusive authority, there is an end of that spiritual usurpation which sanctified corruption, and closed every independent access to the truth. Politically—if the Christian Church is nothing but the Christian people, there is no ground left for any mystic distinction between Civil and Eccle-

ciastical authority. That separation which does really exist is placed in its true light—a separation not as between persons and persons, or between councils and councils, but simply between one class of subjects and another. If the boundaries of a nation coincided exactly with the boundaries of any one religious system—that is to say, if all the citizens of a State were members of the same religious body, one and the same Assembly might rightfully and naturally legislate on both those subjects. It is merely the necessities of outward circumstance—the fact of religious divisions, and other facts of a similar kind—which prevent both those subjects being cognizable by one and the same authority. No Divine law would be infringed by an entire coincidence of the two authorities, were it practicable; still less is any such law infringed by a partial coincidence, where it very often is both possible and wise.

"All this follows immediately and necessarily from the principle that there is no special order, or caste of men, gifted with exclusive power in spiritual concerns. But this denial of a false and superstitious distinction only places in a clearer light that true distinction which really does exist. There is a distinction between temporal and spiritual things, and there must be a corresponding distinction—not necessarily in the men who legislate—but in the nature of the legislation. In temporal matters human legislation is invested, *proprio jure*, with great authority,—it is properly *enactive*. In spiritual things human legislation has no direct authority; it is merely *declaratory*. In the one case no number of dissentient voices is entitled to contravene the legislative power, because society has a right to enforce obedience to its civil laws. In the other case, if there be one single mind which dissents from a declaratory interpretation put upon the laws of God, that mind is entitled to maintain its dissent and to act upon it—because on such subjects human authority is none."—*Presbytery Examined*, pp. 294—296.

The sincerity with which the Duke of Argyll has abjured that fundamental feature in the constitution of Christ's Holy Church, the perpetual existence of a ministry of grace endued from on high, is attested, not only by the repeated denunciations of it, as a "corruption" and a "superstition," which occur in the "Essay," but by the tone which His Grace, as a layman, takes, in pronouncing upon questions of theology with an authority to his own mind evidently not less infallible, than is that of the Pope himself to the mind of a "good Catholic." It is on the ground of what His Grace conceives to be the radical opposition of Presbyterianism to all "priestly notions," that that body of professing Christians enjoys the privilege of reckoning the noble Duke among its members, and the distinguished honour of having him for its apologist. According to his view, Presbyterianism is nothing more than the first embryo of that pure idea of Christianity which was further developed by Dr. Arnold, and would have been brought to per-

fection by him if he had lived long enough ; failing which, the author of the " Essay " has taken up the question, and, to his own thinking at least, settled it on an incontrovertible basis. We honestly confess, that with the conception which we have been led to form of Presbyterianism, of the high papistical claims which it advances, far beyond any that have ever been preferred by the Protestant Episcopate in Scotland or elsewhere, we are scarcely prepared to find its identity with the doctrines of the Arnoldite school as broadly asserted as in the following passage :—

" In reviewing the course of Scottish Presbytery, from the Reformation to the Revolution, we have met with ample ground for assigning to it a high place among the more distinguished class,—although there are points, as we have endeavoured to show, in which its course has been for warning, not example.

" On account of one of its principles, if that principle stood alone, it deserves our special homage. The stern protest which it made from the beginning against all notions of Priesthood—of any mediatorial or exclusive power—in the Christian ministry, reached at once to one of the most profound and momentous truths which are still struggling for acceptance in the world. On this subject we have before alluded to a name, which, over a wide extent of Christendom, is now a name of solemn sound. If it had been allowed to Dr. Arnold to have his most earnest wish fulfilled,—if he had been permitted to take part in what his last words emphatically alluded to as ' THAT GREAT WORK,' a revival of the true Commonwealth of the Church,—he could not, in this respect, have done more than the first Scotch Reformers did. He could not have disowned with more deep conviction of its danger, the very name of Priest. He could not have thrown more widely open to the Commons of the Church, the door of her councils, and the offices of her public service."—*Presbytery Examined*, pp. 292, 293.

This identity the author labours to establish, in the teeth of all that he himself is elsewhere obliged to acknowledge as to the character of Presbyterian Church government, by a reference to the constitution of the General Assembly :—

" The Convocation of the Church of Scotland was never a Convocation of the Clergy only. It was a great gathering—from all orders in the State,—of men whom their Christian brethren had chosen to represent them there. ' The General Assembly of the Church convened at Edinburgh, where were present Superintendents, Ministers, Deacons, Commissioners from Towns and Churches ;'—such is the common opening of the minutes of their proceedings."—*Presbytery Examined*, p. 293.

That laymen did intrude into the government of the Church and override the Apostolical and, therefore, divinely appointed order of Church government, and that to this intrusion and usur-

pation Presbyterianism is indebted for its existence, is an historical fact which we are neither disposed nor concerned to deny. And if Presbyterianism had been, in its origin, the consistent assertion of certain well-defined principles, instead of being, as it was, the turbulent overthrow of all principles, followed by the adoption of such maxims as would serve to confer upon acts of lawless violence a semblance of right, make the worse appear the better reason, and rebellion as the exercise of legitimate powers, no doubt all idea of a Divine commission of the ministry must have been expunged from the Presbyterian system. Yet, practically, it is not so; the ministry of the Presbyterian establishment has preferred, and continues to prefer, as high claims as the ministry of any other communion, to special gifts and superior powers; and if we were called upon to define the distinctive features of Presbyterianism on this head, we should rather say that they consist in the manifestly unscriptural assertion of the parity of ministers, and the somewhat extraordinary, and certainly not very reverent, assumption that the gifts of the Holy Ghost are to follow upon the unhallowed decrees of tumultuous and self-constituted assemblies. We might have been afraid, in the presence of such a doughty champion of Presbyterianism as the Duke of Argyll, to advance this charge of inconsistency against it; but, happily, we have, from the pen of His Grace himself, abundant confirmation of the fact now stated.

"The language which had now become common respecting the independence and authority of spiritual power—above all, the appropriation of Scripture texts on which that language sought to justify itself—would involve principles utterly subversive of the legitimate power of Christian legislatures, as well as of the liberty of private judgment. It was logically inconsistent with any but a priestly idea, both of the nature of the Church and of the extent of its authority. Accordingly, it has been a frequent charge against Presbytery at this time, that it attempted to establish over the civil power, and over individual conscience, a spiritual tyranny as bad as that of Rome. And, certainly, we might quote innumerable passages from the documents of this time, which, if the principles they imply were logically evolved, would justify this accusation to the full. But there are other passages equally numerous, and very often contiguous in the same papers, which lay down doctrines directly contradictory—showing that what was extravagant in the claims of Presbytery, or rather in the words in which it clothed them, was due to its passions, not its principles. In one breath we are sometimes told that it is the duty and right of the civil magistrate to see that the office-bearers of the Church 'do their duty,' and 'judge aright according to the word of God;' in the next breath he is deprived of all independent 'judgment' as to what is, or what is not, 'according' to that word. He is told he may not venture to take upon himself 'to interpret Scrip-

ture in matters of controversy'—this power being given of God to the 'Pastors and Doctors of the Church.'

"The close proximity of such contradictory positions is one of the most curious features of the time, reminding us always that, however excited may be the language in which the liberty of the Church is asserted, or however ambitious the appropriations of Scripture texts, there was something—deep in the principles of Presbytery—which was preventing, and must prevent, its claims from becoming even the same in kind, far less equal in degree, with the claims of priesthood. But the language to which we refer was sometimes wild and extravagant enough. In one of those 'declinatures' of the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, given in by a minister, when cited to appear before it, to which we have before alluded, we find it asserted, that *the 'Spiritual office-bearers and ministers of the Church have power to deliver unto Satan—to bind the impenitent in their sins—to lock out and debar from the kingdom of heaven—having the keys of that kingdom given them of God.'* And in another paper of this time, language equally rash is used. Among those questions which the King proposed to the assemblies of the Church, and which they justly considered as intended to 'cast in doubt' the whole liberties and government of Presbytery, we find the following query:—'Is it the King separately, or the pastors separately, or both conjointly, that should establish the acts anent the external government of the Church; or what is the form of their conjunction to make laws?' To this the Synod of Fife replies, that *the ordinary interpretation of God's word belongs to the Pastors and Doctors of the Church*, and that 'Kings and princes ought, by their civil authority, to ratify and approve by their laws, and vindicate by their civil sanction, that which they (the Pastors and Doctors) declare to be God's will out of his word.' In support of such positions, reference is made to the most irrelevant texts, such, for instance, as 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name,' &c.,—as if this promise had any reference at all to the power of ecclesiastical assemblies, any more than to that of any other assemblies of professing Christians. We could quote *many other passages* in which the idea of the authority of the Church—of *the absolute distinction between civil and spiritual power*—and of *the independence of the latter on the former*, finds expression in language equally extreme, and is referred to texts equally irrelevant or misleading.

"Yet, however positive may be the form which that idea had now assumed, and however dogmatic the terms in which it was expressed, it is certain that it formed no part of the fundamental or essential principles of Presbytery, but was a mere growth arising from the external circumstances in which it had been placed. It is *perfectly true that, for more than a hundred years, it strikes the eye as one of the most prominent characteristics of the genius of Presbytery; and to this hour it is esteemed as such by a large portion of its members.*"—*Presbytery Examined*, pp. 96—99.

Thus, by the showing of the Duke of Argyll himself, it is un-

deniable that the notion of priestly power to which he so strongly objects, was, and to this day is, no less strongly cherished in the Presbyterian community. His Grace may, to suit his purpose, assert that this was due to the "passions" and not the "principles" of Presbytery; but this is a mere gratuitous assertion. It is quite as competent for us to assert, on the contrary, that the retention of an idea of special gifts and powers attached to the ministerial character, is the result of adherence, in some measure, at least, and amidst all the inconsistencies of tumultuous change, to the true principles of the Catholic Church; and that the repudiation of that idea at other times, and by certain members of the Presbyterian community, was and is the result of extreme party violence, and of the difficulty of maintaining claims, the historical foundations of which have been cut away from under the schismatical edifice. The reason why the noble author of the "Essay" deems it more expedient to assume that the very essence of Presbytery consists in the denial of a distinct ministerial order and power, is obvious enough. His Grace is desirous of enlisting the authority of an old establishment on behalf of the modern notions of the Arnoldite school, and to screen his own peculiar heresy under shelter of the religious body to which he seems to belong fortuitously, rather than on principle, and with which he makes common cause against the main object of his hatred, the Divine ordinance of a true Church and an Apostolic ministry. At the same time, if the Presbyterian Kirk should venture to differ from the noble Duke on the question of the ministerial office, it may expect as little quarter from His Grace as Prelacy itself. The following extract is so characteristic of the whole spirit and tendency of his performance, that we cannot forbear from transcribing it:—

"But why, it may be asked, have thus gone over again the fierce battles of the Covenant, and retraced the long contests between Presbytery and Prelacy in Scotland? Because they are living parties: because they are fighting now: because, with all the hereditary features of their character, they still stand opposed, as they did of yore. Presbytery has not lost its wild, wayward vigour; it is marked with the same rugged virtues; in excess, it tends to the same vices of opinion. Prelacy has not abated its narrow bigotry; it is incited by the same grasping ambition to be national; its opinions tend to the same sacerdotal usurpations. The Divine right of Bishops is still the central point in the theology of the one: the 'Crown of Christ' is still extravagantly quoted in the system of the other. They are both things of the present day. It is well that we should know what is to be hoped or feared from each; and, in order to anticipate their future, we must understand their past.

“ Especially, in respect to Presbytery, we must know its traditions, in order to seize the meaning of its forms. It sometimes belies itself. Under the incoherence of Cromwell there were hid the great powers of the Protector; under the fanaticism of the Covenant lay the noblest maxims of the Reformers. All parties must have their outward clothing, and sometimes that clothing is not an ornament, but a disguise. We must remember this when we look at Scottish Presbytery. We may hear it inculcating the authority of ‘the Church’ in language not less peremptory than has been used by Rome; but we must remember that ‘the Church’ of Presbytery is not ‘the Church’ of Priesthood. We must remember that the high claims which that language expresses are, in fact, nothing but the inherent claims of the Christian community to exercise self-government under a representative system. If we do not remember this, Presbyterian forms of speech will certainly not always remind us of the fact. These are often inconsistent with any but a sacerdotal theory. We may hear Presbyterian Assemblies designating the power they claim as the ‘power of the keys,’ and we may hear them quoting, in support of it, the same texts which have always been the favourite texts of priests. We may find, for instance, that the first text quoted by the Free Church, in support of Presbyterian claims, is likewise the favourite text of Rome. The same motto which floats on the banner of the Free Church is the motto which, for ages before the Free Church was born, has floated on the banner of the Papacy. Who that has visited Italy does not remember that great circle from which the glorious dome of St. Peter rises, and on which is inscribed, in letters of gold mosaic, ‘TU ES PETRUS, ET SUPER HANC PETRAM ÆDIFICABO ECCLESIAM MEAM; ET TIBI DABO CLAVES REGNI CŒLORUM.’ This, too, is the text first and prominently quoted by the ‘Constitutional Catechism’ of the Free Church in support of its favourite dogma of the absolute and sacred distinction and separation to be maintained between civil and spiritual power.

“ Nevertheless, we need not be alarmed. The claims of Presbytery are not the claims of Priesthood. The extravagance is due to the men who advocate them, not to the claims themselves. These claims have no more connexion with the text above quoted, than with the most irrelevant passage we could select from the Bible. It is merely the language of the party. We must make allowance for traditionary forms of speech. Necessity is laid upon Presbyterians to quote Scripture for every thing they say or do. Andrew Melville spoke of the ‘power of the keys;’ therefore, whether logically or not, the text from which that expression is derived must needs be quoted. But, fortunately for Presbyterianism, John Knox, though his disciples used this formula of expression, had laid down principles which effectually reduce its claim over the ‘power of the keys’ to the level of the power possessed by every club, whether in the religious, the political, or the social world—that of excluding from its own body such members as transgress its laws. The ‘power of the keys,’ therefore, in the mouth of Presbytery, is nothing but a very solemn and startling name, for a very common



and a very intelligible thing. By the reiterated denials of its own Reformers, Presbytery is prevented from believing that there is any authority on earth gifted with the power of binding and loosing in heaven, merely by virtue of its decisions here. Nor is this all: Presbytery is prevented also from believing that there is any authority in any earthly body—in 'councils, realms, or nations'—which, even on such matters as the interpretation of Scripture, can step *authoritatively* between the individual mind and its own convictions. Further still: Presbytery does not believe that there was any machinery established in the Christian Church by which such powers as may have been given to the Apostles personally, could be continued afterwards. It does not believe that there was any law of outward succession laid down, so that those to whom such powers descended, could claim from all men a recognition of their right.

"These are fortunate incapacities of belief! Under their protection we may smile when we hear Presbytery claiming the 'power of the keys.' It means only the opening and shutting its own private doors. Its right to this power has nothing to do with the text it quotes in its support—any more than the overthrow of usurping Prelacy in 1638 had to do with the crumbling of the 'walls of Jericho.' Presbytery does not and cannot claim the rights given to St. Peter and his eleven brethren. Such rights as it can claim, consistently with its own principles, are wholly different in kind, and infinitely inferior in degree. There is no logical connexion whatever, therefore, between the rights which are really due to Presbytery and this text which is quoted in their support. But whatever may be our disappointment in the logic of the Free Church in thus quoting, in support of one kind of power, passages which refer to another kind, it is at least satisfactory to know, from indisputable facts and documents of received authority, that Scottish Presbytery early repudiated the daring and intolerable claim of a personal inheritance of Apostolic powers."—*Presbytery Examined*, pp. 219—223.

Since His Grace of Argyll animadverted with such unhesitating severity and such undisguised contempt upon "the daring and intolerable claim of a personal inheritance of Apostolic powers," it appears to us not inopportune to inquire somewhat more particularly into the "personal inheritance" of lordly titles and estates which emboldens him thus to discuss and to repudiate the most sacred appointments of Christ's Holy Church with the solemn *hautour* of aristocratic pride. On looking back to the records which attest the growing fortunes of his family, we find that the greatness of the house of Argyll is mainly due to the political advancement obtained by his ancestors in the civil troubles of which the Church was made at once the pretext and the victim; and that the greater portion of its enormous wealth is derived directly from the plunder of the Church. The name

of one of His Grace's ancestors stands as the first signature to the bond for establishing the Congregation, entered into in the year 1537, for the reformation of the Church ; and the fee which the Church paid him for his exertions in the cause of "purity of doctrine," was neither more nor less than the whole of the lands belonging to the three Bishoprics of Argyll, the Isles, and Brechin. A successor of this great and disinterested Church reformer made himself so conspicuous during the great rebellion as to earn for himself the epithet of the "Dictator," and pocketed, besides other spoil, the sum of 30,000*l.* as his share of the "blood money" for which King Charles was sold into the hands of the Parliament. A catalogue of all the deeds of treachery to his Sovereign, and cruelty to the King's loyal subjects, committed by this "worthy" of the "Scottish Reformation" would be an interesting document, highly illustrative of those hereditary principles of Churchmanship which the noble reviewer of Bishop Sage and the Spottiswoode Society displays in his lucubrations. We must content ourselves, however, with the following brief sketch, which we borrow from the pages of Mr. Stephen :—

"No man who has read the foregoing pages can doubt that Argyle had fulfilled his father's prophecy, that he would 'wind Charles a pirl' [a reel]; yet no man can blame the king for neglecting the old earl's advice of arresting the incipient traitor. He was a most irredeemable coward; yet by his canting and hypocrisy, and his natural talents, which were good, he managed to direct the whole machinery of kirk and state, and to thrust others into danger. As an elder of the kirk he was always appointed one of the commission; which, with his position in the committee of the estates, a sort of republic, gave him the complete command of the whole machinery of the government. Argyle and the kirk mutually upheld each other. As an elder he instigated the commission, without appearing in it himself, to petition, to remonstrate with, and dictate to, the parliament and its committee, and to oppose the acts of the parliament and the government of the committee, when his own direct influence had failed, especially in the affair of the duke's engagement. The commission of the kirk called it *the unlawful Engagement*; and for some considerable time, instead of the saving truths of Jesus Christ, it was the only subject of their sermons; and by a decree of the Assembly, all who had any concern in it were excommunicated, unless they did penance in sackcloth at the kirk door, after the manner of those who had been guilty of adultery or fornication. 'This,' says Dr. Cockburn, 'to my certain knowledge, turned many to be *atheists* and *irreligious*, who concluded from thence all religion and all designs of clergymen to be only hypocrisy and cheat.' At the same time, as a member of the committee of estates, Argyle adopted their advice, which, in fact, he had prompted, and while he was working out his own plans, he gave to the commission an importance and a position

which they could not otherwise have had, and enabled them to meddle with affairs of state, as the directors of the government. Hence Argyle was usually called the Dictator."—*Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. chap. xxi. pp. 234, 235.

With such antecedents as these, it would be more creditable to the noble Duke, and wear a greater show of liberality before the world, if he were to testify his zeal and devotion for the cause of Christ in Scotland, by making, we will not say, full restitution, but, at least, some sort of reparation to the Church, by whose spoil his ducal state is supported. Let us, however, be just. His Grace is not singular in the attitude which he has assumed; he is not the only nobleman in the United Kingdom, who avails himself of a social elevation, the foundation of which was laid in sacrilege, for the purpose of oppressing, and of railing and sneering at, the Church upon which his ancestors committed open robbery. A bare sense of decency, one might have thought, would have dictated another course; very shame ought, at least, to have imposed silence: for if there is one thing more than another "daring and intolerable," it is, that those whose "personal inheritance" will so little bear inspection, should presume to speak with profane scorn of the only patrimony left to the Church in Scotland by the rapacity of her nobles, the "personal inheritance of Apostolic powers."

This very inheritance of "Apostolic powers," for which His Grace of Argyll cannot find language sufficiently contumelious, endears the Episcopal Church of Scotland to the hearts of churchmen in England, who can never lose sight of the fact, that while her reformation had originally taken a less happy course than that of her southern sister, she was at last thrown into the shade, and deprived of that public countenance and support which the Church of England enjoys as an establishment, by the very scrupulousness of her bishops and priests, who could not prevail upon themselves to set aside in their consciences their allegiance to the dethroned King. Even those whose judgment may not approve the course pursued by the Scotch bishops at the period of the Revolution, cannot help respecting, if not admiring, the nice sense of truth and honour which prompted their adherence to sworn engagements, in spite of the disadvantages, and those of a lasting nature, which, they could not fail to perceive, their refusal to take the oath to the new King, must entail upon their Church.

The transactions of that period, by which the position of the Episcopal Church in Scotland since the Revolution has been determined, are recorded in a letter addressed by Dr. Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, to the Hon. and Right Rev. Archibald

Campbell, consecrated in 1711, in the place of Bishop Sage, as one of the "bishops at large," or *adiocesan* bishops, in pursuance of Dr. Rose's scheme for the preservation of the succession. The letter, which is dated Oct. 22nd, 1713, is a most interesting document, not only on account of the intrinsic importance of the circumstances recorded in it, but of the extreme simplicity with which they are narrated:—

"When, in October 1688, the Scots bishops came to know of the intended invasion by the Prince of Orange, a good many of them being then at Edinburgh, meeting together, they concerted and sent up a loyal address to the king [which has been already given]. Afterwards, in November, finding that the prince was landed, and foreseeing the dreadful convulsions that were like to ensue, and not knowing what damages might arise from thence both to the church and state, they resolved to send up two of their number to the king, with a renewed tender of their duty; instructing them also to wait on the bishops of England for advice and assistance, in case that any unlucky thing might possibly happen to occur with respect to our church. This resolution being taken, it was represented by the two archbishops to his majesty's privy council (in which the Lord Perth sat as chancellor), and it was agreed unto and approved by them; whereupon, at the next meeting of the bishops it was not thought fit, even by the archbishops themselves, that any of them (though they were men of the greatest ability and experience) should go up, as being less acceptable to the English bishops from their having consented to the taking off the sanguinary laws against papists; and so that undertaking was devolved over upon Dr. Bruce, bishop of Orkney, and me, he having suffered for not agreeing to that project, and I not concerned, as not being a bishop at that time. And accordingly a commission was drawn and signed for us two, the 3rd of December, 1688."—*Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii. chap. xlix. pp. 371, 372.

Eventually, in consequence of the illness of the Bishop of Orkney, Dr. Rose went alone. His account of the communications which he had with the principal members of the English Episcopate is highly characteristic:—

"The very next day after my arrival at London I waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury (to whom I had the honour to be known some three years before), and after my presenting, and his grace's reading of my commission, his grace said that matters were very dark, and the cloud so thick or gross that they could not see through it. They knew not well what to do for themselves, far less what advice to give to me; that there was to be a meeting of the bishops with him that very day, and desired me to see him the week thereafter. I next waited on the then Bishop of St. Asaph [Dr. Stillingfleet], being of my acquaintance also, who treated me in such a manner that I could

not but see through his inclinations ; wherefore I resolved to visit him no more, nor address myself to any others of that order, till I should have occasion to learn something farther about them. Wherefore, the week thereafter I repaired to Lambeth, and told his grace all that had passed betwixt St. Asaph and me ; who, smiling, replied, ' St. Asaph was a good man, but an angry man ; ' and withal told me that matters still continued dark, and that it behoved me to wait the issue of their convention, which he suspected was only that which would give light and open the scene ; and withal desired me to come to him from time to time, and if any thing occurred he would signify it unto me.

" In that wearisome season (wearisome to me, because acquainted with few save those of our countrymen, and of those I knew not whom to trust), I waited on the Bishop of London, and entreated him to speak to the prince to put a stop to the persecution of our clergy, but to no purpose. I was also with the then Dr. Burnet, upon the same design, but with the same success ; who told me, *that he did not meddle in Scots affairs* [1]. I was also earnestly desired by the Bishop of London, and the then Viscount of Tarbat, and some other Scots peers, to wait upon the prince, and present him with an address upon that head. I asked whether I or my address would readily meet with acceptance or success, if it did not compliment the prince upon his descent to deliver us from popery or slavery ? They said that was absolutely necessary. I told, that I neither was instructed by my constituents to do so, neither had I myself clearness to do it ; and that on these terms I neither could nor would either visit or address his highness. In that season also I had the honour to be acquainted and to be several times with the worthy Dr. Turner, the then Bishop of Ely, whose conversation was very useful to me and every way agreeable ; and besides these bishops already mentioned, I had not the honour to be acquainted with any other. And thus the whole time of the convention passed off, excepting what was spent in necessary duties and visiting our countrymen, even until the day that the dark scene opened by the surprising vote of abdication, on which very day I went over to Lambeth ; and what passed there betwixt his grace and me (being all in private), it is both needless, would be very tedious, and perchance not so very proper to write it. In the close, I told his grace that I would make ready to go home, and only wait upon his grace once more before I took my journey."—*Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 372, 373.

Before Dr. Rose could carry this intention into effect, an unexpected obstacle presented itself. Several travellers to the north had been stopped on their road, for want of passes, which were not granted to any except after personal presentation to William. In this dilemma Dr. Rose, after conferring with the Archbishop, applied to the Bishop of London to introduce him at court, when the following dialogue took place :—

“ His lordship asked me whether I had any thing to say to the king ? (so was the style in England then.) I replied, that I had nothing to say, save that I was going for Scotland, being a member of the convention ; for I understood that without waiting on the prince (that being the most common Scots style), I could not have a pass, and that without that I must needs be stopped upon the road, as several of my countrymen had been. His lordship asked me again, saying, seeing your clergy have been and are so routed and barbarously treated by the presbyterians, will you not speak to the king to put a stop to that, and in favour of your own clergy ? My reply was, that the prince had been often applied to in that matter by several of our nobility, and addressed also by the sufferers themselves, and yet all to no purpose : wherefore I could have no hopes that my intercessions would be of any avail ; but that if his lordship thought otherwise, I would not decline to make them. His lordship asked me farther, whether any of our countrymen would go along with me, and he spoke particularly of Sir George Mackenzie. I replied, that I doubted nothing of that ; whereupon his lordship bid me find him out, and that both he and I should be at court that day, against three in the afternoon, and that he should surely be there to introduce us.”—*Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 376.

Previously to the introduction, the Bishop of London, who it appears had conferred with the Prince, made an attempt to persuade Dr. Rose of the propriety of the Scotch Bishops imitating the example of their brethren in England, and giving in their adhesion to the change of government.

“ The Bishop, directing his discourse to me, said—‘ My lord, you see that the king having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself a-swimming with one hand, the presbyterians having joined him closely, and offered to support him, and therefore he cannot cast them off, unless he could see how otherwise he could be served. And the king bids me tell you, that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland ; for while there he was *made believe* that Scotland generally all over was presbyterian, but now he sees that *the great body* of the nobility and gentry are for episcopacy, and it is the trading and inferior sort that are for presbytery ; wherefore he bids me tell you, that if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, *support the church* and [your] order, and *throw off* the presbyterians.’ My answer to this was—‘ My lord, I cannot but humbly thank the prince for this frankness and offer ;—but withal I must tell your lordship, that when I came from Scotland, neither my brethren nor I apprehended any such revolution as I have now seen in England, and therefore I neither was nor could be, instructed by them what answer to make to the prince’s offer ; and therefore what I say is not in their name, but only my private opinion, which is, that I truly think they

will not serve the prince so as he is served in England; that is (as I take it), to make him their king, or give their suffrage for his being king. And though as to the matter I can say nothing in their name, and as from them, yet for myself I must say, that rather than do so, I will abandon all the interest that I have, or may expect to have, in Britain.' Upon this the bishop commended my openness and ingenuity, and said, he believed it was so; for, says he, all this time you have been here, neither have you waited on the king, nor have any of your brethren, the Scots bishops, made any address to him. *So the king must be excused for standing by the presbyterians.*

"Immediately upon this," Dr. Rose continues, "the prince going somewhere abroad, came through our room, and Sir George Mackenzie takes leave of him in very few words. I applied to the bishop, and said—'My lord, there is now no farther place for application in our church matters, and this opportunity of taking leave of the prince is lost; wherefore I beg that your lordship would introduce me for that effect, if you can, next day, about ten or eleven in the forenoon;' which his lordship both promised and performed. And upon my being admitted to the prince's presence, he came three or four steps forward from his company, and prevented me, by saying—'My lord, are you going for Scotland?' My reply was—'Yes, sir, if you have any commands for me.' 'Then,' he said, 'I hope you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England.' Wherefore, being somewhat diffculted how to make a mannerly and discreet answer, without entangling myself, I readily replied—'Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me.' How this answer pleased I cannot well tell; but it seems the limitations and conditions of it were not acceptable, for instantly the prince, without saying any thing more, turned away from me, and went back to his company. Considering what had passed the day before, I was much surprised to find the prince accost me in those terms; but I presume that either the bishop (not having time) had not acquainted him with what had passed, or that the prince purposed to try what might be made of me by the honour he did me of that immediate demand: and as that was the first, so it was the last time I had the honour to speak with his highness."—*Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 377, 378.

Notwithstanding the unpropitious termination of Dr. Rose's mission to London, William III. did not abandon the hope of gaining the Scottish Bishops over to his cause; on the contrary, he gave instructions to the Duke of Hamilton to make overtures to them for an accommodation. The history of Dr. Rose once more furnishes us with an authentic account of the facts.

"After my down-coming here, my lord St. Andrews and I taking occasion to wait upon the duke Hamilton, his grace told us, a day or two before the sitting down of the Convention, that he had it in special charge from king William, that nothing should be done to the prejudice

of episcopacy in Scotland, in case the bishops could by any means be brought to befriend his interest; and prayed us most emphatically, for our own sakes, to follow the example of the Church of England. To which my lord St. Andrews replied, 'that both by natural allegiance, the laws, and the most solemn oaths, we were engaged in the king's interest, and that we were, by God's grace, to stand by it in the face of all dangers, and to the greatest losses:' subjoining, that 'his grace's quality and influence did put it in his hands to do his master [king James] the greatest service, and himself the surest honour; and if he acted otherways, it might readily lie as a heavy task and curse, both upon himself and family.'—*Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii. chap. l. p. 401.

While this firmness on the part of the bishops left the Prince of Orange little or no hope of obtaining the support of the Scottish Episcopate for his newly-acquired throne, the "rabbling" of the clergy, a proceeding which the Duke of Argyll informs us is not absolutely essential to the Presbyterian form of Christianity, —though *in fact* it gave rise to it originally, and led eventually to its establishment,—ejected a number of the Episcopalian clergy from their churches; the refusal to read the proclamation was followed by the deposition of many more; and finally the Act was framed, the preamble of which has been so severely and justly criticised by Bishop Sage, and which ran as follows:—

"Whereas the estates of this kingdom, in their claim of right of the 11th of April last, declared that 'prelacy and the superiority of any office in the church above presbyters, is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation, they having reformed from popery by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished:' Our sovereign lord and lady, with advice and consent of the estates of parliament, *do hereby abolish prelacy, and all superiority of any office* in the church of this kingdom above presbyters; and hereby rescinds, casses, and annuls those acts of parliament under Charles II., and all other acts, statutes, and constitutions in so far allenarly as they are inconsistent with this act, and establish prelacy or the superiority of church officers above presbyters: And their majesties do declare that they, with advice and consent foresaid, will settle by law that church government in this kingdom *which is most agreeable to the inclinations of the people.*"—*Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii. chap. li. p. 429.

We regret that our limits preclude us from a more extended notice of this and other critical periods in the history of the Scotch Church; the more so, as the laborious and able work of Mr. Stephen presents such ample opportunities and temptations to dwell on a subject too little known and appreciated on this side.



the Tweed. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing a hope that the pains which the author of the volumes before us (No. 2, at the head of this article), has bestowed upon his arduous task, will give a fresh impulse to the study of Scottish Church History, proportionate to the increased facilities for it which are now placed within reach of the public. With such a full and elaborate account of all the transactions which have taken place with regard to the Church in Scotland for the last three centuries, no man need be ignorant of the real merits of the question, and of the actual position of the Scottish Church; both which are as instructive to English Churchmen, as they are generally misapprehended by them. The mistakes and prejudices which are current, the simple, straightforward, and truthful narrative of Mr. Stephen is admirably calculated to correct. A sound Churchman in his principles, well acquainted with his subject, and endowed with the industry of research which is indispensable to the genuine historian, as distinguished from the historical rhetorician, Mr. Stephen has produced a work which for completeness and impartiality of information stands unrivalled. The conscientiousness of feeling which has guided him in his labours, and which is visible throughout, may best be judged of by the few remarks which on this point are contained in the Preface.

"In submitting to the public a new history of the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, it will perhaps displease some readers to find, in the contents of this volume, so much that is opposed to the opinions and representations of other historians of the period embraced therein; but facts have been honestly detailed, as they have been vouched for by the contemporary authors on both sides of politics. The Episcopalian Spottiswood, and the Presbyterian Calderwood, correspond exactly in their accounts of the most material facts, although they differ most essentially in their opinions, and in their deductions from the same premises. Facts, however, are stubborn things, and cannot, without detriment to truth, be turned and moulded to suit peculiar or sectarian views. The truth of history has been strictly adhered to, without respect of persons; quotations have not been garbled; nor have either friends or adversaries been designedly misrepresented. Such disingenuousness was foreign to the principles on which this work was written; for if an account shall be demanded at the day of judgment for every idle word that we speak, how much stricter will the scrutiny be into those falsehoods or wilful misrepresentations which we may commit to writing."—*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. Preface, p. v.

There is one suggestion which we would venture to offer to Mr. Stephen, and that is, that in the next edition of his work—and we hope it may see many—he should substitute a more

satisfactory index for the exceedingly meagre alphabetical list of names at the end of the fourth volume, which is hardly of any use at all. The most important names and subjects are necessarily followed by an immense mass of ciphers, without any guide by which the reader may distinguish the particular point to which his attention is directed. The only way to use the index, is to look up all the passages in succession, until the subject inquired for turns up in due course, a process attended with so much trouble and loss of time, that most readers will abandon the attempt to trace any particular fact by means of the index in utter despair. With this one exception, we have no fault to find with Mr. Stephen's performance, which commences the history of the Scottish Church at the dawn of the Reformation, at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, and brings it down to the year 1844.

As regards the concluding period of this history, it will be read by all sound and truly Catholic Churchmen with deep pain, and not without a sense of shame for the treatment which the Scottish Church is receiving at the hands of her English sister. While all must rejoice at the removal, on the part of the State, of those prohibitions by which formerly the clergy of the non-established, Episcopal Church of Scotland were precluded from ministering in an English diocese, it is impossible to read the limitation by which this tardy recognition of a sister Church is accompanied, without feeling pained at the illiberality of sentiment which seems to be implied in it. To admit Scottish Bishops or Presbyters to officiate in our Churches, or to preach from our pulpits, but to tie up our own Bishops from extending their licence for this purpose beyond the second day, without express renewal, is a proceeding little in accordance with Catholic Church principles, and with the necessary conditions of a free and cordial intercommunion. This excess of caution on the part of the English Church, is the more to be deplored, as no reciprocal provision is made, to prevent the permanent intrusion of English Presbyters into the Scottish dioceses, to the utter subversion of all constituted order and discipline.

The progress of the disgraceful schism which has grown out of this intrusion, and which has of late repeatedly come under the notice of the English public, has elicited from the pen of the Rev. Robert Montgomery a well-timed and highly instructive pamphlet (No. 3, at the head of this article), in which its talented author steps forward with all the fire of his zeal and eloquence, and with all the Christian boldness by which he is characterized, to vindicate the Scottish bishops from the unjust censure cast upon them for their assertion of their own diocesan rights, and

the enforcement of the canons of their Church. Into the details of that controversy it is impossible for us to enter on the present occasion; nor does there seem to be any call for our doing so, as to all sound Churchmen it must be evident that if English Presbyters cannot reconcile certain rules and practices of the Scottish Church to their weak and unenlightened consciences, the obvious remedy is for them to abstain from officiating in Scotland, where properly speaking they have no call to minister,—not, to take shelter under their character as English Presbyters for the purpose of setting Scotch bishops at defiance. The following remarks on this point recommend themselves no less by their terseness than by the soundness of Churchmanship by which they are indited:—

“The genuine explanation of all this wretched inconsistency lies here,—*EOOMER* has ever been the ruling inspiration under which Schism, in all ages, has marched and moved against Church order, and discipline. And thus, so blinded are our brethren by their hatred against Scotch Episcopacy, that rather than fail in their attacks on its Prelates,—they condescend to call in the aid of the Socinian democrat, the creedless Deist, and the Christless Jew, to assist them in getting what is termed ‘*PARLIAMENTARY RELIEF*!’ And this, we are told, is the right way to promote the glory of Christ, maintain scriptural truth, and protect the principles of the Reformation! ‘*Risum teneatis?*’ We advise a staunch defender of this dismal Erastianism no longer to use the Apostle’s creed, but to *improve* it into a higher degree of what is called the ‘*Sanctity of Private Judgment*!’ and then instead of saying ‘*I believe in the HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH*,’ the lion-hearted defender of absolute individuality may nobly exclaim, ‘*I believe in a HOLY CATHOLIC—MYSELF!*’

“This is not the place, or time, to investigate the manifold sources whence this repulsive dread, or proud dislike, to realize the Church of Christ as an *OBJECTIVE REALITY*, and *POSITIVE ORGANIZATION* endowed by Christ,—proceeds. Among them, probably are the tendencies of the Age to excessive individuality; the love of self-government, and self-legislation, which is inherent in an unrenewed nature; a lawless doctrine concerning the just limits of private judgment; a recoil to the opposite extreme, occasioned by Romanistic exaggerations on the part of unsound Churchmen; and last, not least, the functional pride and dogmatic fierceness, wherewith ecclesiastical principles are sometimes propounded. But, there is a more prevailing and immediate reason for this hatred to episcopal authority and Church principles, which ought here to be stated; and that is, the popular habit of confounding the ministerial offices of the Church as they are revealed in their power, perfection, and purity, by God in Scripture,—with the official embodiments of the same, as they are personified in the imperfect agencies of fallible and erring men. Thus it is that, when speaking of *THE CHURCH*, we are immediately assailed with what some *Bishops* has

enunciated in his charge, an *Archdeacon* propounded in his address, a *Priest* stated in his pamphlet, or a *Deacon* preached in his sermon. But surely, the Church Catholic, in her own IDEA, THEORY, and CONSTITUTION, as the Body of Christ,—is not to be confounded with any particular Bishop, Archdeacon, Priest, or Deacon. Would that some of our erring brethren might learn to study, with a reverential mind and prayerful heart, the essential attributes of the Church Catholic, not as she is bodied forth in the imperfections of human development, but as she is unveiled to us in that scriptural archetype,—which is itself an outward copy in language of the DIVINE IDEA which inhabited the mind of God from everlasting! Were men, whose boast it is that the Bible is their rule of faith, to allow that same inspired Volume to be their *rule of Churchmanship also*,—what a deal of mischief, schism, and controversy would the Church visible be spared!" — *Montgomery's Scottish Church and the English Schismatics*, 3rd edition, pp. 28—30.

To our own thinking it is a great advantage,—one of those happy results which the wisdom and goodness of God knows how to bring forth often from the most untoward causes,—especially at the present time of ecclesiastical confusion and base Erastianism, that the same communion which exhibits itself in the character of an establishment in the southern portion of the island, should exist in the northern part of it in total separation from the State, in all the simplicity of an Apostolic institution. Those among English Churchmen,—they are, we fear, a very large number,—who lose the successor of the Apostles in the Peer of Parliament and the diocesan governor of a State establishment, have the opportunity in Scotland of seeing what the Episcopate is in itself, as an Order of the Church, independently of all the adventitious circumstances by which connexion with the State has surrounded it. And those whose impatience under the often distressing effects of that connexion inclines them for a separation between Church and State, may, from the history and the actual position of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, learn to appreciate the more extensive operation, and the ultimately larger influence which the Church in our own country derives from her position as an establishment,—to discover in the practical working of a non-established Episcopal Church inconveniencies and difficulties fully as great as those which we have occasion to deplore in our own establishment,—and, consequently, may be led to view with thankfulness the many blessings which, in spite of recent interruptions of our peace, and encroachments on our rights, we still enjoy, and to turn them zealously to account, in the firm conviction that a diligent and conscientious use made of existing institutions is infinitely more useful in the long run than the ever hazardous experiment of novelty and change.

ART. III.—1. *The Voluntary System, as applied to Education.*  
*Crosby Hall Lectures on Education.*

2. *Speeches of Geo. Alex. Hamilton, Esq., and Joseph Napier, Esq., in the late Debate upon Education in Ireland.* Published in a Pamphlet by the National Club. 1848.

FEW characters in fabulous history have met with more frequent reprobation than the "Fox who had lost his Tail;" his cunning wish to have all his companions in the same predicament with himself, and the strong arguments which he adduced to show the inconvenience of the natural appendage, have marked him out among succeeding generations as an example to those who, feeling their own want of success, are anxious to involve others in a similar misfortune. The fox, however, appears to us to have been an amiable character compared with some of the voluntaries of the present day. He lost his tail by accident; they refuse Government aid on principle; and then, not satisfied with their own deliberate choice, they wish to insist that all others should forego the advantage which a certain definite income will always afford to every institution. If the fox had at first voluntarily mutilated his person and then founded an Anti-caudine Society, into which all orthodox foxes should compel their acquaintances by a like amputation, we should find a parallel for some of our friends at Crosby Hall. This may seem to treat a serious subject too lightly, but, as conscience is now the great plea which our friends put forward, let them, while they exercise their own judgment and decline to receive a grant from Government in any form, allow those whose conscience is not so sensitive to use a similar discretion, and receive what at first sight has always appeared a most important advantage.

In adverting to the subject of a Government grant for the purposes of education, we would lay down as our first proposition that there is nothing contrary to religion or Scripture in accepting money from any quarter for a good purpose; if there were, all religious societies and all charitable institutions must come to a close. Suppose a father unable to give his son as good an education as he could desire, there is nothing *wrong* in receiving assistance from his neighbour. If there were (and the voluntary system would go to this in the end), no man could allow a child to learn a lesson in a school where the master was allowed a free

house or an acre of land. It would certainly be better in the abstract that every man were rich enough, learned enough, and pious enough to teach his own child all that he requires to know, but unhappily this is not the case. A rich man of independent feeling will often naturally decline to take advantage of a public foundation, not because he objects to it on principle, but because he thinks it right to leave it for those who require it more. So also in every parish the minister, like the father, is supposed to desire the education of his congregation. If he can educate them himself, or by local means, so much the better ; but if he cannot do so conveniently, we do not see any thing *wrong* in his looking for assistance either from his friends in the next parish, if they can supply his deficiency, or from the King, who is the great father and pastor of his people. A minister may not, however, be capable of educating his congregation, a father may not be desirous of rendering his son a worthy member of society ; here then there is room for the State to interfere. One great objection to the voluntary system is, that it pre-supposes a state of perfection which does not exist, that all fathers desire the best interests of their children, that all ministers are equally influential, and all congregations equally liberal. The fact that a large portion of the grant is badly expended, does not militate against our making a proper use of another part, though the lectures lay great stress upon this. A quaker who objects to war may receive a salary from the Crown as a civil engineer, without compromising his principles ; and a servant may conscientiously receive his wages, even though he knows that his master is a drunkard or a gambler. If he is called upon to assist in the sin it then becomes his duty as a Christian to resign his place.

The objection then to a Government grant is not one of principle, as laid down at Crosby Hall, but one in matters of detail ; and here there may be weighty objections, and the question must arise, what are the conditions upon which the grant is made ? If we must exclude truth, or teach error, or consent to those who do so, Government aid becomes an evil, and cannot be too strongly repudiated. The body of men who can conduct their schools upon their own resources (like a rich man who can afford to educate his son) may, therefore, fairly decline the proffered grant for the present, and on this principle some of our religious societies have acted ; but it is rather because Government may propose unlawful conditions to them that it has been done, and that while a strict independence can be maintained it is more convenient to uphold it.

We cannot, however, deny that in some cases assistance from Government is absolutely necessary ; in other words, that without it education will fall to the ground, or, from its imperfections, will

be as bad or worse than none. This arises from two facts which seem to be overlooked at Crosby Hall, namely, the poverty and the carelessness of mankind.

It was the old complaint, as long ago as the days of ' Juvenal, that while great men built fine houses and drove noble teams of horses, " nothing cost the father so little as his son." That while he expected the schoolmaster to mould the character of his pupil like softened wax, he either endeavoured to cheat him altogether, or gave him the fee of a victorious prizefighter. We fear the habits of mankind are little altered in this respect; the voluntary system cuts down the teacher to the lowest shilling, and, like the poor poet, he is drawn away from nobler pursuits by his anxiety as to the price of his blanket. One of the lecturers gives us the following dialogue from a report presented to the American Government.

" A. calls on one of the trustees. ' Well, neighbour A.,' says the trustee, ' we have hired a man to keep our school this winter.' ' Oh! how much do you give him a month?' ' Twelve dollars.' (A girl in the factories can earn thirteen, and the amount is about 30*l.* a year.) ' You must be a bright one to pay a man such high wages these hard times to keep our school. I've just hired a man to work for me this winter at chopping, threshing, and drawing logs, and he's a real smart fellow too. He can thresh ten or twelve bushels of wheat in a day, and clean it up in the evening; and he'll chop his four cords of wood day by day, and not wink at it; and I think it's a pity if we can't employ a man to sit around the stove all day, and have thirty or forty to wait on him, as cheap as I can hire one to do the work I have for a man to do; and I think it's a chance if he has much of a school.' ' I know,' says the trustee, ' it is too much; but no one else came along, so we thought we had better hire him.' ' Did'nt you try to beat him down any?' ' I should think we did. We worked him from noon till nine o'clock at night, and got him down four dollars. He asked sixteen dollars at first.' ' You should have beat him down four dollars more, and that would be more than a teacher ought to have.' "—*New York Report, 1843, quoted lectures, p. 106.*

We believe this to convey much more truth than some of the lectures which endeavour to throw as much discredit as possible upon the returns made to Parliament. They tell us that, particularly in Wales, the commissioners made their inquiries from Churchmen not from Dissenters: for our part, we have always considered the blue books as the most authentic modern history, and their testimony the best which can be procured; and certainly, if any weight is to be given them, they clearly prove that the

<sup>1</sup> Sat. vii. 160, &c.

lower classes of England are either unable or unwilling to educate themselves, and that, therefore, the State, as the great guardian of all the subjects of the Crown, has a duty to perform in supplying the want. We had intended to have entered more largely into these details and to have quoted some of the evidence on this subject, but we shall content ourselves with referring generally to the statements annually laid before Parliament, and we fear that many thousands may still be found in the position of the<sup>2</sup> Wolverhampton boy who, in answer to some simple questions from the commissioner, pathetically declared "that he was no judge of nothin' !"

Our own experience corroborates this idea. We have visited some hedge schools both in England and Ireland; in one case, in Shropshire, we were well acquainted with a parish school supposed to be one of the best in the neighbourhood; the master considered himself a man of learning, and, as far as a power of repeating half the Bible went, he certainly was so. He had no family except a sister, who was occasionally insane and who received parish relief. There was an endowment of 3*l.* a year and subscriptions to about the same amount; there were from twenty to thirty children in regular attendance, yet the poor schoolmaster was often in absolute want. Like Dominie Sampson, he did not manage his own affairs well. Though the children were supposed to pay 10*s.* a year each, yet the payment was seldom sought for and never enforced. The master had been induced to stand godfather to some; these, of course, he educated free: he had received obligations from the parents of others; and as to those that were poor, he thought it a pity that their poverty should be aggravated by ignorance of reading. One of his pupils, about seven years of age, once said to a farmer, "Grandfather, I should like to bring more dinner with me to school, for I saw our master eating his dinner yesterday, and he had but little bread and no bacon." We believe the poor man used often to smoke to escape from hunger. Of course in England this state of things could not last; John Bull cannot bear to think that his worst enemy should be hungry, and an arrangement was made by which a neighbouring farmer's wife promised to find the Dominie with a hot dinner every day. As far as the pupils were concerned the schoolmaster could not live.

Within the last few years we visited an Irish hedge school about fifty miles from Dublin. It was entirely on the voluntary principle. The remains of the cabin stood on the skirts of a bog in a populous district; the door was about midway between the

<sup>2</sup> Second Report of Commissioners on Employment of Children, p. 170.



two gables, which were about twenty feet asunder ; and the part on our right hand as we entered was unoccupied. There was a good reason for this, as nearly half the thatch at that end was off, and the sky was visible through the broken roof. About ten or twelve feet square, therefore, constituted the available part of the building. In the middle of this space was a large fire of turf and bog-wood, (each pupil brings a turf every day,) we have sometimes seen such a fire at the front of a forge for heating the iron rim of a wheel. All four sides of the fire, including the space under the chimney, were occupied by the benches ; these were long pieces of bog oak supported on stones, and there were three rows of them on each side, occupied by about sixty children, who were crowded together as closely as they could sit. As the fire was in the middle of the floor and the chimney in the gable, the smoke could not ascend in the regular way ; some went out through the chimney with a sort of a slanting puff, and the rest, after wandering through the thatch, the rafters, and the eyes of the pupils, escaped through the door, the window, or the broken roof, as occasion should best serve. At one corner in the inner room, with his feet almost in the fire, sat the master, Mr. Patrick Smith ; he had his hat on and a pen in his hand. The smoke had given him a peculiar method of keeping his eyes half shut, so he looked as if he would have winked at his visitors had it not been beneath his official dignity. Among other questions we asked how he managed to teach writing, as there was no appearance of a table. He said his pupils took the slates on their knees and then wrote their copies on them. This we found to be a common practice. As the whole district was Roman Catholic, and we feared Mr. Smith might differ from us on a creed of divinity, we thought it better to confine our questions to the multiplication table. Here some could answer tolerably well. Every pupil learned his own book, and there was no attempt at classification. In looking through the smoke we saw at the far corner a young woman, about eighteen years of age ; all the rest appeared to be boys. " Pray, Mr. Smith, have you any girls at your school." At once, from the middle row on our left, about ten heads were pushed up between two rows of boys, all laughing and looking like a set of young thrushes expecting their mother, and peeping out of a nest in answer to the whistle of a visitor. There were several primers, &c., of various sizes and ages, but the only book which seemed to be in general use was the "Varsal;" this is a technical contraction for "the Universal Spelling Book." We saw that a new edition had been published which, in addition to the old stories of "Tommy and Harry" and "the Town in Danger of a Siege," contains an authentic life of Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P. On our next visit to the country

we found that poor Pat Smith's seminary had been broken up. The famine had been too strong for the voluntary system, his chance of payment was destroyed, and his wife came to us to beg. We are happy to find, however, that a scriptural school has been established in the immediate neighbourhood, with a master and mistress and about seventy pupils. It was not considered advisable to connect the school with any society, as the name of Church education might frighten Roman Catholics, and as the patrons, with the tacit consent of the parents, have arranged that the Scriptures are read every day in school hours. The Irish National Board could not be applied to. We mention these cases as specimens of numbers of schools within the kingdom; and when we consider that millions must depend for education on such schools or worse, we may fairly argue that there are multitudes of cases which the voluntary system can never reach, and that where it is attempted the poor teacher will frequently be the victim.

Let us now consider the voluntary system under its most favourable circumstances, where the teacher is not dependent on the school for his support, and where he only gives a portion of his time for the instruction of his poorer neighbours—we mean the institution of Sunday Schools. To these the lectures refer with the greatest complacency as the triumph of the voluntary principle; but we really do not see how it bears upon the point at issue between us. We never objected to any man, or any number of men, carrying out their benevolent intentions in any way in their power, by devoting either time to teaching or money to support the teachers. In our opinion they are quite right to do so; and where they are unwilling to encumber themselves with rules, we see no harm in their declining the help of the State. All we contend for is, that those who can carry on their work independently, should not object to the assistance which is given to those who cannot. The Sunday Schools in this kingdom, including all classes of Protestants, from the highest Churchman to the most liberal Dissenter, give scriptural instruction to about two millions of children in England, and about two hundred and twenty thousand in Ireland. Many years ago a Government grant was offered to the Irish Sunday School Society, and refused. We are not, therefore, to suppose that either all the Committee or all the twenty thousand gratuitous teachers are advocates for an exclusive system of voluntary education; we merely see that as their expenses are small, and their efforts confined to the one day in seven appropriated to rest and the service of God, it was found more convenient to circulate the Scriptures independent of any prescribed rule, and as the Society was flourishing without help it was consi-

dored inexpedient to alter its constitution. There are, however, two sufficient answers to the argument which the Crosby Hall lecturers derive from Sunday Schools in support of their favourite theory; the first is, that, strictly speaking, very few Sunday Schools are actually voluntary institutions, even though the teachers are all gratuitous. If an inquiry were made as to which of our Sunday Schools are the most efficient, the answer would be at once, those which are superintended by the parish minister or taught by the members of his family. Now, though the minister (be he Churchman or Dissenter), does not receive so much a week for catechising his class or guiding the other teachers, yet he is plainly the paid agent of the Church; he receives his tithes or his salary not merely for living in a certain house, or conducting certain religious services, but for the spiritual oversight of the parish or congregation. If, then, there be no Sunday School, he soon finds that he wants a most efficient instrument for the performance of his work; and if there be one, from his professional knowledge, he is readily received by the teachers as their most proper guide and most competent adviser. The same argument will apply to the parish clerk, the schoolmaster, and the several members of the clergyman's family; they are partakers of certain benefits from the Church, and naturally feel themselves identified with the interests of religion and the welfare of the children.

The second answer to the argument of the lectures derived from the success of Sunday Schools, is this, that though most useful as a means of religious instruction, they are quite inadequate to the purposes of national education. A few rare instances, certainly, have been placed on record, of persons who had no other means of learning to read, attaining to great scriptural knowledge, and looking back to the Sunday School as the means under God by which they had learned the saving knowledge of Divine truth—still, however, these are the exceptions: where there are other opportunities of learning to read, Sunday School teachers generally endeavour to make their teaching a means of imparting religious knowledge, rather than the mere mechanical power of putting syllables together; and even supposing that numbers could be taught to read the Bible through the Sunday Schools, we can hardly suppose that the lecturers consider this as complete education, or that they propose to teach writing and other profane subjects on the Sabbath-day. Some years ago this was a common practice among some Dissenters, but we have not heard of it lately. For these reasons we cannot admit the truth of the deduction which is made from the success of Sunday School teaching in favour of the voluntary system; because Sunday Schools are not purely voluntary, and because national education must embrace a much wider

range than the limits of an hour or two on the Sabbath-day can possibly comprehend.

We cannot close this article without adverting to a most important attempt now made to carry on national education on the voluntary system, and on scriptural principles; we mean the Church Education Society for Ireland. Like ourselves, the Irish clergy have no objection to a grant from Government; on the contrary, they have been seeking it for years; but they have refused the grant which has been offered them through the National Board, on account of the conditions with which it is accompanied. The fundamental rule of the Irish National Board is, that though in the first instance a patron may introduce whatever books he pleases, yet if the parent or guardian object to any book, the child shall not be allowed to read it, or to be present when it is read. At first this may seem to be only due respect to parental authority, and if it were a question as between Churchmen and Dissenters, it might not be so objectionable; but it is really a recognition of the authority of the priest to exclude the Bible from the Roman Catholic children. Thousands of Roman Catholics are at this moment most anxious for the Scriptures, but here the spiritual power interferes: they believe that every man is bound to obey his spiritual superior in all spiritual matters at the peril of his salvation, and they feel that even if they were inclined to disobey, public opinion would be against them, and persecution would arise which they are naturally afraid to meet. The Protestant patron, therefore, may introduce the Bible into his school; but he does so under a promise that the moment an objection arises, the Roman Catholic children must cease to read it. He thus becomes a party to an unlawful compact, and gives up his Roman Catholic pupils to the tyranny of the priest. We do not see how any man who holds the great principle that the Bible is a great means of converting sinners, can consent to the Romish authority, and allow it to deny the free use of the Scriptures to any man, woman, or child upon earth. It is a melancholy consideration to look back a few years, and to see how the English nation has been gradually departing from the principles of scriptural education. Till the year 1831, the Government grant for Ireland was given to the Kildare-Place Society; under it the Scriptures were read and all Catechisms excluded. This is very much the principle of the British and Foreign School Society of England, adopting, as a rule, that the Word of God shall be honoured; but that, as disputes may arise about human compositions, they would not insist upon the use of them. As, however, the priests were not satisfied (though the people were), Lord Stanley proposed the present

national system, which, with slight modifications, has continued ever since to exclude the Roman Catholic population from the use of the Bible. If we recollect aright, this system was hailed by the Dissenters of England as the triumph of liberal principles; they were not aware, however, of the extent of their own act; or how grievously they were injuring the cause of civil and religious liberty. For instance, let us suppose a possible case: a Dissenter, acquainted only with England, becomes unexpectedly possessed of property in Ireland; he goes to his new estate full of ideas of what we may call the romance of Popery, hoping that the faults of the Irish merely arise from misgovernment, that by a little management all may be put right; and fully convinced that as the priests have essentially served the liberal interest in England, by returning radical members, they are themselves patterns of the most exquisite liberality. With these ideas, he opens a school under the National Board, hoping, as seems probable at first sight, that he can manage it on the principle of the British and Foreign Schools. The children all read the Bible for the first week; but at the end of that time he receives a protest from the parents (got up, of course, by the priest), saying, that they consider the Scriptures too difficult for their children. He must, then, either withdraw from the National Board (and, if he has received money for building, he cannot do this), or he must order all the Roman Catholic children to retire, whenever the Scriptures are read. If he attempts to reason with the priest, he will see how little the Pope can tolerate Dissenters; he will be told that the Catholics of Ireland are committed to the care of their spiritual guides, and "that the religion of St. Patrick must be preserved intact;" and he will soon find that by joining the Board, he has given up his only chance of bringing the Scriptures to bear upon his Roman Catholic dependants. It has been said, that Ireland is the battle-field of the English Church; and it is certain, that the defeat of scriptural principles in Ireland has been followed by large concessions to the anti-scriptural party in England. Before the year 1839, the National School Society and the British and Foreign School Societies, alone received assistance; by a minute of the Committee of Privy Council, December 8, 1839, aid is granted to schools not in connexion with the above societies; but provision is made that instruction in the Scriptures form a part of the system; a preference is to be given to schools where religious instruction is of the same character with the above societies, and there is to be no compulsion as to attendance on public worship, or learning any cate-

chism. Again, liberality goes a little further; by the minutes of the 28th of June and 10th of July, 1847, it is arranged, that where the managers of schools object on religious grounds, to make a report concerning the religious state of such schools, no certificate of religious knowledge of pupil teachers, or monitors, be required from the managers of such schools.

Lastly, by the minutes of December 18, 1847, all necessity for religious instruction is taken away.

“1st. Resolved, that the Roman Catholic Poor-School Committee be the ordinary channel of such general inquiries as may be desirable as to any school applying for aid as a Roman Catholic school.

“2nd. That Roman Catholic schools receiving aid from the parliamentary grant be open to inspection, but that the inspectors shall report respecting the secular instruction only.

“3rd. That the inspectors of such schools be not appointed without the previous concurrence of the Roman Catholic Poor-School Committee.”

By the present constitution of our Government grants, Roman Catholics and Socinians have full power of teaching religion according to their consciences, in other words, of excluding the Bible. Indeed we see nothing to prevent Socialists or Communists setting up the plea of conscience (if they pretend to have one), and establishing seminaries according to their own principles, and assuming as their motto the doctrine of M. Prudhon: “That Christianity and property have had their day, but that the nineteenth century has made too much progress for the recognition of either.” But while all this respect is allowed to conscience, there is one class of men who are not supposed to be entitled to liberty of conscience at all; we mean the clergy of the Church of Ireland. They only ask to be placed on a level with the Dissenters and Roman Catholics of England, that they should receive aid without being required to subscribe to unlawful conditions, and that they should be allowed to teach the Scriptures to all who chose to attend the school. The representatives of the University of Dublin have put this point forward in the late debate, showing that the maintenance of the unscriptural system is the first object with the Irish Government. Mr. Thacker, a well-known clergyman, is called upon by acclamation to fill an important station in the Church where a rectory and vicarage have usually been held together, and the emolument of either is so small that he cannot afford to hold the one without the other. He receives the vicarage as a matter of course from the patron, but is refused the rectory by the Lord Lieutenant, solely because his views are in opposition to the Government on the Education

Question. The Government admit the necessity of secular education, they admit that the Irish clergy are the most competent body in the kingdom to superintend it, but at the same time they adopt an inferior machinery, because they will not allow the same liberty to a National Church, which they concede to the avowed opponents of English connexion.

We have thus entered more largely into the Irish Education Question than we had at first intended, because we wish to lay before our readers what is the real state of the case, that the voluntary system is not sufficient for the wants of a whole population, and that the Church of Ireland with great zeal for scriptural education is unable to contend with the difficulties with which it is surrounded. We desire also to warn those who pride themselves on their liberality and value the Bible, that by concessions to a popular outcry they may really give up the religious privileges of a nation, and that while they seem to protect liberty of conscience, they are really enslaving their fellow-subjects under a fearful spiritual bondage,—that ignorance and irreligion are such frightful evils, and have increased with the growth of population to so great an extent, that every means we can use, and every help we can obtain, is only too little to counteract the dangers with which the country is threatened—that, as Mr. Hamilton told the House of Commons, having tried every other experiment with Ireland, it is at least fair to ask for a trial of the effect of God's Word, or rather that the Government should not, by supporting an adverse system, give their sanction to the party who object to the Bible, and so throw the weight of the Crown and a hundred thousand a year into the hostile scale—that when a nation once concedes a principle, and so passes over a barrier of right, we know not how far the wanderer may stray, or what chastisements he may require before he will retrace his steps—that the condemnation pronounced by God against a pious but weak man was, "thou honourest thy sons above me,"—for "they made themselves vile and he restrained them not"—that the same principle holds good regarding nations as well as individuals, and that the same God who pronounces a blessing upon the patriarch for teaching his children to keep the way of the Lord, has also said, "them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed."

ART. IV—*The Discipline of Life ; a Novel. In 3 Vols. Colburn.*

WE do not often attempt to divert our readers' attention from those more important subjects with which it is our province to deal, by descanting on a novel of the day ; but the "discipline of life" is, or ought to be, so deeply interwoven with all our daily and hourly meditations, that we are unwilling to lose an opportunity of profiting ourselves by such lessons, or of pointing them out to others.

The reign of "religious novels" is happily past ; we say happily, because we do not believe that maudlin piety babbled over bread and butter, or school-girl discussions about new curates and the conversion of the Jews, has done much to improve the women of England. Far be it from us to make a "Church and State" separation of religion and daily conversation, even among school-girls ; but in this sort of religious sentimentality the continual contrast is made too glaring and too coarse to afford such a teaching as would impress the heart. The happy combination of daily actions, founded on and guided by holy principle, we have had the good fortune of finding in some few works of imagination of the present day ; and grateful may we feel to Lady Emily Ponsonby for having taken upon herself the responsibility of a teacher, through a medium which is more calculated to impress the million than homilies or sermons, however invaluable in their own way.

To an Englishwoman, Home is her World ; and the small, daily, unobserved changes therein are to her of greater import than the struggles of nations. To overthrow the dynasty of passion—to vanquish the tyranny of an evil habit—to determine on an unswerving system of self-government—these are her victories and her triumphs : and the unveiling to the eyes of others these combats and the process of this discipline, will furnish more valuable lessons to those for whom it is intended, than the finest description of an eventful campaign, or the most elaborate reasonings of philosophy. It must be confessed that, in our daily course, one of the principal agents is love ; and that this love may not be centred on Self, nor be let loose to run away with its owner, is the aim and end of religion ; for as our holy religion is founded and nourished on heavenly love, so earthly love is also its most beautiful and legitimate offspring. In a home where love abounds,



the lightest tint of beauty in each human mind becomes perceptible; and to observe that delicate hue—and to hear that song which is ever singing to the chastened mind if we would but listen to it—can be acquired only by self-discipline, and retained only by a deep, unvarying principle of devotion.

In the book before us we do not find love made the "whole existence" of life, but only the thread which combines and influences every domestic action, while the duty of controlling it is not merely brought home to us, but the "way and means thereto" is explained; not in the startling characters of a Jane Eyre, or the tangled mysteries of an Ellen Middleton, but in the simple "trials and temptations of common life—such life as all may know; with just so much of romance as, at some time or other, tinges the life of almost all men." Much of sorrow, much of suffering, indeed, is painted therein; but such is life; and to the heart of the true Christian, suffering is welcome; it is his privilege, the proof of his glorious destination, the fiery chariot which bears him to Heaven, to gain that peace, that rest, the foretaste of which on earth pours itself out in songs of calm and grateful thanksgiving. "Zum höchsten Daseyn immer fort zu streben;" and so it is, for in the moment of hardest struggle, there comes to us a hope, a help, and a strength which exalt us above ourselves, filling our hearts with a deep, calm, heavenly love; "—quand l'âme est dans le ciel, le corps ne sent pas ses chaînes; elle emporte avec soi tout l'homme." But we must hasten on to the book itself, proving our words by a few extracts.

It comprises three stories; the first is the history of Isabel Denison, a deserted child, who, after being educated in a quiet country village, is suddenly claimed by her father and plunged into the vortex of a gay London life. She leaves her early home, however, engaged in heart, apparently, to the curate, Herbert Grey. He honourably frees her from any positive engagement; but they part with mutual assurances of love and fidelity. Isabel, however, soon becomes bewildered in the new scenes opened to her, and unintentionally forgets Mr. Grey, while she falls in love with a handsome young officer, Lord Clarence Brooke. His affection at last reminding her of her first attachment, she refuses him and returns to her native village, while her lover sails for India. But Isabel discovers that she has never really loved Mr. Grey, and cannot marry him; he unselfishly excuses and forgives her, and goes on his own lonely way, while she returns to her father, to spend three years in just self-reproaches, until Lord Clarence's return from India, when both are united under Herbert Grey's fervent blessing.

The *moral* of the story is, of course, that the three years of sorrow entitled Isabel to subsequent happiness ; but in such cases it may always be questionable how far the sorrow arises from the disappointment of one's happiness, or repentance for one's sin—and repentance should at least be so very earnest and decided after the thoughtless blindness with which Isabel allowed herself to be tempted to such inconstancy—that we think the amount of her happiness afterwards considerably more than she deserved. The insidious degrees by which she had been day by day enthralled, and the guilty facility with which she had suffered her conscience to be lulled, are so well drawn by our authoress, as to offer to both sexes and to all classes a striking and admirable lesson.

Her three stories are all of a melancholy cast ; but in the second, "A Country Neighbourhood," there is more humour and lightness. A bright, merry-hearted girl attracts a grave and rather elderly bachelor, whose love-making is abruptly concluded by the illness of his sister, which calls him to Italy ; in the moment of parting, however, he places a ring on Evelyn's finger, begging her to wear it, adding he had "no time for words of love." She thereby considers herself engaged, and cherishes all the love she can find in her heart for Col. Maxwell, who, in the mean time, becomes desperately in love at Rome with Clarice Melville, a creature far

"too bright and good,  
For human nature's daily food."

Driven on by his uncontrolled passion and the evidence of affection in Clarice, his marriage with her takes place in a few weeks. His punishment soon follows in her discovery of his former baseness to Evelyn, and in the consequent decline of her esteem for him ; her early death completes his misery : while Evelyn learns that the truest happiness consists in promoting the happiness of others, which she proves by marrying the friend and teacher of her childhood, Mr. Harcourt, who has always steadily loved her, and is now alone in the world since the death of his daughter. The character of this little Juliet affords the authoress an opportunity of painting in vivid colours that intense thoughtfulness which almost invariably wears out the frame before it arrives at maturity.

We now come to "The Moat," the third story, and, we confess, our favourite. It contains, we think, a more generally useful moral, and is written with greater variety of matter and manner. Claude Hastings, after breaking the heart of his widowed mother, by casting to the winds the pious lessons she had so diligently impressed on him, is recalled to his senses by her death ; in earnest repentance he sells his hereditary home to

pay his debts, devotes himself steadily to the law, and refuses the temptation of a church living as being too great an indulgence. A rich old maiden aunt, once attached to his father, feeling herself dying, sends for him and her other nephew, Henry Bruce, to be reconciled to them both, and choose one for her heir. Claude, suspecting her motive, at first refuses to go to her, but at last complies; and then devotes himself to soothing the few remaining weeks of her life, and leading her mind to better things. He induces her, though with much difficulty, to leave her property to his cousin, Henry Bruce, instead of to himself, to whom, in all the austerity of true penitence and self-discipline, he had determined that "riches must be forbidden." In the neighbourhood they become acquainted with two sisters, types of many another couple in this fretful world. Equally handsome in features, they are as unlike as possible in character: Margaret, bright, merry, and sweet-tempered, is always loving and beloved by all around her—Sara, with perhaps more depth of mind, yet had given way to a pœvish jealousy of her sister, until her whole being is embittered by the constant, gloomy despair of her miserable loneliness. Claude Hastings' kind words of sympathy and reproof, however, awaken better thoughts in her heart:—

"Sara walked by Claude Hastings' side, and, for the first time, they were alone. It was a time for which she had hoped—for which she had longed—but now it was come; and she walked in silence. She had felt that she could tell him all her trials—she had felt that he could teach her how to overcome them; but now that the opportunity was come, although her mind was full, she seemed to have no power to speak.

"Claude spoke to her once or twice, mere casual remarks; but, her heart full of other thoughts, the answers she returned were so short and distraught, that many would have given up in anger all attempts at conversation; but Claude pitied her—he read something of her trials on her brow—he felt for her (although he could scarcely wonder at it), in the undisguised preference shown to Margaret both by her father and Mr. Wilmott; and, from the very kindness of his nature, he longed to speak to her, or rather to lead her to speak of those hidden troubles which so obviously shed a gloom over her life.

"Many remarks, many attempts, had failed; it was at last a common speech which seemed to touch her more nearly.

"'What a beautiful evening,' said Claude, looking round; then, in a smiling tone, continued: 'Do you feel as I do, Miss Woodville—better? by which I mean more virtuous, on a day like this—not, I am afraid, a very exalted kind of virtue.'

"Sara was silent; words and feelings were struggling for utterance in her heart, which had never spoken from her childhood. In the half-

glance which he had of her face, Claude remarked the emotion that was painted upon it, and, anxious to overcome her reserve, he spoke again, and spoke of himself.

“ ‘I am sometimes ashamed,’ he continued in the same tone, ‘to find, in spite of all my philosophy, how much I depend upon the weather. Sunshine is one of the things which I fancy to be almost necessary to my existence.’

“ ‘I feel differently,’ said Sara, in a low voice. ‘A bright day only makes me more wretched; when every thing looks gay, I feel the contrast of my own heart, and’ . . . in a trembling and expressive voice . . . ‘and am miserable!’

“ ‘Miserable!’ said Claude, surprised at the force of her expression.

“ ‘Yes—unutterably miserable!’

“ ‘And why is it so?’ he asked, kindly. ‘Have you not many blessings?—your father, your sister, your own youth, and health, and talents, your beautiful home, and a great power of doing good to others? Surely, you should not be so very miserable.’

“ ‘You said the other day,’ she continued, trying to speak steadily, ‘that outward circumstances could not give happiness. I felt you were right; it was my own case. I ought to be happy—I have all to make me so—but I am wretched.’

“ ‘I remember, I did say so; and yet, Miss Woodville, the way you speak sounds strangely to me. I know that the trials of the mind are many. I know that in a calm, prosperous life, all are not satisfied; the mind may be restless, and require more; but unutterably miserable! it is such a word. To me, it seems,’ and he spoke with a sigh, ‘that none but those who have in their memory a store of painful, remorseful thoughts, should use language like this.’

“ ‘And have I not remorseful thoughts?’ she said eagerly. ‘Have I not every day to regret as it passes? My father, do I make him happy? Margaret, if she was not what she is, should I not make her miserable? Do not I shed a cloud, a gloom, over all who approach me?’

“ Claude was silent; he could not contradict what she said.

“ She went on more vehemently: ‘You cannot know, you cannot conceive, half my misery! My heart is cold, my temper is harsh, I am full of envy, and hatred, and suspicion—all—everybody seems to me to be false—their smooth words irritate me—I love none, and none love me. Like a freezing winter’s day, I chill all who approach me, and I am cold and miserable myself.’ It was the long pent-up agony of years that was bursting from her lips; reserve, distrust, all was forgotten; she felt as if she was pouring out her griefs into the ears of an angel.

“ Claude looked at her with his kindest, gentlest expression, but he answered her very gravely. ‘I cannot deny that some part of what you say is true. I have myself observed it; but will you let me ask you, *must* it be so? . . . Is there no remedy?’

“ ‘None!’ she said, despairingly. ‘The more I have tried to subdue

my temper outwardly, the colder and harsher it has become within. It is as if an evil spirit possessed me !' she continued, excitedly ; ' and I feel that I must be its own, for I have tried to free myself, and in vain.'

" ' You must not say that,' said Claude, very gently ; ' none try in vain : ' he hesitated, and then continued : ' Will you forgive me, Miss Woodville, if I speak to you very seriously. I would remind you of some words which seem to contradict what you say of your own powerlessness ; ' in a low voice, he repeated : ' There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man ; but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able.'

" Sara blushed and was silent ; the words did not seem to meet her case.

" ' Have you ever tried,' he began again, with increasing kindness, as he saw the depths of her unhappiness, ' to resist the temptation of your temper with such a thought as this : that it is sent for your trial, in order that you may overcome it.'

" She shook her head despairingly—had she not tried to overcome it, and in vain ?

" ' You must think of it in this light, or you will never free yourself. Think of it as a trial sent to you, and then. . . . Do you remember the old verse ; I dare say Mr. Wilmott quotes it'—and he looked in her face with his sweet smile—' Who gives the burthen gives the strength to bear. Your own efforts only will not be enough.'

" Still she spoke not ; but her eyes asked for more ; she hung on the music of his voice,—with a strange calmness his words sunk into the depths of her soul.

" ' Why do you not love more, Miss Woodville ? ' he asked, after a short silence ; ' you say you love none.'

" ' I cannot,' she replied ; ' it is not that I do not love at all, I believe I do ; but it is a cold dry feeling, which has not, which cannot have any answer from others.'

" ' You are wrong ; your sister loves you ; you must see that her whole thought is for you ; but it is not so much the love of others that you want, it is love in your own heart—it is to forget yourself ; it is to live in and for some happiness—some life beside your own.'

" He paused, and she walked breathless, agitated, her heart beating, by his side ; she felt that it was come—self was departing ; she was beginning to live in another only ; but he spoke again, and his next words, more gravely spoken, calmed, almost chilled, the feelings that was bursting within her.

" ' Above all, you should try more to love God ; other love may give you peace for a time, but that only peace for ever.'

" Sara dared not speak, dared not own that his words awed, but did not touch her.

" They walked on in silence ; and when at length she spoke, the current of her thoughts had passed from herself to him.

" ' How strangely you speak ! ' she said, looking up in his face. ' I never heard, I never knew, that a young man could speak as you do.'

“ ‘ Perhaps,’ he said, with a deep sigh ; ‘ few know so well as I do, what the power of temptation is.’ ”

“ ‘ And how it may be overcome?’ asked Sara ; and a bright inquiring smile, as bright as Margaret’s, flitted over her lips.

“ Claude turned away his face, and was silent.

“ With a thoughtfulness that was uncommon to her—for her eyes, usually bent upon herself, had no time to observe the feelings of others—she saw her question had been a painful one, and hastened to speak again ; but their conversation was now interrupted, for they were approaching the house of Oakley, and the rest of the party were waiting for them.”—Vol. iii. pp. 194—202.

From that day a change comes over her ; but, naturally, as the demon of jealousy was cast out the spirit of love entered in, and, of course, in the shape of a passionate affection for Claude. However, after a struggle—a discipline of some months, she completes the victory over herself ;—for on finding that Claude and Margaret had become unconsciously attached to each other, she nobly determines to sacrifice her own feelings to theirs.

We refrain from forestalling the pleasure of our readers by quoting any more passages—but we venture to assure them that many will be found in these volumes of great power and pathos—such as Claude’s humble acceptance of forgiveness at his mother’s grave—and the perfecting of Sara’s self-sacrifice, in allowing Margaret to read her heart, in the midst of her own happiness—and in proving to her that she herself had found a higher happiness, in the peace of that “ deeper, stronger, purer love,” which had risen above all earthly passions.

We trust our authoress will never be induced to lay aside that unambitious mode of expression, which sinks her pictures to the heart so much more readily than the refinement of a more artificial or conventional *style*—the lady-like simplicity of these stories will always find most credit with the lady readers, for whose use they were chiefly intended.

ART. V.—1. *Addresses of the National Club, 1848.*

2. *Traité des Superstitions selon l'Écriture Sainte, les Décrets des Conciles, et les Sentimens des Saints Pères, et des Théologiens. Par M. JEAN BAPTISTE THIERS, Docteur en Théologie, et Curé de Vibrais. 4 tomes. Troisième Edition. A Paris, chez Antoine Dezallier.*

AT this remarkable epoch, when Romanism throughout the world has assumed an entirely novel position, aiming to head the vast democratic movement against lawful authority; when its "Holy Father," though driven from his Papal see by the excesses of a mob which he himself has taught to crave equality, and very likely never to regain possession of his temporal dominion, still aims, as the representative of St. Peter, to exercise despotic spiritual sway over the republic of Europe "in posse;" when almost every section of the Romish Church has manifested an ardent sympathy with that rule of the ignorant and the physically-powerful, which, as they conceive, will be more likely to fall under the domination of Jesuitism than either absolute or constitutional sovereignties; when, above all, the Romish communities both of England and Ireland manifest, the one through its accredited organs, "The Dublin Review," and "The Tablet," the other through its archbishops, the strongest predisposition to advance the interests of democracy within the British realm; at this period, then, we are called upon to commit the monstrous mistake which has been attended with such fatal results in other countries, the announcement of national indifferentism, by the direct endowment of opposite creeds, of "soi disant" Churches, both claiming to be *the* Church of the land; and this too in favour of the very Romanism which is now the open enemy of monarchy and aristocracy throughout the world, and avows its intention to rule henceforth by "the People;" by which it implies, exclusively, "the Plebs." That we would deprive the working-classes of all political influence, no man acquainted with our principles can believe; but we do hold, that for *their own* sakes, that influence should *not* be *direct*; not by household or universal suffrage, which would vest all power in them alone, to their own certain ruin. "The Tablet," however, the Romish organ, has other views: it is, for centralizing all power in the one majority, which it devoutly trusts will be quietly

handed over, in course of time, to the Romish Church ! And now, are we blind enough to imagine that the nature of men and of Churches will be changed ; that the nineteenth century will be transmuted into the eighteenth ; that Rome will become loyal, because we illegally pay a certain yearly sum to the so-called seculars of the Romish clergy in Ireland, whom we will not denominate, but who profess themselves to be, the parish priests ? That infidels in their blindness should conceive this probable, we wonder not ; they are totally incompetent to form any reasonable opinion on the subject. But it does appear strange, that “ the Quarterly Review,” which we would so willingly regard as our friend and ally, and which does sympathize with us on so many important subjects, should be forward in recommending this most impolitic measure, which could answer no other purpose than to endanger the State-existence of the Established Church both in England and Ireland, and double the number of Romish schismatic clergy in the sister-isle, within the next twelve months.

Some very valuable addresses have appeared on this theme from the indefatigable National Club. Without pledging ourselves to the exact propriety of every step or argument which this association may have made its own, we cannot but recognize this fact, that there is real danger, political, moral, social, religious, of the active aggressions of Romanism within the British Empire, within these British Isles. They, then, who unmask the designs of the enemy, and sound the tocsin of alarm, deserve our warm praise, our thankful acknowledgment of their services. The “ addresses ” which we have seen of late, especially on this subject of Romish Endowment, are characterized by moderation and sense, and cannot fail in making a lasting impression on those who happen to meet with them. And this one argument, insisted on by us above, and in itself decisive of the case, is by them advanced with much clearness and happy sobriety of exposition, but also with startling effect. The funds now accruing to the so-called priests, would, in case of a State-endowment being supplied to these, be made over to the monks and friars, that innumerable army of Romish skirmishers, who are ever the most audacious champions of fraud and superstition, and, like the plague of locusts, carry devastation with them. We say this with the full knowledge of the fact, that monkish communities have effected benefits of many kinds in the middle ages, and that even now they sometimes give an apparent impetus to agriculture, and bring tracks of desert land into cultivation ; but their moral effect on the population surrounding them is invariably pernicious : they teach them not to depend on themselves ; they support them, more



or less, in idleness ; they *unman* them, in one word ; and this, next to unchristianizing, is the direst evil that can accrue to any Christian people.

That "the Quarterly" should avow such singular ignorance of facts, as is implied in the supposition, that national endowments were taken away from the Romish Church at the Reformation, and handed over to the Reformed, is indeed surprising. National ignorance on this score appears to be so dense, that nothing can enlighten it. Men may learn to-day, for the ten-thousandth time, that the Churches of England and Ireland were, before and after the Reformation, substantially one and the same ; that they, at first, only rejected the supremacy of the Pope, and then gradually other Romish novelties ; that they preserved, throughout, their ancient hierarchy, and did not cease to be *themselves*, unless direct communion with Rome is of the absolute essence of a Church, and the Eastern Churches also have ceased to *be* ; that they were in fine not endowed, but confirmed, or as we usually say, *established* in the possession of their own. Men may learn all this once more, and, not being able to reply, and being perhaps convinced for the moment by the aid of Pinnock's Catechisms or some other Primer, may go away for the time being content to use correct language ! But only mark the sequel : by to-morrow they will have forgotten all again, and date the Established Church from the Reformation, and go through the whole series of ludicrous mistakes ; insisting upon it, that in some recondite way, which they cannot very well explain themselves, the Romish schismatic community, whether of Ireland or England, was robbed at the Reformation ; though, unhappily for the correctness of this obstinate conviction, neither of these bodies had a recognized existence at the period alluded to !

And, now, once for all we repeat, (is it utterly impossible, my Lord Palmerston, and you, his colleagues, to convey to you an accurate perception of this simple fact ?), the English and Irish Churches reformed themselves, with the assistance of the State, and remained after, as before the Reformation, in at least *partial* possession of their own ! They were, no doubt, robbed of much. Is this too difficult to comprehend ? We resume. Our tone has waxed gradually to one of scorn ; but there is something in this obstinate ignorance, which cannot but excite our indignation. We shall not at present say more on the topic of "Romish Endowment." We believe not that a Whig, or even "Conservative" ministry would dare to pillage the Irish Church for the carrying out of this pet scheme of infidelity. We are tolerably sure, that the English people will never submit to an

additional tax of several hundred thousands a year for any such purpose. We do not therefore feel any deep alarm on this subject; but, in dealing with Romish superstitions, we thought it needful to take some notice of the plan for yielding national assent and approbation to them, and for promoting idolatry and pious, or rather impious, fraud, out of the pockets of the nation!

When particular instances of a conclusive character are adduced for the purpose of bringing home to the Roman Church the charge of encouraging idolatry and superstition, the reply usually made is, that the actions or language alleged in proof have been merely those of individuals, and that the Church of Rome is not responsible for them. If these practices are alleged to be general, the answer is still, that they are not enjoined by the Church, and that she therefore cannot be blamed for them. In fine, the existence or the prevalence of superstition and idolatry in the communion of the Roman Church, is very generally denied by its members. The imputation of such evils is regarded as a malicious and wicked slander; and the absolute purity of the Roman Catholic worship—its freedom from all idolatrous admixtures—nay, the impossibility of the existence of idolatry or of a false worship in that communion is confidently denied. Now it is evident from all this, that Romanism is, at least, very anxious to relieve itself from such imputations. The violent indignation which is expressed at any allusion to them, is a proof that they are very keenly felt, and that superstition or idolatry—the breach of the first or second commandments—is in reality admitted to be a very formidable crime. That it is so, is indeed clear: and if therefore any body of professing Christians could be proved to inculcate what is directly idolatrous, or superstitious in the highest sense, they could not be regarded as deserving of the name of Christians.

Those who have witnessed the actual working of Romanism in countries where it is unchecked by any rival system, such as Spain and Italy, have been very generally impressed with the superstitious and even idolatrous complexion of the Romish system. But the impressions of private individuals afford no positive proof to others; and the statements of travellers, even when made public, do not possess the weight, or, in all cases, the freedom from all party feeling as *against* Romanism, which would render them to Romanists, or to persons inclined to favour the Romish system, unexceptionable witnesses. It is therefore not very easy to obtain such evidence of the prevalence of superstition and idolatry in the Church of Rome as cannot be objected to by its adherents. The fact is notorious, but it is not so easy to

demonstrate it; and therefore it is a matter of no ordinary importance when we are able to refer, in proof, to the writings of a learned Roman Catholic divine—a man of unexceptionable credit in his own communion—a man who held ecclesiastical benefices, and who was never condemned or excommunicated by the Roman see—in fine, a man whose writings are to this day quoted by Romanists themselves without any hesitation as those of an approved writer.

Such was M. JEAN BAPTISTE THIERS, a Romish ecclesiastic who lived at the beginning of last century, and who combined with the quality of Doctor of the Sorbonne the office of curé or incumbent of Vibraie in France. Thiers was a writer of extreme diligence, and possessed by an unusual love of truth, and though enmeshed by the sophistries of the system in which he had been educated—though a genuine “papist” in every sense of the term—he exhibited a sincere zeal in detecting and exposing the impostures of which he became aware, which earned from him a very small measure of gratitude from those of the “faithful,” whose delusions he fearlessly exposed. Thiers was not a Jansenist; but yet this inconvenient habit of prying into history, and of criticizing practices, caused him to live and die curé of Vibraie.

The *Traité des Superstitions* is one of the most elaborate and valuable works of this author, and it is replete with matter bearing on the subject which we have proposed to ourselves—the Superstitions of the Church of Rome. We have deemed it so far worthy of our readers’ notice, that we have selected and translated some of the principal passages bearing on this subject, omitting occasionally, for the sake of brevity, sentences which have no material connexion with the matter, or making a selection amongst the multitude of proofs and instances adduced; but in no case, that we are aware of, adding anything to the original text.

We commence with the following extract from the preface of this work:—

“It is surprising that since superstitions were ‘destroyed by the very deep humility of Jesus Christ, by the preaching of the Apostles, and by the faith of the martyrs who died for the truth, and who live with the truth,’ as St. Augustine declares, they should be so universally spread abroad in the Christian world, as we see them at present. Forbidden as they are by Scripture, Councils, Popes, Fathers, and Divines, they have, notwithstanding, their followers and supporters in all parts. They obtain access to the great; they are common amongst the middle classes; they are in fashion amongst the common people; every kingdom, province, diocese, town, and parish, has its own superstitions. One person practises them without reflection; another is guilty, who does

not believe that he is so. Malice, ignorance, simplicity, vanity, often passion, indiscreet zeal, false piety, interest, have frequently caused superstitions to enter even into the most holy practices of the Church, sometimes in one way, sometimes in another; because, according to the same St. Augustine, there is more than one way of worshipping devils—*Non uno modo sacrificatur transgressoribus Angelis*; and, frequently (which cannot be said without pain), they are either permitted, or authorized, or observed by persons of high character—by the clergy, who ought with all their power to have prevented them from taking root in the Church, in which the Enemy sows them during the night, as tares amidst the good corn.

“ Thus the power of the Cross is destroyed, the adorable mystery of our salvation is trodden under foot, the solemn promises made at baptism are violated, the most sacred things are profaned, the purest sources of religion are poisoned, true piety is changed, and God is forsaken in order to have recourse to the devil.

“ The more attentively I consider these disorders, which *so evidently afflict the Church*, the more I see that they are the effects of a want of faith in the greater number of Christians; of the little feeling they have concerning their eternal salvation, or the greatness, power, and truth of God; of the small knowledge they have of his law; the imperfect instruction they receive on the subject of *superstitions*, which is one of the most important in Christian morals. The pastors scarcely ever speak of them; and frequently what they *do* say of them, is so dry, so weak, or so vague and general, that the people, far from being convinced, are neither touched nor instructed.

“ And yet pastors have a great interest in reproof and reforming the people from superstitions, in showing them their deception and falsehood, and in making them understand how injurious they are to the Divine Majesty, and prejudicial to their salvation; for if they do not perform this duty, they render themselves (in the opinion of Dionysius the Carthusian) partakers of their crimes, and are responsible for it before God. *Pertinet ad Pastores*, he says, *ut laicos de superstitionibus corripiant, corrigant, et informant, ne subditorum excessus redundent in eos*.

“ But since all pastors have not always the knowledge and the assistance necessary to perform this essential duty of their office, I have believed that I should be rendering them a service, if I were to place before the public what I have collected from Holy Scripture, and from tradition, on the subject of superstitions. This is what I am doing in this Treatise.

“ I have stated the superstitions at full length, when I thought it would have no bad effects, and that it was in some degree necessary to omit nothing, in order that they might be understood. But I have often concealed under asterisks and an &c., certain words, because I feared to teach what was wrong, in opposing it. Yet this precaution has not prevented me from being accused of having made more persons

superstitious, than those whom I have converted and reformed. I might defend myself against this unjust accusation by the example of the modern casuists, who, in explaining the sixth commandment, and that which concerns the duties of married persons, have gone into the detail of a number of singular cases, calculated to pollute the imagination, corrupt the heart, and excite the flesh against the spirit, supposing that they were obliged to mention them in express terms, in order to cause hatred for impurity. But God preserve me from availing myself of an example which I cannot approve of, being strongly persuaded that these divines have not had sufficient care for good morals, and Christian decency, in treating on such a delicate subject."

These latter observations apply most forcibly to all Romish Treatises on Moral Theology which we have seen, especially to that of Alphonso de Ligorio.

We shall now proceed with our extracts from this very important work, arranged under different heads.

"THE NATURE OF SUPERSTITION.—The Church holds nothing more dear and precious than *the Faith*. It is this Divine virtue which is the foundation of the whole Christian edifice. It is this which illuminates our spirits with heavenly light, and gives us the knowledge of God and of ourselves, in which consists our salvation and our perfection. Hence the Apostle Paul recommends expressly to Timothy, and in his person to all the Church, to preserve the deposit of the Catholic faith entrusted to him : *Depositum custodi*.

"As it is certain that heresy violates the integrity of this deposit, and schism breaks its unity, it is beyond doubt that superstition destroys its verity, by the false maxims and evil practices which it spreads abroad in the world.

"God, who is a 'jealous God,' in the language of Scripture, and who cannot endure that we should give his glory to others, does not desire that we should serve or adore Him according to our fancy, but *in the way in which He Himself desires to be served and adored*. Religion directs our conduct in this matter; and in teaching us to render to God what is due to Him, forbids us to render to creatures the worship which is only due to Him, and causes us to give it to Him in a manner worthy of Him. Superstition, on the contrary, renders to creatures the honour which is only due to the Creator, or, if it be offered to the Creator, it is not offered in a right way. For this reason Lactantius has well observed, that religion relates to true worship, and superstition to false worship : *Religio veri cultus est ; superstitio falsi*.

"A person is really superstitious, when he does not give to God that which is his own; when he gives to a creature more than ought to be given; when something different from what God demands is given to Him, and in a different way from what He demands; when supreme worship is offered to any besides God.

“ It is, hence, clear, that all superstitious practices ~~are forbidden~~ BY THE FIRST COMMANDMENT OF THE LAW, by which God commands us to have no strange gods before Him, and not to render to others the honour which is due to Him.”—i. 1—5.

We here entreat the reader to bear this important principle in mind, that superstition is a transgression of the First Commandment. It is admitted to be so by all Romish theologians.

“ SUPERSTITIONS IN REGARD TO MIRACLES.—If it is superstitious to render Divine worship where it is not due, or in a wrong manner, it is certain that the *unlawful* or *pernicious* worship of the true God, that outward worship which is opposed to the truth of the Church's faith, is superstitious, and that it cannot be rendered without mortal sin, according to the doctrine of Cardinal Cajetan, Cardinal Tolet, and many other divines. The *unlawful* or *pernicious* worship of the true God, is that which expresses something that is false, in whatever manner it does so. *Si per cultum exteriorem*, says St. Thomas, *aliquid falsum significetur, erit cultus perniciosus*.

“ 1. The guilt of this sin is incurred when *false miracles* are invented or proposed, in order to be believed and spread abroad. So that we cannot exempt from blame, amongst persons who are enlightened and truly pious, the authors of the *Aurea Legenda* and the *Speculum Exemplorum*, if we have any regard to what has been said of these two works by Melchior Cano, who assisted at the Council of Trent, and was afterwards Bishop of the Canaries; that is to say, that we find more frequently monstrous miracles than true ones in the *Speculum Exemplorum*, and that the *Aurea Legenda* was written by a man who had a mouth of iron, a heart of lead, and a mind without discretion or prudence.”

What are we to say to such pretended miracles as Mr. Faber has been bringing before the Roman Catholic world in his late series of the *Lives of the Saints*? Even Romanists have been so far scandalized by these monstrous fabrications, that the further publication of his work has been prevented. Here is a manifest case of superstition.

“ 2. There is no less superstition in pretending *false revelations* than *false miracles*. This leads the same Cano to say, that those persons do a great injury to the Church of Jesus Christ who imagine that they cannot publish the good actions of the Saints without mixing up with them false revelations and false miracles, in which the impudence of these men has not even spared the Holy Virgin nor our Lord. This abuse has arrived at such a pitch, that certain persons, in order to afford more publicity and colour to their peculiar opinions, and sometimes even to their passions and interests, have had no difficulty in putting forward revelations *directly opposed* to those which were alleged to support the



contrary. This gives to irreligious persons an opportunity of scoffing, and to good people a cause of sorrow.

"3. It is also a superstition to put forward counterfeit relics for true ones, because this is to cause a religious and holy worship to be paid to objects which do not deserve it. Gregory of Jesus mentions a hermit named *Didier*, whom Raguemodus, Bishop of Paris, caused to be imprisoned, because he carried in a bag the roots of various herbs, the teeth of moles, the bones of mice, the claws and grease of a bear, which he wished to pass off as the relics of St. Vincent and St. Felix!

"The monk Glaber, who lived about A.D. 1040, mentions a certain impostor in his time, who, by giving the names of prophets, martyrs, and confessors to bones which he found in the graves, imposed shamefully on the piety of the people, and made them fall into superstition, while he pocketed their money. There are certain impostors who show to old women a stone, which is called in Latin *Amiantus*, and who frequently sell it at a high price to them, as a piece of the wood of the true Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ; which they believe the more readily because this stone does not burn in the fire, and it has lines interlacing each other like wood."

The following remarks will be peculiarly instructive to those persons who connect the idea of monasticism in all cases with that of sanctity.

"All the precautions of councils and bishops cannot prevent there being even now *monks*, and monks who are wealthy and possessed of property too, who carry on a scandalous traffic in uncertain, pretended, or absolutely false relics.

"The monks of S. G. D. P. bind a 'girdle of St. Margaret' on pregnant women, of which they could not tell the history without exposing themselves to the ridicule of the learned world. Yet they assure these women that they will be happily delivered by the miraculous virtue of this girdle. And in this assurance the women offer oblations and presents to their chapel of St. Margaret, and cause gospels and masses to be said, the payment for which goes to the profit of the monastery, which is one of the most wealthy in the kingdom.

"The monks of V., under the plausible pretence of a popular tradition, imagine that they have in their church one of the *tears* that the Son of God shed at the death of Lazarus; and they have so well convinced the neighbouring people of it, that in the unhappy times in which we live, this fabulous relic brings them an income of 4000 livres, by gospels, masses, novenas, presents, oblations, and other suffrages. In order to justify it, they have printed a book, entitled, '*A true History of the Holy Tear which our Saviour wept over Lazarus, how and by whom it was brought to the Monastery of V., together with many beautiful and remarkable Miracles which have happened in 630 years, during which it has been miraculously preserved in this holy place. Vendome. With approbation of Superiors.*'

What is said in this book is founded on facts so uncertain, apocryphal, and false, that it is enough to state them in order to see their vanity and delusion. The first is, 'that this tear is one of those that our Lord shed on the death of Lazarus. 2. That an angel caught it, put it in a little vessel, which he shut up in a larger one, where it remains to the present day, and gave it to Magdalen. 3. That Magdalen brought it to France when she came there with Lazarus,' &c.

"The Religious of the Abbey of St. Peter, of S——, of the order of ——, diocese of A., also boast of having a similar *tear* of our Lord, which they expose to be adored publicly. And, to prove the truth of it, they have printed an 'Instruction for Pilgrims of the Holy Tear of our Lord Jesus Christ, adored in the church of St. Peter of S——.' But all they say to justify their 'tear' is not less suspicious and fabulous than the pretended 'true history' of the 'tear' of V. Calvin testifies that there is a 'tear' of the Son of God at Thiers, in Auvergne; one at St. Maximin, which fell from the eyes of the Divine Saviour as He washed the feet of the Apostles; and one at St. Peter, at Orleans."—i. pp. 100—112.

There are a multitude of observances in the Church of Rome, of which we have no notion, until we come to a work like this, which lets us into the actual working of the system. Take the following as an example:—

"ON CARRYING RELICS, &c.—As for Relics, the author of the *Summa Angelica* holds that we ought not to carry them hung round the neck. St. Thomas maintains, on the contrary, that it is not unlawful to carry them, and his opinion has been followed by almost all divines. Still it would be superstitious to be unwilling to carry relics only in a reliquary of a particular material and shape, or to have so much confidence in them as to believe that *they alone can obtain pardon of our sins, and the grace of perseverance to the end*, without the trouble of doing good works or changing our life."—p. 314.

"As to 'gospels,' it seems that the fathers of the Church do not approve of their being carried round the neck in order to cure illness. St. Chrysostom says of it—'Some persons carry a part of the Gospel in writing about their necks. But is not the Gospel read every day in the Church, that every one may hear it? If then he to whom the Gospel is read daily does not profit by it, how could he be profited and cured by it when he carries it round his neck? What does the virtue of the Gospel consist in? Is it in the mere shapes of the letters, or the meaning and sense they contain? If it consists merely in the figures of the letters, it is well to put it round your neck; but if it consists in understanding the meaning which it contains, it is much better to put it in your heart, and it will do you more good than hanging it round your neck.'"—p. 315.

"There are also some persons who imagine, that if we carry a *rosary*, or *chaplet*, or a *scapulary*, or a *girdle of St. Augustine*, a *girdle*



of *St. Monica*, a *cord* of *St. Francis*, a *girdle* of *St. Francis de Paul*, or some other sign or instrument of piety, *we shall never be condemned*, we shall assuredly receive the Sacraments of the Church at the moment of death, and shall have a true penitence, though we have neglected it during the whole course of our lives, and have renounced true piety, relying upon these signs and outward instruments. This fancy is, on the contrary, altogether superstitious in the opinion of Father Alexander, a learned divine of the order of *St. Dominic* (p. 317). He proves this doctrine by the testimony of the Provincial Council of Cambray in 1665, which says, that it is necessary to teach the people that those persons fall into vanity and abominable superstition, who promise infallibly, that we shall not die without penitence, and without the Sacraments, if we honour such or such a saint, who assure us that we shall certainly succeed in all we attempt, and flatter themselves with such promises as these.

"It is easy now to judge that the *cross* or *medal*, called *St. Benedict's*, has all the appearance of a superstitious preservative. The Benedictines of Germany discovered it first. The Benedictines of France have celebrated it after them, and have published the marvels of it in a little book, which says, that having been blessed by the monks of the order, they have produced wonderful effects (principally against charms and incantations), in regard to those who have used them, either by wearing them round the neck, or putting them in water which the bewitched animals had been just drinking."—p. 348.

The passages quoted above may remind us of the same kind of superstitions which are condemned in the Book of Homilies. The following is very curious:—

"**SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT ANIMALS.**—Some one, perhaps, would imagine that there was some astronomical figure, or some extraordinary and unknown character in the cells of the Carthusian monks, because it is commonly said, that no *bugs* can be found in them, although they may be found in the apartments of their servants! But Father James de Breul, monk of *St. Germain des Prez*, assures us that this happens by an especial privilege which God has granted to the monks of that order. 'God,' he says, 'has chosen that they should not be afflicted and disturbed by those odoriferous little animals called bugs, and has exempted all their cells from them, from which they could with difficulty have been otherwise preserved, because they lie down in their clothes, use no linen, seldom change their clothes, and have their cells made of wood.' Cardan says, that this arises from the Carthusians eating no meat. But Scaliger treats this as fabulous: 'If the Carthusians have no bugs in their cells, it is not because there are talismans there, for it would require a prodigious quantity of them for all the cells; nor is it because God has preserved them from them by especial privilege; for where is this privilege? Nor is it because they abstain from meat, for there are other monks who do not eat meat except in case of indisposition, and who nevertheless have bugs in their cells: but it is because they keep their cells very clean and neat.'—p. 264.

We have already quoted some curious remarks on St. Margaret, who appears to be a very important saint. There are, however, some rather perplexing difficulties in the question, "*Who is St. Margaret!*" We quote the passage.

"ON SUPERSTITIONS REGARDING THE SACRAMENTS.—The heretics of the last century believed that it was superstitious for Christian women to call upon St. Margaret in their pregnancy, in order to have a safe delivery. But they would not think so if they were persuaded of the truth of what the Council of Trent teaches us of the Invocation of Saints. This worship is good in itself, it is lawful, it is not superstitious. But women ought to be on their guard that it is not accompanied by any faulty or wrong circumstance.

"There are *many* St. Margarets whom they may invoke: there is St. Margaret the Virgin, who is the same as St. Marina, and who suffered martyrdom at Antioch; St. Margaret, Virgin of Parthenopolis, surnamed *Contracta*; St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland; the blessed Margaret of St. Dominic of the third order of St. Francis; the blessed Margaret of Lorraine, wife of René, Duke of Alençon. As the Church has not yet pronounced on the beatification of the two last-named Margarets, it is not sufficient to authorize such a public worship as pregnant women pay to St. Margaret. The difficulty then is to know *which* of the three first it is whom they implore to help them. It *might* very well be St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, because she was married and had children, and every morning gave breakfast to nine orphans in her palace, which shows the care, charity, and tenderness of heart which she had for children. Yet since it is on the 20th of July that pregnant women go to pay their devotions in the churches and chapels of St. Margaret, it seems to be St. Margaret of Antioch, because it is on that day that the Latin Church celebrates the feast of this saint.

"However this may be, there are women in various places who believe that their prayers to St. Margaret would not have the effect they expect, if they did not have the pretended *girdle* of St. Margaret put on them. It is generally put on them by priests and monks. This does not very well suit persons of their character and profession; and it would be far more proper for women to put it on themselves."—ii. p. 292,

It would seem that there are some singular heresies lurking here and there in the Romish communion.

"The *Maronites* have another error and superstition on the subject of the holy Chrism (of Confirmation); for they believe that *the person of the Holy Ghost* is in it, in the same manner as the person of Jesus Christ is in the Eucharist. This is one of the propositions which Father Thomas de Jesus has drawn from some of their books and traditions."—ii. p. 185.

The following instances of ancient superstitions regarding the Eucharist are deserving of notice:

"St. Augustine relates a singular circumstance concerning a person named Acacius, who was born blind, and whom his mother, who was a woman of virtue and piety, cured by means of a poultice which she made of the *holy Eucharist*, and which she applied to his eyes! If the faith of this good woman excused her before God for having employed the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ for such a purpose, such extraordinary conduct ought not to be considered as establishing a rule, or to be acted on; and those who would do so would not be free from superstition, since, in the opinion of Cardinal de Cusa, it is a superstition to employ holy things to different uses from those for which they were intended; and the Eucharist was not intended to be made into poultices for the eyes of the blind.

"We read in the life of St. Basil, that this great Archbishop of Cæsarea, after having celebrated the holy mysteries for the first time, divided the bread of the Eucharist into three parts, one of which he reserved to be interred with him after his death. Pope St. Gregory tells us, that St. Benedict having heard that the earth had twice thrown up the body of a young novice who had been put in the grave, gave with his own hands the host to the parents of the deceased, desiring them to put it with great respect on his stomach, and to bury it in that state; and that after they had done what the saint desired, the earth retained the body of the novice, and did not throw it out as before. Amalarius, deacon of Metz, produces a passage from the Venerable Bede which shows clearly that at the burial of St. Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, they put the Sacrament on his stomach, and buried him with that precious deposit. After which, he adds, that 'such was the custom of the Roman Church.'

"But this custom has disappeared for a long time, and I believe there would be superstition in reviving it at present. And it is, doubtless, for this reason that Don Angelo du Noier, Abbot of Monte Cassino, declares that it was wisely abolished by the Fathers who followed St. Benedict; and that any one who should establish it at present, would pass for a bad Catholic before the Inquisition. To me it appears to have come from the Pagan custom of putting a piece of money in the mouth to pay the passage to Charon, who otherwise would not have ferried the dead over Cocytus."—pp. 244—246.

"Pope St. Theodore I., having learnt that Pyrrhus, one of the chiefs of the Monothelites, had fallen again into his errors after having abjured them, held a council at Rome in which he deposed him. And to render this deposal more remarkable, he signed it with a pen full of ink, in which he had put some drops of the *blood of Jesus Christ*! Baronius avows, that he does not know of any example to authorise such singular conduct; yet there are two, one in the Eighth General Council of Constantinople against Photius, and the other in Aribert, who says that the false treaty of peace concluded between Charles the Bald and Bernard, Count of Toulouse, in 854, was drawn up and signed with the blood of the Eucharist. The character, dignity, and holiness of Pope Theodore I., the authority of the Eighth General Council of Constantinople, the dignity and rank of Charles the Bald

and Bernard, Count of Toulouse, are of great weight in justifying a signature of so much importance. Yet, as it has not been made the rule in the course of time, I should think that it could not be renewed at present without incurring the suspicion of false worship. We may here apply the maxim of St. Augustine, 'that it is certain that we ought not generally to imitate in our conduct *every thing which we read of as being done by just and holy men.*'

"According to this maxim, the Church would not approve of this practice being literally followed at present; in the example of St. Gorgonia, who having dragged herself to the holy altar, and having leant her head upon it with pious impudence (as St. Gregory Nazianzen says), mixed her tears with the body and blood of Christ which she had reserved according to the ancient custom of the Church, and having afterwards *rubbed over her body with this mixture*, she was cured in a moment of an extraordinary disease!

"Nor again, the example of St. Satyrus, who, according to his brother, St. Ambrose, tied up the Divine Eucharist in a handkerchief, put it round his neck, and afterwards threw himself into the sea, in order to escape from shipwreck.

"Nor the example of St. Bernard, who left the altar, and taking the host in the paten, went to meet William, Duke of Aquitaine, at the gate of the church, and said to him, 'We have made our supplications to you, but you have disregarded them. But here is the Son of the Virgin. Will you despise Him also? Will you be so bold as to disregard the Master as you have done his servants?'

"Nor the example of St. Dominic, who, in order to convince the heretics of the truth he maintained, put the Eucharist *into a burning furnace*, where it remained three days unconsumed, if we are to believe Pilbert de Themeswar.

"Nor again, the example of St. Antony of Padua, who, to convince a heretic of the truth of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, presented this terrible mystery to a *mule*, which they had made to fast for three days, and obliged him to go on his knees, lower his head, and perform adoration; as it is related in the life of this saint."—p. 262.

It seems from the following, that the Eucharist is sometimes received hypocritically in the Church of Rome, just as it is elsewhere.

"The Communion is not always received with the right ends and pure intentions which the Church requires. How many Pharisaical communions may be seen; that is to say, how many Christians communicate only through hypocrisy, and to appear righteous in the eyes of men! These communions are not only sacrilegious, but they are superstitious, in the opinion of Lactantius, who remarks that religion concerns true worship and true piety, and superstition regards false worship and false piety. They are so also in the opinion of St. Thomas and

other divines, who describe superstition as a vice opposed to religion in the way of *excess*."

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception naturally leads to further developments. One of them is thus stated.

"In 1677, Father Imperialia, superior of the Jesuits at Naples, made the discovery of a new phenomenon in the heaven of devotion. He obtained a brief from the pope for the erection of a new confraternity in honour of St. Anne, and he printed it under this fine title, '*Blessed Anna, Virgin, and Mother of the Mother of God*,' pretending that St. Anne was a virgin, because the Mother of God, her daughter, being conceived without original sin, her mother must have conceived her miraculously. Another Jesuit of Naples printed a little book to justify this pretended virginity of St. Anne; and another, who was prefect of the congregation of Naples, exhorted, in a sermon, the faithful to communicate on the day of the feast of St. Anne, because, he said, 'we receive in the Eucharist the actual flesh of this saint.' But, unfortunately for these three Jesuits, the report of their new wonder so much alarmed the Inquisition of Naples, that it caused its speedy disappearance by censuring the opinion of Father Imperialia, the book, and the sermon. This little history only relates to my subject on account of the preacher exhorting the faithful to communicate on the feast of St. Anne, because we receive in the Eucharist the 'actual flesh of this saint,' which could not be done without supposing that on that day we should have that intention in communicating. But this intention was evidently superstitious, having only for its object a fantastic devotion, a false worship, a superfluous worship, and a vain observance."—p. 303.

A common practice in the Church of Rome is thus censured as superstitious.

"*Communion for the dead*, that is, that which is received with the view of relieving the souls in purgatory, has become frequent in these latter times amongst Christians who are not altogether well instructed in our mysteries. They persuade themselves that the souls in purgatory may be relieved, and even entirely delivered from their pains, by the force and virtue of the Sacrament of the Eucharist which they themselves receive. But if this opinion be not a delusion, it seems to be not far from it. It is not authorized by Scripture, councils, or tradition. It has no foundation in antiquity. The ancient fathers and masters of the spiritual life knew nothing of it. The Sacraments are the remedies of our sins and miseries, as the fathers and divines often call them, and consequently they can only help those who receive them, as remedies only can do good to those who take them. The Sacraments are instituted by God to give us sanctifying grace which excludes sin, and to help us to obtain from God the help of actual grace. The dead being unable to receive sanctifying grace, or to be helped to obtain from God the aid of actual grace, because life only puts us in this state, all

the communions of the living, whatever intention they may have to relieve their pains, do not help them. St. Thomas declares that if one or more of the faithful receive the body of Jesus Christ, they do not receive any advantage or relief for those who do not receive it. He says decidedly that it is an error for the laity to receive for those who are in purgatory."—p. 310.

"There are in St. Gertrude, in Blossius, in the Life of St. Jane of the Cross, in the Life of Father Balthazar Alvarez, Jesuit, and perhaps in other books of the same kind, examples and revelations which are in favour of communion for the dead. But nothing certain can be concluded from these kinds of revelations, which have not been approved by the Church, and on which, as Cardinal Cajetan says, the doctrine of the Church does not depend; such are those which relate to *purgatory*, which are perhaps merely dreams, or trances, or delirium, or deceptions of the devil for the establishment of some new doctrine. It needs much light, discernment, and prudence, to distinguish true revelations from false; and we ought not to give blind credence to all those which are put forth, no matter where they come from, without previous examination. For this reason the Apostle St. John gives us this wise counsel: 'My well-beloved, believe not every spirit, but try if the spirits are of God.' It is not easy to make this trial. 'For how is it to be done?' says St. Augustine. 'It would have been desired that St. John who has told us not to believe every spirit, but to try if the spirits are of God, had told us how we must try the spirits which are of God.'

"In fact, there are occasionally revelations which are contradictory to each other; and this adds to the difficulty of trying and acknowledging those which are of God, and those which are not so. For instance, on the subject of the conception of the Holy Virgin, there is one revelation of St. Bridget, which says, that it had been revealed to her that the mother of God was conceived without original sin, and another of St. Catherine of Sienna, who says that the contrary was revealed to her."—p. 315.

The mass of superstitions in the Church of Rome in reference to the Sacrament of the Eucharist is enormous. The following are specimens of the results and tendencies of the doctrines of Romanism on this subject.

"It was formerly customary in certain places to carry the Holy Sacrament to the sick, that they might adore it, or merely to show it to them, when they could not receive it through illness. But this custom has been expressly condemned by the Roman Ritual of Paul V. The same has been forbidden by some provincial and diocesan synods. It is well to remark the words of the Roman ritual and the others; that this might not be done '*under pretence of devotion*, or for any other cause,' showing that it is not a true devotion to act thus, but an abuse—a false piety—a superstition—an undue worship and observance of sacred things (p. 349). The same must be said if, instead of showing the Eucharist to the sick and causing it to be adored by them, they

were made to kiss it. The congregation of cardinals has forbidden this.

"In some provinces the judges occasionally require an *oath in presence of the Sacrament*, from persons who plead before them. The custom appears to me superstitious, for two reasons. One is, because, as Gerson teaches, it is superstitious to ascribe a supernatural virtue to things which are not authorized either by the Holy Scripture or Divine revelation to produce it. But it cannot be proved either by Holy Scripture, or Divine revelation, that the Holy Sacrament was instituted, to enable oaths to be taken on it. Besides, it is a presumptuous superstition to wish to do that which the holy fathers have not done, according to the expression of the canon *Consuevit*.—p. 350.

"The same reasons which cause me to believe that there is superstition in causing persons to take oaths on the Eucharist, persuade me that there is not less superstition in employing this venerable Sacrament to appease winds, storms, hail, thunder, lightning, and all kind of tempests, by carrying the ciborium to the door of the church, and making signs of the cross with it, in the direction of the tempests. Yet this practice was formerly common in certain churches of France and Germany.

"I have examined at length, in the 'Treatise on the Exposition of the Holy Sacrament at the Altar,' whether the Eucharist ought to be carried to places on fire; and have shown by many reasons that it ought not to be done. Because it would be employing this adorable mystery as a remedy for all evils, according to popular caprice, and making, in some sort, God to do whatever we wished of Him; and because frequently the Holy Sacrament has been carried to fires, without the fire in any degree relaxing in its heat and activity, which has exposed the most terrible and august of mysteries to the contempt and ridicule of impious and depraved persons, and of heretics."—p. 358.

We now come to a very important branch of the subject. The doctrine of the *Mass*, as expounded by Romanists, is one of the chief sources of their superstitions. Take the following instances.

"ON SUPERSTITIONS IN MASSES.—In the ancient missals, numbers of votive masses and others are found, which, either not having been approved, or being forbidden, have not been inserted in the new missals; and if we inquire the reason of this omission, we shall see that it has been done because these masses contained superstitious prayers, or that they had not truth for their object and foundation; or because they were too numerous; or because they were of modern invention; or because they were accompanied by ceremonies and circumstances contrary to true piety. I place in this class the masses of St. Amator and St. Vincent; that of the Twelve Helpers; that of the Eternal Father; the Trentain of St. Gregory for the living and dead; those of Grace and the Five Wounds of our Saviour; of his passion; of the passion of his image; of his nails; of St. Veronica and St. Suaire; and num-

bers of others ; which seem to have some kind of superstition for these general reasons. 1. Because, not being found in the ancient sacramentaries, they ought to be regarded as contrary to the ancient practice of the Church, and consequently as novel ; and novelty in matter of piety and rites is called by St. Bernard, 'the mother of temerity, the sister of superstition, the daughter of levity.' So that we may say, with the same St. Bernard, to the authors of these masses, that they are not more learned or devout than our fathers, and that it is a dangerous presumption to introduce into the Church things of which they had never thought, and which certainly would not have escaped them, if they had believed it desirable to establish them.

"2. The multiplication of masses supposes the multiplication of festivals. But there are already too many festivals in the Church ; and we have shown in our Treatise on the 'Diminishing of Feasts' that it has long been a subject of complaint.

"3. Because the great number of masses gives occasion to multiply them to infinity."—p. 395.

"St. Vincent Ferrier says, that the masses of St. Amator, though good in themselves, are injured by its being thought that the souls of those for whom they are said, depart from purgatory after they have been said, which does not always happen (p. 396). I have not remarked that the mass of the 'Five Wounds' is approved any where. But if it be permitted to make and say a mass on the 'Five' principal 'Wounds' of Jesus Christ, why should it not be permitted to compose and say masses on all the other hurts that He received ?

"The mass of 'the passion of the image of our Lord' is found in the Roman missal, printed at Venice, in 1513. At Berytus, in Syria, the Jews crucified an *image* of Christ, from which so prodigious a quantity of blood flowed, that the Churches of the East and West had abundance of it. Since there has been a Feast in commemoration of this in the Latin as well as in the Greek Church, a mass may well be made on it also. That which is in the Roman missal of Venice in 1513, besides having no approbation, tends to establish a superfluous worship ; for if a mass be made on this image, masses may also be made on all the miraculous images of which similar stories are told.

"The mass of the 'nails' and 'spear' of our Lord is in some missals, but without approbation. We might make similar masses on the 'scourge,' the 'cords,' the 'sponge,' and every thing that served as an instrument of the passion of the Son of God. But it is easy to see that this would be going too far. Besides these relics are so uncertain, and have so little authenticity, that most of the churches which boast of possessing them, have them not ; and thus masses of the nails and spear are said, which have not truth for their object.

"I say the same of masses of the 'tooth,' and some other relics of our Lord's body. The mass of the 'tooth' of our Lord concerns a false worship ; for our Lord rose from the dead with all his teeth, and did not leave any on earth, having never lost any. This has been proved by Venerable Guibert."—p. 414.



"Although our Lord was only circumcised once, and consequently but one *prepuce* was cut off, it is said that there are *four*,—one at St. John Lateran, another at Charoux, the third at Antwerp, the fourth at Coulombs. I inquire now, *which* of these four does the mass of the *prepuce*, which is spoken of, refer to? The mass of 'the robe without seam' of our Lord, appears somewhat more authorized than the preceding, for the Gospel testifies that our Lord *had* a robe without seam. But it may be asked, whether it has come down to us, and where it now is? Calvin believes that it is at Treves; and Boverus testifies that Felix, Archbishop of Treves, discovered it there. The authors who have made a catalogue of the relics at St. John Lateran, place there a tunic of our Lord. Calvin says there is one at St. Salvador, in Spain. The Benedictines of Argenteuil believe that *they* alone possess this tunic.

"The mass of the '*holy Snaire*,' or winding sheet, has a true and lawful foundation; for it is certain that the dead body of our Lord was wound up in a linen cloth, and his head was covered with a separate towel. But it is uncertain whether this mass relates to the cloth with which the *body* of our Lord, or his *head*, was covered; as it speaks of the clothes of our Lord in general, it appears that it relates indifferently to both.

"St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke speak of one linen cloth; but St. John testifies that there were several. If there were several, it is easy to understand that there may be one at Turin, and another at Besançon; but if there was only one, it cannot be at Turin and Besançon, unless it were divided in two pieces. In fact it is not merely the head-cloth of the Son of God which is worshipped at Turin and Besançon, but that which covered all his body; and I should rather believe that his head-cloth was that which is called the *Veronica*, than that there was a woman, who, seeing our Lord wet with blood and sweat carrying his cross from Jerusalem to Calvary, presented Him a handkerchief, with which He wiped his face, and on which He impressed its image. For the Gospel of St. John speaks of the former cloth, but says nothing of the latter, of which, nevertheless, we have been told so many extraordinary and inconsistent things (p. 435), as we shall now see in examining the 'mass of St. Veronica.'

"I find, then, in the Missal of the Order of Mercy, a mass of 'the holy *snaire*,' in which I see nothing superstitious, except the *preface*, which is this:—'The mass of the holy linen cloth of our Lord Jesus Christ. He who frequently says it, shall never be blind.' For is it not a ridiculous superstition to say, that those who shall frequently say this mass, shall never be deprived of sight, shall never be blind? In order to say it frequently, one must see clearly, and not be blind, unless it be said by heart, as a blind priest, perhaps, might do. I should be glad to know from the author of this fine preface, how he has learnt that those who shall often say the mass of the '*Saint Snaire*' shall enjoy this rare and remarkable privilege? In what place of Holy Scripture is it recorded? What is the tradition? Where are the Councils and Fathers who have made mention of it?

“ I am persuaded that one cannot believe this without falling into the superstition of vain observance, which is the same into which persons fall who imagine that when one sees the image or statue of St. Christopher, on any particular day, one is joyous and full of laughter during the following night ; one cannot die a bad death that day, and one is certain to be well, and not to be exposed to any danger (p. 436).

“ The ‘ mass of St. Veronica ’ appears to me wholly apocryphal and superstitious, if it supposes that there was a saint called Veronica at the time of the death of Jesus Christ, for there is no proof that there ever was such a person ; and the ancient martyrologies make no mention of her. It has only been since the middle of the *fifteenth* century that it has been imagined that there was a woman of this name at Jerusalem, who presented a handkerchief to our Lord before his passion, and on which our Lord, in wiping his divine face, impressed its image. Baronius, and many other modern writers say, on the authority of Methodius, reported by Marianus Scotus, that this woman was named Berenice, or Veronica. St. Antonius says she was an intimate friend of the Virgin. Philip of Bergamo states that she was a disciple of Jesus Christ ; that Tiberius made her come to Rome. A *Life of St. Veronica* was published at Paris, in 1685, in which are collected most of the things which the moderns have invented about this pretended saint. In most of the churches where St. Veronica is honoured, her feast or memory is celebrated on Shrove-Tuesday, (on account of the masques which are customary on that day,) with a view to turn worldly people from the excesses and follies of the Carnival, by representing to them the image of their Saviour tinged in the adorable blood which He shed for their salvation. And in fine, because painters, sculptors, and carvers, usually represent this image as being held by a woman, it has been imagined that this woman was named Veronica.

“ It is thus that popular errors and superstitious devotions establish and multiply themselves in the Church, contrary to the spirit, the intentions, even of the rules of the Church—through the want of zeal and light amongst pastors, who are represented to us in the Gospel as that father of a family who slept while his enemy sows the tares among the good wheat which he had sown in his field.

“ The ‘ mass of St. Veronica,’ then, is not the mass of a holy woman called Veronica, but of an image of our Lord impressed on a sheet, and to which they gave this name by syncope and by transposition of *vera iconica* or *vera icona*. For the authors of the lower Latinity used *iconica* or *icona* for image or resemblance, as Vossius remarks.

“ It is evident that the name of Veronica means this image. Pierre de Mailli, who lived in the time of Pope Alexander III., and Romanus, Canon of St. Peter, more than five hundred years since, declare that the *suaire* with which Jesus Christ wiped His face was called *Veronica*. Peter the deacon, who died in the middle of the twelfth century, Augustine, Bishop of Piento, in the time of Paul III., declare that the *Veronica* is *the image of our Lord*. Matthew of Westminster, speaking of Innocent III., says that this pope made a solemn procession at Rome, ‘ in which the image of our Lord’s face, which was

called the *Veronica*,<sup>1</sup> was carried with much reverence. Pope Nicholas IV., in a bull dated 1290, speaks of the representation of Christ's face, which the faithful commonly call the *Veronica*. Thus all the masses in which the *Veronica* is considered as a holy person, and invoked as such, relate to false worship; and under this view should be considered the 'mass of St. Veronica' in the Ambrosian Missal, wherein are prayers in which the *prayers* of 'St. Veronica' are sought; and also the Missal of the Church of Jaen in Spain, the Missal of Chartres, and all the other missals in which the mass of St. Veronica is found with these or similar prayers."

Those who have seen the relics at Cologne will feel interested in the following discussion on the history of St. Ursula.

"The history of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins is so full of contradictions, and of events which appear so far removed, not only from truth, but even from probability, that it is hard to say what ought to be believed regarding it. Baronius admits candidly that the genuine acts of these saints being lost, every one has written about them as he pleased, to the great prejudice of truth. Sigebert makes St. Ursula, the daughter of Nothus, prince of Great Britain; the author of the acts of these saints calls him Deonotus, king of Cornwall; Peter de Natalibus says she was the daughter of Manus, king of Scotland; Geoffry says she was promised in marriage to Cemanus, a prince of Great Britain; Pierre de Natalibus says it was Etherens, son of the king of England. Baronius makes much more of Geoffry of Monmouth than of the other writers; yet as he agrees that he has inserted in his history a quantity of fables, we cannot much depend on what is there read of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins. For it is hard enough to believe that eleven thousand virgins went from London to Cologne, from Cologne to Rome, from Rome to Basle in *ships*; from thence to Rome again, from Rome to Cologne. Some learned persons have believed that it was necessary to reduce the eleven thousand to *eleven* virgins. Father Sirmond (of the Society of Jesus) had another notion on the eleven thousand virgins: he reduced them into *one* virgin, called Undecimilla! There being, therefore, nothing certain or decided on the number of the companions of St. Ursula, and the history of this saint and her companions being also crammed with tales invented at pleasure, if a mass referring to St. Ursula and her companions *indefinitely* did not constitute a false worship, I can readily believe that a mass of St. Ursula and 'the eleven thousand virgins' does so."—pp. 437—447.

The repetition of a particular mass is by some held to ensure salvation.

"The mass of the 'Name of Jesus' is in many Missals, printed subsequently to A.D. 1500. Those who cause it to be said for thirty Fridays 'will not die without contrition, without confession, without a worthy satisfaction, without a holy communion.' Here is Paradise to be obtained at an easy rate! To go thither there is no need of penances,

mortifications, alms, good works. It is only to hire a priest to say the mass 'of the Name of Jesus' for thirty Fridays, without even being obliged to be present; and we are *certain to die in the grace of God, in final perseverance!* Whether this doctrine is Catholic, I leave it to the divines to decide."—p. 466.

Superstitions are very frequently attributable to the monks. Here is an instance, in which serious errors have been introduced.

"There is a mass which is entitled, in almost all the Missals where it occurs, the mass of 'the *most sacred* rosary,' and the rosary is called 'most sacred' in the first collect of the mass. We may, perhaps, very well speak of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and the Word of God as 'most sacred.' The Church, Councils, and Fathers speak of them so; but it is an inordinate piety which speaks thus of the 'rosary,' which is infinitely less valuable than the body and blood of Jesus Christ or the Word of God. In some Missals, indeed, it only bears the title of the 'most holy' rosary. But the title of 'most holy' is not now given except to the Holy Sacrament and the pope. But the greater part of the monks have been in the habit of carrying matters to excess, especially when they relate to the saints, the festivals, and confraternities of their orders, and the relics, devotions, and indulgences which they have in their churches; and they will never correct these excesses while they are interested in them.

"The following words of the first collect would, in my opinion, amply deserve to be revised. *Præsta, quæsumus, ut amborum* (Christi et Mariæ) *meritis per sacra ter quina* (quindecim) *mysteria sacratissimi Rosarii completis, &c.* 'Grant, we beseech thee, that the merits of both (Jesus and Mary) being accomplished by the holy fifteen mysteries of the most sacred rosary,' &c. This parallel of the merits of the Son of God with those of the Holy Virgin, *amborum meritis*, does not appear correct. There is too much disproportion between them; the former are infinite, the other finite; the one procures for us grace and glory, independently of any other, and by themselves; the others do not; and there is reason to apprehend that the Holy Virgin is offended at this equality which is placed between her merits and those of her Son. Moreover, I do not know in what sense the merits of the Son of God and those of his holy mother are 'accomplished' by the 'fifteen mysteries of the most sacred rosary.' Can the rosary put the finishing hand and give perfection to the merits of the Son of God, and to those of the Holy Virgin? Were the merits of the Son and those of the mother imperfect, and were they defective in something before the invention and establishment of the rosary? This difficulty would well reward the trouble of being cleared up."—p. 474.

On the *causes* of the enormous number of masses that are said in the Church of Rome we have the following pungent remarks.

"ON SUPERFLUITY OF MASSES.—Peter, Chanter of the Church of Paris, produces positive reasons to prove that it is sufficient for priests to say one mass every day, and that they ought not to say more (p. 84).

Many of these reasons are opposed to the great number of masses which are said in the church at present. For myself, I am contented to say, that it seems as if it would be more conducive to veneration for the august sacrifice of the altar if it were more seldom celebrated, and if fewer masses were said than has been the case for some centuries (p. 89). St. Odo, second Abbot of Cluny, testifies, in his *Conferences*, that at the beginning of the Church the mass was not said so frequently as at present, but that it was said with as much more devotion as it was more rarely said. Formerly but few masses were said in the monasteries, and they were scarcely said except on Sundays and feast-days. St. Francis d'Assise desired and exhorted the priests of his order to say only one mass in the day in their convents; and in case there were many priests in the same convent, to content themselves with assisting at the mass of one of their brethren."—iii. 94.

"Why then are there so many masses now in religious communities? It is impossible to love the Church with a sincere and disinterested affection, and not to groan before God at the sight of the abuses which are produced by the great number of masses which are now said in ecclesiastical and regular communities, in parishes, and elsewhere. Alvarus Pelagius speaks of these abuses in these terms:—'there are so many masses said at present for money, by custom and habit, by complaisance, to conceal crimes, and to appear righteous before men, that the sacred body of Jesus Christ is becoming contemptible to the people and the clergy.'

"We are convinced of the truth of what is said by this bishop, who was so learned and so zealous for the good discipline of the Church. For how many priests are there who, notwithstanding their practice of criminal habits, do not omit to say the mass frequently, and every day, in mere hypocrisy, 'in order to conceal their crimes, and to appear righteous before men?' How many there are who would frequently not say it, because they are not sufficiently disposed, if it were not to gratify their friends, their superiors, or the great? How many are there who look on the priesthood as a trade, who go to the altar as artisans to their work, without regard to the Divine Host which they are to immolate? Is not money the principal end which an infinite number of others propose to themselves in saying mass? How very small is the number of those who say it from a principle of devotion! How few are there who would say it if they did not hope for some payment from it! The payment helps to support them, to pay their pensions in their communities. Whether they are fit to say mass or not, they do not much trouble themselves. They must say it in order to pay the expense of their communities, or of their sacristies. If they do not say it, they have neither money, bread, nor portion. It is only through interest that they say it. They have no other God in saying it but the god of money, to use the language of Bourdoise, in speaking of clergy who did not assist at the Divine offices, except when there was something to gain.

"Again, is there not a shameful trade in masses in many ways? There are priests who undertake a greater number than they can say,

and who either do not say them at all, or else get them said by other priests, to whom they give less than they have received to say them. There are other priests who receive many payments for one mass (which occurs frequently in large towns); who say two masses a day in two different churches, in order to have two payments; others who take more for one mass than the custom of the place allows; others who say masses by anticipation, when no one has yet asked for them, for the first who shall ask of them. In certain churches they take at least ten sous for the payment for each mass, in others they take at least fifteen; yet in the former they give only eight to the priests who say it, in the latter they give ten, eleven, twelve, or thirteen. I know many wealthy churches where this is done under pretence of providing the ministers with bread, wine, lights, and ornaments to say mass."—iii. 99.

"If this shameful commerce in masses were well weighed, and the evil motives which lead to so many being said at present in our churches, I have no doubt that much false, undue, and pernicious worship would be perceived in it. God preserve me from believing that the multitude of masses is superstitious in itself. It is not difficult to perceive in what occasions it is susceptible of superstition, and in what occasions it is extreme. We should not perhaps be much mistaken in suspecting, not to say in accusing of it, those persons who consider it a merit to hear the mass on all work days, and even to hear several, while they omit the indispensable duties of their state and profession. This ill-regulated devotion is properly a superfluous worship."

One of the most common observances in the Church of Rome, the Novenas, is thus proved to be superstitious.

"ON NOVENAS.—If there be no superstition in saying masses for the dead on the ninth day, it is a superstitious and a pagan practice, according to St. Augustine, to say a *novena* of masses, or nine masses successively for them, on the nine first days after their decease; and the priests ought to be prevented from saying them, and the laity from causing them to be said. St. Augustine, Alcuin, Amalarius, Durandus, say that there is paganism and superstition in this custom. The pagans deplored their dead for nine days, and on the ninth day collected their ashes and committed them to the tomb.

"Nevertheless, for nine days there are certain prayers, oblations, austerities, pilgrimages, and almsgiving, and novenas of masses are said for the living, and sometimes even for the dead. The Church well knows all these practices, and tolerates them, and appears not to perceive them, if she does not approve them. It seems that Gerson does not condemn them in some parts of his works (p. 114). But, if his meaning be understood, it will not be found that he is in favour of novenas. In his treatise 'Of the Direction of the Heart,' he only excuses them, because those who practise them may think and hope that in practising them with the piety of the Christian faith and religion, they will not be displeasing to God or the saints. But there are few who thus think and hope. They practise novenas in the belief that if they failed in them for a single

day, or prolonged them for one day, they would be without benefit. Whatever good intention they have to please God in making *novenas* in honour of the 'nine orders of angels,' they always, or almost always, mix with them some vain observance, imagining that if they had failed in the least circumstances prescribed to them, their oblations, austerities, prayers, masses would be of no use to them.

"The most equitable judgment which can be passed on *novenas*, in the opinion of this pious chancellor, is, not to condemn them always as impious, and not to believe that they are always mortal sins. According to him, a well-regulated faith does not practise *novenas*, and it regards them as one of those things which it is more advantageous not to do than to do, and that the Church only tolerates them through necessity, because they cannot entirely be rooted out, and because the faith of simple persons is often ill-regulated."—p. 119.

The following passage discloses the great practical evils which not unfrequently result from the practice of confession to unmarried priests.

"ON CONFESSION.—Confessions may be bad and superstitious, when they are made in order to enjoy the pleasure of conversing more at ease, and for a longer time, with the confessor. For how many girls and women are there, amongst others, who consider it a merit, and perhaps even a pleasure, to speak to their confessor, in order to tell him what is passing in the world, in the families which he does and does not know? How many are there who have no greater joy than when they can give him marks of their esteem, consideration, respect, confidence in his conduct, and attachment for his person? It is chiefly in the tribunal of penance that this is practised with so much more liberty and security, as the place does not appear suspicious, or dangerous; while charity, and, if I dare to say it, chastity, experience sad shipwrecks there. There are some, says Gerson, who only go to confession through curiosity, and to employ themselves in useless and profane matters. And would to God that what they seem to have begun in the spirit, they did not finish in the flesh! There is danger on both sides; and therefore enlightened and spiritual persons have always believed that female penitents should not have any familiarity with their confessors, nor speak to them of any thing but what concerns their confessions. 'Familiar conversations,' says D'Avila (p. 352), 'of men with women, though at first they seem edifying, are the temptations of the devil, to cause them to fall into sin. This obliges me, O Virgin of Jesus Christ, to encourage you in this laudable practice which you have, of keeping apart from all kinds of men, and of not being even with your confessor, except for the time which is requisite to make your confession to him in a few words. If you meet a man who assures your conscience before God, obey this guide with a sincere affection, and a respectful submission. Take good care, however, lest this love become an excess, and a vicious passion. If you do not regulate the first movements of your affection, it will become so strong, that you will find yourself at

length as inseparably attached to your confessor, as a wife is to her husband, or a mother to her children' (p. 354). The rules of the Jesuits are very remarkable on this subject. They expressly forbid them to undertake the charge either of nuns, or of other women, whoever they may be, as their ordinary confessors, or to be their directors. The examples produced by numbers of ecclesiastical writers prove, that the familiarities which exist between spiritual persons, even monks and nuns, are extremely dangerous. They may derive benefit from that which St. Francis so well said to his friars, who were too much attached to the nuns of St. Clare,—' I fear, my brethren, lest God should have taken from us wives, but the devil should have given us sisters.' —p. 358.

We now come to perhaps the most fruitful branches of superstition and idolatry in the Church of Rome.

"ON INDULGENCES, AND WORSHIP OF THE VIRGIN AND SAINTS. —All Indulgences which are not conformable to the regulations of the Fourth Council of Lateran, far from being good and lawful, are to be extremely suspected of superstition. Indulgences are *indiscreet*, according to the Canonists, when they are false or pretended, or given without just cause. They are *superfluous*, when they are too frequent and in too great number.

"False, or pretended Indulgences are superstitious, because they concern false worship. Yet how many Indulgences there are of this kind! Gavantus mentions seven sorts which were condemned by a decree of the Roman Inquisition, in 1635. In the pontificate of Gregory IX., there were wicked persons in the province of Lyons, who, under pretence of raising funds for a church, forged bulls of the popes, by which they pretended to have the power of giving Indulgences (iv. 9). In the time of Stephen Poncher, Archbishop of Sens, 1519, the people of Paris made pilgrimages to St. Denis to gain Indulgences, which, being approved neither by him nor by the Holy See, were either false or pretended. This prelate forbad these pilgrimages.

"Not long since some regulars of the diocese of Reims published false Indulgences of privileged altars, as M. le Tellier, Archbishop of Reims, declares in his charge, 1694. We may consider as false, all Indulgences which have been granted on facts and statements which are false (iv. 14). What then can be thought of the many Indulgences which are said to have been given on 'the Vision of Simon Stock,' and on the 'Sabbatine Bull,' which is believed to be false and pretended? What is to be said of the Indulgence of the *Portiuncula*, if the vision attributed to St. Francis is not conformable to the truth? But there is nothing which proves better that there are abundance of false and pretended Indulgences (and which consequently are superstitious), than the celebrated decree of the Congregation of Indulgences and Relics, made at Rome, 1678, and approved by the holy Father, Pope Innocent XI., suppressing false or revoked Indulgences, such as those granted to 'the Prayer of the Charity of our Lord;' to those that visit the church



of Campagnola; to the Revelation made to St. Bernard; to the arch-confraternity and Order of the Redeemer; to kissing the measure of the Virgin's foot; to the image of the Virgin called *Laghetti*; to the use of the cord of St. Francis; to those who say the Ave Maria at the striking of the clock; to the image of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin; to those who say the prayer, *O magnum mysterium, &c.*; to those who sing the hymn, *Te Matrem Dei laudamus, Te Mariam Virginem confitemur, &c.*; to crowns, rosaries, images, and medals, blessed at the request of Cardinal Frederick Borromeo; to those who say, 'Praised be the holy sacrament,' in honour of the sacrament granted at the request of Cardinal Magalotti; to priests who say after mass, *Ave Filia Dei Patris, &c.*; to those who recite the *Angelus* morning, noon, and evening; to *coronas* of the mysteries of the passion of our Lord; to the confraternity of St. Nicholas, by means of which it was pretended that a soul might be delivered from purgatory every day; to those who wear the cord of St. Francis of Paul; to those who say the masses of St. Augustine; to those who recite the office of St. Francisca of Rome; or the anthem, *O passio magna*; or the rosary of St. Anne; or the office of the immaculate conception of the Virgin; or the prayer, *Deus qui nobis in sancta sordone*; or to those who testify, by some external sign, their veneration for the most holy Eucharist; the Indulgences of 80,000 years for those who say the prayer, *Deus qui pro redemptione mundi*; those which were printed at Pavia, 1670, with the title of 'Summary of Indulgences to the Image of the Conception of the glorious Virgin Mary;' those of the crown or stellary of the Immaculate Conception; to the beads, crosses, and crowns of St. Aloysia; to the measure of our Saviour's height; to the image or measure of the wound in his side; to the prayer found in his sepulchre; to the revelations of St. Bridget, Mechtildia, Elizabeth, or Johanna of the Cross; to all crowns, rosaries, beads, crosses, and images existing previous to 1597; to all religious orders before 1606; to all societies, confraternities, orders, &c., before the time of Clement VIII. and Paul V. All summaries of Indulgences for the congregations of the Christian doctrine, the confraternity of the Trinity, and for the redemption of captives, of the man of God, of the rosary, of our Lady of Mercy, of our Lady of Mount Carmel, of the girdle of St. Augustine and St. Monica, are not permitted without being revised and approved even by the congregation."—iv. 17, &c.

The following passages furnish some new matter to the history of Mariolatry.

"Since the occasion so naturally presents itself, it may be well, in order to disabuse the simple of the vain confidence which they often put in certain prayers, to examine some of those which are found in most of the 'Hours,' or Books of Prayers, which are accompanied by prefaces promising great Indulgences, or singular graces, and which are in these places not free from superstition. The 'prayer of the Passion of our Lord' is referred by Salicet to St. Ambrose, and he says it was

confirmed by Anastasius I., who granted 500 days of indulgence to saying it. But it was not written by St. Ambrose; and how can it be known that Anastasius granted Indulgences to those who say it? The prayer to all the members of the Virgin, *O dulcissima Regina Mundi, Dei genetrix Virgo Maria, dignare me, &c.*, though in a metaphorical style, may be tolerated; but the *title* promises that whoever says it devoutly, shall obtain 'special grace' from the Virgin. Nevertheless, it is God alone who gives grace and glory; and every good gift and every perfect gift, says St. James, comes down from the Father of lights. It was assuredly on the plan of this prayer that a Capuchin published, in 1668, 'A Devout Salutation of the Sacred Members of the Virgin's Body.' We select some specimens:—'To HER HAIRS. I salute you, charming hairs of Mary! rays of the mystic sun, lines of the centre and circumference of all created perfection, golden veins of the mine of love, &c. To HER EARS.—I salute you, intelligent ears of Mary, universities of Divine wisdom, generous receivers of clients, &c. To HER WOMB.—I salute you, miraculous womb of Mary, depository of the prodigies of God, arch of his alliance with man, sphere which carries the sun, aurora which has produced the day,' &c. The other salutations are not less impertinent."—p. 67.

"The 'fifteen prayers of St. Bridget, on the passion of our Lord,' according to various books of prayers, are said to confer the following prerogatives, 'If a man has been thirty years in mortal sin, and devoutly says these prayers, God will pardon all his sins, defend him from temptations, deliver his soul from eternal punishments, he shall obtain all he asks of God and the Virgin Mary, he will be assured of being joined to the sovereign choir of the angels,' &c. If all this be true, what need have we for Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penitence, Order, and Extreme Unction? Can theologians, and good men, who understand a little of their religion; can all those who love the honour of God's house, read without horror the impieties and blasphemies of these Prefaces? And yet they are printed continually in the Hours, and Books of Prayers: the ignorant are allowed to feed on the mortal poison contained in them, without any pains being taken to remove these execrable superstitions; and by these means sinners are retained in a vain confidence in their salvation, and in impenitence."—p. 74.

"The prayer of the thirty days—'Holy Mary, perpetual Virgin of Virgins, Mother of Mercy, Mother of Grace,' &c., is in great fashion amongst the people, and amongst devotees. It is their favourite prayer. In this more than any other they place their confidence, because they are led to hope, that in saying it for thirty days, they will obtain from the mercy of God every lawful request made of Him. Whence is this assurance derived? Where has God revealed it? It will be seen that assurances of this kind are deceptive and superstitious. Why fix on the number 'thirty' rather than any other? It is imagined that this number is absolutely necessary to the validity of this prayer. Nevertheless it is a vain, useless, and superstitious condition, because the effect which is proposed cannot be reasonably expected. If a practice,

says St. Thomas, is made use of which visibly has no natural power to produce the effects expected, it is superstitious and unlawful.

"St. Francis de Sales, M. d'Alex, Bishops of Geneva, held the same opinions; and also Cardinal le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble."—p. 82.

"The prayer to the Virgin: 'O most gracious Lady, and sweet Virgin, Holy Mary, Mother of God, most full of all mercy,' &c., was composed, according to its title, by Pope Innocent, and whoever says it daily will be assisted by the holy Virgin in the last three days of his life; and she will announce to him the hour of his death, and will signify to him that he is amongst the number of the predestinated. These are very remarkable privileges. If they were true, there would be more advantage in saying this prayer than in receiving the Sacraments; for the Sacraments do not promise final perseverance to us.

"There are many extravagant expressions in this prayer, and much is attributed to the holy Virgin which is, properly, only applicable to God; as when it is said that she is 'the way of wanderers,' 'the salvation and hope of those that trust in her,' 'the fountain of life and pardon,' 'the fountain of salvation and grace,' and when eternal glory is asked from her—'grant me eternal glory.' But this is common enough with indiscreet worshippers of the holy Virgin. They have much trouble in explaining the hyperbolical language which they employ in their discourses and their books; and when they come to explain them, they are obliged to speak and write like others who speak and write with moderation, and without excess. It is well to carry the praise of the Virgin above all creatures; but she ought never to be compared with God, who is her Creator and her Redeemer. These sorts of comparisons cannot edify. For if they are explained, their weakness and defects are evident; and if they are not explained, false ideas are left in the mind of the hearers or readers.

"'For this reason,' says the very learned Father Petavius, of the Society of Jesus, 'I shall make no difficulty to recommend the worshippers and panegyriste of the holy Virgin, not to let their veneration and piety for her go too far; and to content themselves with the true and solid praises they may give her, without inventing false and pretended ones, which are not established on the testimony of any respectable author.' For this kind of secret and hidden idolatry in the human heart, as St. Augustine says, cannot be reconciled with the reserve of theology (p. 87), that is with the principles of Divine wisdom which cannot advance any thing that is not conformable to the certain and exact rules of truth.

"On these principles I wish with all my heart that the Cistercian monks had been more reserved than they appear to be in the worship they pay to the Virgin, who is the special patroness of their order, and under whose invocation all the churches of their order are consecrated to God. When they speak of God in their church offices, they do not kneel; but they kneel at the words, 'Mother of God, intercede for us,' which are at the end of the verse *Post partum*, &c.; also when they say 'Mother of God' in the mass, &c. The Carthusians kneel also and

uncover their heads when they recite the office of the Virgin, when they say, 'Hail, Mary,' with the hours, and 'Salve, Regina;' they kneel again when they say at the mass of the Virgin these words, '*Salve, Sancta Parens,*' &c. &c. This devotion was pleasing to some prior of the Carthusians, and some abbot of the Cisterrians, and was introduced gradually in their two orders, but it is not ancient.

"Formerly there was no kneeling in the greater part of the Churches of the west at the anthems of the Virgin, which are said at the end of the office, *Salve, Regina, Ave Regina Cœlorum, Alma Redemptoris Mater*; but now we kneel at them, and the rubrics of the Roman Breviary of Pius V., and those since printed, say, in express terms, that they ought always to be knelt at, except at Easter. Nevertheless, some Catholics think that, in this respect, the worship of the holy Virgin has been carried too far, with respect to that which is due to God, and which is infinitely above that which is due to the holy Virgin.

"However this be, one of the writers of our day who has gone the furthest in this matter, is the Father Paul de Bari, Jesuit, in the book entitled, '*Paradise opened to Philagia by a hundred devotions to the Mother of God,*' in which he has endeavoured to establish practices of piety towards this holy creature, which do not accord well with that wise moderation which a real theologian ought to preserve in his views. Here are some of the practices which will easily enable a judgment to be formed of all those which are scattered through the book:—'To prefer hell, if the Virgin were not the Mother of God; to ask the blessing of the Virgin, morning and evening, at one of her churches; to give the profits of play to the poor, for the love of the Virgin; to glorify the Virgin for every instance of success; to engrave and form in the heart the name of Mary; to love Jesus Christ ardently, *for the love and in consideration of his holy Mother*; to leave one's place in Paradise, if necessary, in order to give it up to the Virgin; to do her honour by not pronouncing the name of Mary in reading, but to substitute another first; to attempt nothing but under the guidance and favour of the Virgin; to carry her rosary or chaplet when asleep at night; to present and offer to her that which is most dear, constituting her our heiress, and wishing to be entirely her's; to present to the Virgin the heart of her son Jesus; to give alms for the love of the Virgin; to give looks full of love at the images of the glorious Virgin when passing and meeting them; to offer the good works of a month to our Lady to dispose of them,' &c.

"This good Father imagines that all these devotions are so many keys of Paradise; but I much fear that these keys are rusty, for I know, from Scripture and tradition, that something else is necessary in order to attain eternal glory."—pp. 84—90.

"The prayer that is said to have been given to St. Bernard by an angel, 'Hail, Mary, handmaiden of the Holy Trinity,' &c., is also extravagant in some places, and amongst others where the holy Virgin is called the 'Teacher and Mistress of the Evangelists and Apostles,' 'the salvation and consolation of the living and dead.' For the Evan-

gellists and Apostles had no other teachers, and no other masters but Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost; and it is the Son of God only who is the salvation and consolation of the living and the dead.

"But the title is as extravagant as the prayer in the 'Hours of our Lady according to the use of Paris,' for it declares that whoever shall say it devoutly every day, shall not die without penitence, or without partaking of the holy Eucharist. Would not the belief in this encourage sinners to give themselves up to the most evil passions, in the false hope that by saying this prayer they will not die without the Sacraments, and they will not be condemned?"—p. 90.

"The 'three Hail Marys' in the same Hours are extravagant. The first says, 'I beseech thee most humbly, that thou wilt protect me this day and defend me from sin and wickedness.' This only belongs to God to do by his grace. The second says, 'I beseech and request that at the hour of death thou wilt enlighten my soul with true faith.' Yet, true faith is a gift of God, and not of the holy Virgin, who, consequently, cannot enlighten us with it. The third says, 'I pray thee, that at the hour of death, thou wilt pour in, and fill my soul with Divine love.' But Divine love comes only from God, and it is for this reason that the Church so frequently asks it of Him for us in the prayers she addresses to Him."—p. 101.

"In the seven prayers called the 'Seven Joys' of the holy Virgin, the second of those which she now enjoys in heaven, is 'that as the sun here below enlightens all the world, so likewise the Virgin adorns and enlightens with her brightness the whole of Paradise;' which is only suitable to God, from whom the holy Virgin derives all her splendour and all her glory. In another it is said, that 'all the choirs of angels and archangels, &c., honour and reverence the holy Virgin, and are obedient to the least sign she makes them;' which cannot be said except of God, whose ministers are the angels. In another it is said, that 'all those who praise the holy Virgin shall be rewarded by the Holy Father with his grace in this world, and his glory in the next;' as if it were enough to be devoted to the Virgin, in order to obtain grace and glory, without any need of keeping the law of God besides.

"In the prayer to the holy Virgin, commonly called the *Obsecra*, she is called the 'salvation of those who hope in her, the fountain of mercy, of grace, of pity, of gladness, of consolation, and of pardon;' which properly only belongs to Jesus Christ."

The following criticism on the *Stabat Mater* is very just.

"The *Stabat Mater dolorosa*, being in rhyme, causes pleasure to good persons to hear it sung. But persons of real piety and enlightenment find more of rhyme than of sense and unction in it. Father Crasset, of the Society of Jesus, says, that 'it resembles the style and devotion of St. Bonaventure. Yet, St. Antoninus, and some authors, attribute it to Gregory the Great.' But there is no proof that it was by St. Bonaventure or St. Gregory the Great. It is not found amongst

the works of St. Bonaventure, nor those of St. Gregory the Great; and the citations from St. Antoninus and Philip of Bergamo, which Father Crasset has marked in the margin, to prove that it was by this pope, are false, as I have myself ascertained.

“But whatever Father Crasset may say of it, the *Stabat* is to be blamed, because it appears injurious to the holy Virgin. For it represents her in the extremest grief, overwhelmed with sadness, broken-hearted, trembling with horror, and bathed in tears. Nevertheless, the holy Virgin, though she was deeply afflicted in the depth of her heart, though she was a martyr in her soul, as St. Bernard says, did not permit any weakness to appear at the death of the Son of God. She was *standing* near the Cross of Christ (as the Gospel says). We do not read that she wept, says St. Ambrose. It is with much reason that Maldonatus affirms, that those who say that the Virgin fell fainting near the Cross do not deserve any credit; and that it is certain, on the contrary, from the Gospel, that this holy creature was present at the death of her Son with as much tranquillity of spirit, and with senses as settled, as when He spoke to her from the Cross.”—p. 105.

“The *Languentibus in purgatorio*, a piece in rhyme like the *Stabat*, says that the holy Virgin is ‘a fountain opened which washes away sins, and that she saves all the world without exception.’ This ‘fountain opened’ is either Baptism, in which all sins are remitted, as the Fathers and interpreters of Holy Scripture explain the words of Jeremiah; or the death of Jesus Christ, by which our sins are pardoned. But it is too much to say that the holy Virgin has as much power as Baptism or the death of Jesus Christ. Another verse says that the holy Virgin is ‘the true salvation of those that trust in her;’ which is a quality peculiar to the Son of God.

“I well know that a good meaning might be given to most of these expressions; but why not give it at once? why envelope it in words which present a bad meaning?”—p. 114.

The fearfully common practice in Romish Books of Devotion, of placing the Virgin and other saints as objects of worship along with the Creator and Saviour, is thus commented on.

“In the prayer *Sacrosanctæ et individuæ Trinitati*, which has been said for some years in certain churches at the end of the canonical hours, all creatures are invited to render the same praise, honour, power, and glory to the humanity of Jesus Christ, to the holy Virgin, and to all the saints, as to the holy and indivisible Trinity: *Sacrosanctæ et individuæ Trinitati, Crucifixi Domini nostri Jesu Christi humanitati: beatissimæ et gloriosissimæ semperque Virgini Mariæ fœcundæ integritati, et omnium sanctorum universitati, sit sempiterna laus, honor, virtus, et gloria, ab omni creatura* (p. 118). Yet, there is a remarkable difference between the worship which is due to God, and that which is due to the humanity of Jesus Christ, to the holy Virgin, and to the saints. To God the worship of *Latria* is due, and this worship ought only to be recorded to Him. If the humanity of Jesus

Christ be considered as united hypostatically to the Word, the same worship is due to it, not absolutely and on its own account, but on account of its relation to the Word. If it is considered solely in itself, and as separated from the Word, the worship of *dulia* or *hyperdulia* is due to it. The worship of *hyperdulia* is due to the holy Virgin, and the worship of *dulia* to the saints. St. Epiphanius distinguishes very well these two last kinds of worship from that which is due to God—'Let Mary be honoured, (he says,) but let the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be adored. Let no one adore Mary.'

"In this prayer the Trinity is put in parallel with the humanity of Jesus Christ, the Virgin, and all the saints; that is to say, the Creator with the creature, the Infinite with the finite, the Sovereign with his subjects, the Master with his servants. Is this parallel just? Is it pleasing to the Church? She does not wish even that the saints should be compared with one another. There is folly in these kinds of comparisons, says St. Jerome.

"In the Litany of the Virgin, by St. Bonaventure, the following articles might well have been omitted—'Holy Mary, who enlightenest all the world, illuminator of hearts, true salvation, spare us, Lady. That it may please thee to give eternal rest to all the faithful dead, we beseech thee to hear us. Mother most dear, and our Lady, have mercy on us, and grant us perpetual peace. Amen.' For here is attributed to the Virgin what belongs properly to God, which cannot be done without placing the Virgin in parallel with God, and without being obliged to employ explanations, which come at last to saying no more than those who speak naturally and without extravagance."—p. 130.

Such is a brief selection from the numerous instances of popular superstitions with which Thiers has made us acquainted. Unhappily, the example set by this learned and pious writer has not been followed by others, so that superstition flourishes as rankly as ever in the Church of Rome. It is this system which the Politicians of the day are anxious to endow!

- ART. VI.—1. *Gervinus's History of Literature; Philosophy of Hegel.* Leipsic.
2. *Works of Lessing.* Hamburg.
3. *Works of Goethe.* Cotta, Stuttgart.
4. *Political and Moral Tales, Essays and Dramas.* By Gutzkow. Hamburg.
5. *Strauss's "Leben Jesu," and "Humanitarianism."*

IN the middle ages, Germany was regarded as the heart of Europe; and even now, it remains so important in social and political bearings to its neighbour states, as to justify a more than ordinary attention on our part to its prospects and its policy. Our immediate design is not to treat of the external developments of German states, and their historic fortunes; but rather to define and examine that national faith, or absence of faith, that character, literary moral and social, which we may denominate the German mind, and to which the existing state of disorder amongst our Teutonic neighbours must surely be attributed.

Though France may appear the loudest and most audacious advocate of Democracy, we are much mistaken if the democratic spirit do not finally prove to have established itself more firmly within the limits of the ancient German empire, and be not too likely there to maintain a broader and a more enduring sway. Willingly would we persuade ourselves to the contrary, but the conviction is strengthened within us from day to day, that the present state of anarchy may too possibly terminate in the consolidation, either of one democratic republic, or of a number of federal states, each possessing a republican organization of its own, and subject to a national congress; and if this end be once attained in Germany, we do not think it will soon yield to the erection of a military despotism; which is obviously prepared for "la belle France."

And indeed, though France regards itself, and is by many people considered, the great agent of the Movement which is going on around us, from authority to equality, from reverence to licence, we cannot close our eyes to the fact, that the influence of the German mind in literature, philosophy, and religion has more real weight, and is far more calculated to promote the advance of democratic principles, at least among ourselves. Voltaire, no doubt, was the first to ridicule Christianity, with seeming success and wondrous audacity; but how much more



injury to the faith of superior minds has been wrought by the quiet sneers of Goethe! French philosophy was a pert child that endeavoured with a pin to overthrow the Christian Cross; German philosophy may be compared to a hacker and hewer, who seeks, though with a blunted edge, to lay the axe to the root of the tree. Paris shouts, and yells, and hoots, and proclaims its own omniscience daily, and brings forth some new "Eureka," with every gust of popular fancy: but Germany has been long advancing, more slowly but more surely, towards a democratic goal, and seems moved, as by one consent, to hail the final dawn of the era of equality.

It is not to be questioned that an aristocratic and orthodox party still maintains itself in the north of Germany, more especially in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, as also partially in East-Prussia, Brunswick, Hanover, and even Brandenburg; nor can we deny that many individuals, more or less conservative in their views and tendencies, may still be found in various quarters of the Teutonic empire, as we may yet denominate those states in which the Teutonic mind, in some sense or other, rules supreme. Nevertheless, an apparent ascendancy has been acquired by the friends of democratic and pantheistic or infidel innovation in all the great cities of Germany (Hamburg perhaps excepted), whilst it must be admitted to reign in almost undisputed majesty over the existing literature of that country. There is this great difference betwixt France and Germany: in the former, Paris alone (if even Paris), is decidedly democratic in its views and tendencies; other cities, and the provinces generally, being favourable to the re-establishment of conservative order and a monarchical form of government, whilst even Paris is respectful to religion: in Germany, on the other hand, Vienna, Berlin, Francfort, Dresden, Leipsic, Prague, Munich, &c. are all more or less ripe for democratic revolutions, and the mind of the country as a whole is directly hostile to the cause of Christianity. These are melancholy facts: but our present purpose is not so much to mourn over, as to recognize and explain, them. No doubt, if the example of foreign lands could ever induce this favoured realm to barter her liberty for licence, and her religion for rationalism, Germany would be far more likely to incite us to such a course of emulation than France. The literature of the latter has never carried very serious weight with us, and it has lost ground of late in popular, at least national, estimation. German literature, on the contrary, has for some time exercised, and may be destined to exercise, an increasing influence over our own. Some of our most admired essayists and public writers are esteemed for their reflection of its worst peculiarities: many of

our deepest thinkers have more or less strongly acknowledged its intellectual power: not only our philosophers, but our very theologians, tend to yield more and more attention to its claims, and become imperceptibly imbued with its spirit. It is a remarkable fact, that several of those, who have of late seceded from our National Church in search of an external infallibility, were first led to feel dissatisfaction with the ordinary evidences of faith, from their study of German thinkers, and philosophers, "so called." The German nation, whatever cause may be assigned for the fact, possesses not a single standard writer, with the exceptions of Frederick von Schlegel and Klopstock, who can be regarded as orthodox in religious views and bearings; and the vast majority of its writers of prose or poetry, within the last thirty years, are more or less openly democratic also. That democracy and infidelity should go hand in hand can appear strange to none: both are equally inimical to that principle of reverence for order and degree, on which the scheme of the visible universe may be said to be founded. No doubt, democrats may here and there be found, who are staunch and orthodox Christians: and again, infidels, such as Hobbes or Goethe, may be essentially monarchical in their political views, and even favourable to despotism: nevertheless the general rule is such as antecedent judgment and consideration would lead us to expect.

Such, then, is the existing aspect of the German mind. Christianity is regarded as effete as a Divine Revelation, devoid of value save such as may yet attach itself to its moral code; equality, or the absolute right to govern of the one direct majority, unhampered by any distinction of ranks or division of authority, is too generally acknowledged as the existing rule of things. Some of our readers may incline to imagine that this statement is exaggerated: we do not speak, however, without mature consideration, or without such acquaintance with the subject as may be supposed involved in a residence of many years, and a careful study of the Teutonic mind in its past and present developments: nay, we believe that the broad facts which now lie patent to the world will suffice to vindicate the truth of our assertions. For democracy, even now when we write, may be regarded as partially triumphant throughout Germany, despite the nominal authority of sovereigns who act as vicegerents to the Francfort congress. In Prussia as in Austria, in the minor German states as well, one democratic chamber exists, each and all of these subject to the central assembly, yet each in itself absolute, elected without any regard to rank or property by the one majority of the entire population. There are no chambers of peers, no second chambers of any order, left in existence, save in

one or two nominal instances: there is no virtual check to the supremacy of the democratic will.—An apparent re-action may manifest itself at this moment,—nay, does so, both at Vienna and Berlin. All honour to Frederick William! We forgot, for a moment, the innumerable difficulties of his position, and half-condemned the monarch, whom our hearts have long loved, and with whom our sympathies must aye abide. His Quixotic rashness, in dismissing his defenders after some hours of civil conflict, and throwing himself on the mercy of his foes, we are still unable to approve: but we confess that the error was one of greatness. His haste “to bid for imperial sway” we still regard as unbecoming; and, most of all, are we constrained to blame, his fanning of the popular flame against the rights of his Danish brother. But the vigour and resolution, displayed by him at the late crisis, have partially redeemed him in our estimation, and have again commended him to the prayers of all good men. Austria, too, has awakened from her trance. Democracy has been checked, *seemingly* crushed, by the valour of a Windischgrätz and a Jellalich. Yet, we regret to add, our convictions are still substantially the same. The destiny of both countries would still appear Republican! The system of one chamber elected by universal suffrage remains intact, and seems likely to do so; and we need not add that *this* is utterly inconsistent with any just balance of power, or the possession of rational freedom.

And, for the national infidelity of Germany, we see not how it can be questioned: here and there, no doubt, orthodox Christians may yet be found, in Brandenburg and Westphalia, and elsewhere: but speaking broadly, the mind of the country is hostile to revealed religion; far more decidedly so than that of France. A popular confirmation of this hostility may be found in the rationalistic tone of the press of Germany, the “Augsburg Gazette” included. Whilst in England, no man, whatever be his personal opinions, dares treat Christianity with disrespect, or avow openly his disbelief of it, in any of our great public organs, the very contrary holds good in Germany, where vast moral courage would be requisite to embolden a writer to profess orthodox views in religion in any of the more widely-circulated journals of the country. In France infidelity might be supposed sufficiently rampant, yet an enormous contrast will be discovered betwixt the tone of De Lamartine, Thiers, Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, Eugene Sue, and even George Sand,—and that of the great lights of modern Germany, Gutzkow, Heine, Sallet, or even the moderate Gervinus.

Let it be the purpose of this essay, then, to inquire, how that existing spirit of irreverence originated and developed itself, which

now exercises such potent sway over our German brethren ; let us trace the causes of this aversion to all constituted authority, of this licence in politics and rationalism in religion : let us endeavour to pierce to the heart of the seeming mystery, and ascertain, how a nation naturally gifted with lofty devotional instincts and a deep-rooted reverence for lawful authority, has degenerated to this democratic level, and assumed so menacing an aspect to the future welfare of humanity.

Our inquiry is obviously twofold, theological and political ; but the two questions are so intimately interwoven that we cannot pursue them separately. We must retrograde some way to obtain a firm footing for our researches.—The aspect of Germany in the middle ages, though it has of course much in common with that of France and England, bears yet a special character of its own, being marked by the absence of that spirit of chivalry, which seems to have mainly attached itself to the Norman banner. German knights were, for the more part, rude and uncouth ; honest, but savage, brave, yet devoid of gallantry, in the “trouvère” sense of the term. Despite the close connexion which subsisted for so long a time between Germany and Italy, the Teutonic and Ausonian elements never in any degree assimilated. German art, even, was harsh and stiff, and the ideal was little valued by the sturdy Saxon. Nevertheless, the mediæval development of Christianity, which held sway in Germany as in the rest of Europe, whatever might be its corruptions, was not deficient in romantic beauty, and lent some grace by its influence to the sports and customs of those ages. Germany had, too, a middle-age poetry of its own : its “*Nibelungen Lied*” with the whole cyclüs appertaining to it, dates from the tenth century or thereabouts, and is replete with savage grandeur despite the clumsy homeliness which it occasionally exhibits. Two or three centuries later, in the ages more directly preceding the Reformation, Wolfram von Eschenbach and Walther von der Vogelweide, with Gottfried von Strasburg and other knightly minstrels, arose, and founded a more polished school, which owed no little to the influence of the “*Provençal Trouvères*,” and with much of Chaucer’s freshness, combined perhaps more dignity of purpose and breadth of design. Still, the German race, as a whole, despite elfs and witches and hobgoblins, was not at that period poetical. Hans Sachs and his followers, with their dull formality and low humour, are perhaps the most characteristic embodiments of the main bearings of Teutonic mind, within the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The effect of the Reformation on its first development could scarcely be esteemed progressive. Whilst in England it heralded

the dawn of a mighty national literature, the Elizabethan, it operated in a negative direction amongst our German neighbours. Few authors of any celebrity arose, and intestine brawls and civil wars ensuing, plunged the nation into a state of apparently hopeless darkness. Thus Germany may be reasonably declared to have been centuries behind the other civilized countries of Europe in developing to a state of self-consciousness, in exhibiting external manifestations of the mind of her people. In the middle of the last century, when Frederic of Prussia came to the throne, whilst Italy, Spain, England, and France, in the order thus enumerated, had long accumulated stores of mental and literary trophies, Germany was the Boeotia of Europe, possessing indeed its universities and its learned professors, who sent forth ponderous controversial folios from time to time to its Leipzig book and treatise-market, yet wholly deficient in the original creations of mind, and destined, according to the then current faith even of its own greatest men, to endure the curse of perpetual sterility. To what should we attribute this state of things? Partly, perhaps, to "a tardiness of nature;" partly, no doubt, to the civil conflicts already alluded to, but, in a great degree also, as we believe, to the direct workings of the German Reformation. This is not an ecclesiastical article, and we are therefore only enabled to indicate the bearings of our argument; but setting all preconceived notions aside, derived from our natural admiration of episcopacy and our own Church institutions, so much may surely be admitted by all reasonable men: religion, however spiritual, should have a corresponding expression in the external world, or it cannot long maintain itself. Now Presbyterianism, as finally adopted by Luther and his followers, is cold and harsh in its forms, hostile to the developments of imagination and fancy, critical, and more or less mechanical. It encourages rather a constant cleaving to the first principles of the faith, than an attempt to carry those principles into action. It is anti-poetical, and consequently sterile. Yet a literary manifestation could only be expected from the Protestant States of Germany. The Roman Catholic, taking refuge in blind obedience to an external infallibility, practically anathematized the intellect as "the accursed thing;" as some of our living teachers would bid us do, "since the intellectual power is so liable to abuse." Neither Austria, nor Bavaria, nor the other States of Roman Catholic Germany, exhibited any symptoms of mental life. What movement there was, was confined to Protestantism: and this, after a period of strict Bible orthodoxy, first warm and real, but even then ungracious,—then cold, but still correct,—finally tended to a moderate rationalism at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

There was nothing to check this downward course; no prescriptive reverence for church, or creed, or authority. The poetry of life seemed gradually departing, and a dull indifferentism was substituted in its place. Meanwhile, the monarchs and rulers of Germany, having subdued the manly aristocracy of former ages, and converted them from a horde of steel-clad warriors to a vast body of obsequious courtiers, reigned with more and more absolute supremacy over all their subjects. The so-called bureaucratic system, of privy-councillors and paid officials innumerable, came first to its perfection in this period. This bureaucratic class stood betwixt the people and the throne, possessed of almost absolute power over the former, but with little power or *will* to oppose the most monstrous caprices of their lords. Truly, this was a Boeotian age. All the worst corruptions of French manners and English infidel-philosophy, without any of their attendant graces, were visible in Germany at this period: a multitude of small despotic courts, all boasting the immorality, without the refinements of that of "le Grand Monarque," with mistresses, court-marshals, chamberlains, and pages; but neither poets, nor artists, nor statesmen: and, on the other hand, universities, possessing a hoard of useless learning turned to no account; cold, sterile, lifeless, and impregnated more or less with the materialism and rationalism of the then fashionable English philosophy; which, fortunately for us,—thanks to the influence of our Church,—could never penetrate beneath the surface of our national mind. At the same time, the Lutheran Church itself, practically the creation of the universities, was in no sense striving to retrieve lost ground, to war against the evil tendencies of the age; whilst, as has been suggested, dull and servile, yet despotic bureaucracy reigned paramount over the German people. Can we wonder that a literature which finally developed itself under such circumstances, should be hostile as a whole to Christianity? should have even brought about that state of confusion and general faithlessness, which we now behold in our Teutonic brethren?

For the German mind could not sleep for ever. The influence of spirit on spirit is incontestable. With the advance of civilization, and consequently of art and poetry, in the rest of Europe, Germany could not but strive in some sense to keep pace. Though Frederic persisted in disregarding and despising all the efforts of his countrymen to found a literature of their own, some individual minds did arise, which were fired by a spirit of emulation to the effort of creation. Their first essays were naturally most imperfect. For a long time the awkward Alexandrine was the favourite measure of German rhymers, from their desire to imitate French models. The first individuality after Luther

(a mighty mind, but one confined in its sphere of operation), which exercised a potent literary influence, was perhaps that of Lessing, who formed his intellect principally on Shakspeare and the master-pieces of British literature; and after furnishing his countrymen with a series of essays, which went far to correct their bad taste and lead them from the pursuit of the artificial to truth and nature, concluded by laying before them several original works, of more or less merit, but all deserving the appellation of "classical," for their combination of acute sense with truthfulness, and the spirit of genuine life. It would be difficult to over-estimate the literary importance of such a drama as "*Emilia Galotti*," of such a comedy as "*Minna von Barnhelm*," or of such a dramatic poem as "*Nathan the Wise*." These works might be said to teach the German nation, for the first time, that they too had a genius and a national intellect of their own; and might claim their place among their European competitors for the prize of mental greatness. But, as might be expected from the antecedents already noticed by us, the tendencies of Lessing were still rather critical than creative, rather rationalistic than in any sense dogmatic. Nay, he even went so far as to make a direct assault on the very foundations of Christianity: and thus infidelity became, as it were, a mark of literary aspiration, the external evidence of the elevation of mind above the common standard. No doubt, some Christian bards did arise in the train of this literary development, and managed for some time to maintain a respectable position. Of these the greatest was, undoubtedly, Klopstock, who exercised a wide influence for good, despite the occasional Arian bearings of his "*Messiah*," and his mistaken daring in inventing, though with a Christian motive, the history of wonders beyond the ken of mortal. For this tended, in its success, to give a fictitious colouring or effect to the whole scriptural narrative, with which the poem was so closely connected. Milton has comparatively invented little, and that little is far more generally and vaguely expressed, independent of its being for the more part consistent with what Scripture has revealed to us, and a mere instalment of the almost inevitable efforts of the imagination to supply the links wanting in Holy Writ. But the actions, thoughts, and triumphs of our Risen Lord, as depicted by Klopstock, are further removed from the ken of human gaze, and the whole narrative of his death and passion is so sublime and unutterably solemn, that we shrink from the audacious attempt to blend a mortal's fancies with the revelations of the Eternal Spirit, as from an appalling act of sacrilege. Nevertheless, Klopstock, after his fashion, strove to promote the cause of orthodoxy; and in this he was partially

assisted by Gleim, and the author of "The Death of Abel." Kleist, the German poet of the Seasons, and Tiedge followed in the train of these; and though always warring on the defensive and the retreat, for some time they presented a half-front to the enemy.

In the meanwhile, Kant had firmly established his philosophy in the hearts and minds of the *teachers* of Germany; and intellectual *power* resided almost exclusively in the possession of opponents to orthodox Christianity. After Lessing and Klopstock, Wieland was the third great name in German literature, mainly known to us by his "Oberon," but one of the most prolific writers of all ages, and unfortunately a coryphæus of infidelity. In his youth, this author, naturally gifted with a poetic imagination, had shrunk from the cold rationalism of Lessing and Lessing's school of thought: he had even striven to take refuge in ardent Calvinism at Geneva; but this system did not suffice to satisfy the demands either of his reason or his fancy. Romanism of course appeared to him, as it did to almost all the German literary men of that day, a silly and barbarous superstition, not worthy of a moment's consideration: and so, finally, he threw himself back upon classical antiquity, and found a point of rest in the revival of the Epicurean philosophy, which assimilated naturally with the elements of grace and humour, derived by him, in part from nature, in part from a close study of the then modern French standards. Accordingly he was imbued with the spirit of Lucian and Anacreon, and poured forth elegant satires, poems, and tales, in every form, all reflecting the Epicurean creed, or creedlessness. He read, indeed, Shakspeare, whom he translated; but he loved Voltaire, whom he emulated, and, in many respects, surpassed. By nature he was a great poet, and, under more favourable auspices, might have achieved far higher creations. Of course, he either ignored Christianity altogether, in all his chief works, or treated it with good-humoured contempt. The spite of Voltaire was wholly foreign to his temperament. He considered amusement the study of life, and had not therefore sufficient earnestness to essay the overthrow of any system; but perhaps, on this very account, the influence for evil exercised over his country's faith by him, was greater, than if it had been direct and controversial.

Herder, who followed him, was a grave and sober thinker, who earnestly strove to better the condition of his fellow-men, but he was imbued with the Kantian teaching, and consequently prepossessed against orthodoxy. In truth, where was a young German of talent to obtain orthodox views and perceptions at this period? Religion, as presented to him by its Lutheran authori-



ties, was a cold and dry system of dogmatic teaching; regarded not in any sense as the foundation of true philosophy, but as a thing altogether apart from it. Philosophy professed in itself to solve the mysteries of being: Christianity was therefore needless for the instructed man, by the more or less explicit confession of its teachers. And here, let us remark, that whilst political freedom was in Germany utterly unknown, the most absolute theological licence had for a long time prevailed, at least in the Protestant states. The authorities forbade the appearance of any pamphlet, however slight, which trenching on the supremacy of the temporal power: but, inasmuch as the human mind cannot be fettered at all points, as some safety-valve, to use a modern simile, must be allowed for the escape of intellectual steam, the whole field of religious controversy was thrown open to the inquiring mind, and the negative and critical instincts of man were left to develop freely there. The Reformation, too, had established the principle of religious freedom within certain limits; an impulse had been given to man's natural tendency to protest and deny, and it was inevitable that that tendency should be in some sense gratified. In our own country, a re-actionary power resided in our Catholic institutions, in the Divine authority claimed by the Church by right of Apostolic succession, and the mystic and awful value attached to the Sacraments; whilst, at the same time, a due degree of political freedom offered food and occupation to the more restless order of intellects, and made men content themselves with those religious truths which they found consistent with the enjoyment of high political privileges. In Germany, on the contrary, as indeed in France, and more or less generally in continental states, those who were disposed to cavil and amend were confined to this one department, of theological research, and were of course the more likely to misuse their privileges in this. Freedom, properly understood, is the right of man; and, if deprived of it, a tendency to licence will develop itself within him. But we resume.

So far, as might have been anticipated, the awakening of the German mind had been hostile to the claims of Revelation; but one master-spirit arose, on whom a dread responsibility must ever rest; who might have saved his countrymen from the abyss of infidelity, had he turned in faith to his God, and who appears to have more than once hesitated, whether he should do so or not, in the course of his earlier career. We allude, as need scarcely be said, to Goethe! This mighty mind appears to have received a training of an orthodox though cold nature, and to have been endowed with many and warm devotional instincts. He tells us in his "Autobiography," and that, with an obvious half-regret,

which must appear strange to his rationalistic followers and admirers, that when in his fifteenth year he went to confession previous to his confirmation, according to the custom of the Lutheran Church, his whole heart was stirred within him; and he suggests in so many words, that had he then been met in a corresponding spirit by his confessor, a cold dry Lutheran, he might have become an orthodox Christian, and have thrown his whole weight into the Christian scale! It is impossible to calculate the consequences of such a decision. It may be said, and perhaps with reason, that this plea was a mere excuse made by Goethe to himself, for having adopted an Epicurean code of selfishness, and having ignored through life a religion, the truth of which he has scarcely ever *explicitly* denied. But is it not a striking fact, that this material and rationalistic thinker, whilst yet in the enjoyment of his intellect's prime, which had only been matured by the experience of some five-and-fifty years, should throw out an unmistakeable suggestion, that so little might have sufficed at one period to give another bearing to his life and literary labours, and constitute him the champion of a religion which he affected to regard as the mere fiction of humanity? Goethe takes occasion to inform us here, that Lutheranism was, in his opinion, wholly insufficient to keep alive the fire of Christianity; and he explains at great length how the Catholic system, as known to him in Romanism alone, met the various needs of the human heart, conferred Divine Grace in the Sacraments, and bestowed all life by the earthly presence of the Divine. He wishes evidently to convey his own impression, that had he been subjected to the influences of this system, he might have remained a Christian.

We will not pause to inquire in how far the superstitions and the pious, or rather impious, frauds of Rome, together with its system of making religion exclusively dependent on its own external teaching, keeping Holy Writ and its evidences in the background, would have been likely to counterbalance in Goethe's case, or that of any other master-mind, the advantages derivable from its possession of the "means of grace:" nor need we do more than indicate that the combination of Catholic spirituality with scriptural reality and earnestness, such as may at once satisfy both *mind* and *heart*, will be discovered in the Anglican Church, according to our sincere convictions; despite our perception of her many practical deficiencies. It suffices for our present purpose to observe, that Goethe could have easily transcended the ordinary difficulties which kept his less-gifted countrymen from the just appreciation of Christianity. German so-called philosophy he never held in great estimation; without running a tilt

against the notions and prejudices of his contemporaries, he never yielded his homage to the systems of Kant or of Fichte, of Schelling or of Hegel, all of which predominated in turn during his long literary empire. He treated all with courtesy, but with a species of polite contempt, never by any accident speaking of them in that tone of involuntary respect with which he met Christianity, even when he ventured to assail it. He saw and recognized the wonderful æsthetic beauty of Revelation; of a Creed, which had reigned so long over so many hundreds of millions, and seemed destined to endure to the end of time. German systems of philosophy, despite their lofty pretensions, he knew to be the creatures of an age, hastening rapidly to decay, and accordingly bestowed very little attention on them. His views, which finally became pantheistic, assimilated with some of Hegel's; and where they did so, he did not deny their likeness, but was never anxious to claim such affinity. We repeat, then, that had his heart been rightly moved, had he been led to love his God, he would have scorned the intellectual molehills which these petty philosophers had thrown up, around the Rock of Christianity. The doctrine of Atonement, as he has told us, appeared to him consistent with the faith of all ages and the experience of mankind. The rationalistic system of explaining away the miracles, and prosaically nibbling at all the external evidences of Christianity, he always held in contempt. His mind was too clear not to perceive, that Christianity must be received or rejected, as a Divine Revelation, and a whole. If true in any sense, he saw it must be true altogether, inasmuch as it was self-consistent throughout. If God was other than the Universe, if He was beyond and above it, if, as Christians maintained, it was only a speck in his infinite glory, if He was the Creator, and capable of Will, what could appear more *probable* than the whole scheme of Revelation? Would it not naturally follow, that He should create man good and happy, yet with the possibility of fall, for the sake of freedom, which *could* not co-exist with absolute and inevitable bliss? And if man *did* fall (as fact evidenced that he *must* have fallen, if he ever *were* in possession of perfect happiness and goodness), what could be more natural, than that God should will to restore his creatures, and effect this by a Revelation, which though supported by many external evidences, should finally appeal to *faith*, and not to absolute knowledge, for the sake of *trial*? And then, the Great Mystery, the centre of the scheme, the Incarnation in some sense of the Godhead, to reconcile justice with mercy,—though this was beyond the understanding of man, the motive to it was perfectly apparent and self-consistent, and, if sufficient external evidence could be pro-

cured in support of it, human reason would have no antecedent grounds for its rejection. All this Goethe saw: nay, all this Goethe has either stated or plainly suggested: nevertheless he *willed* (he has not told us wherefore) to reject Christianity altogether. He *has* spoken, however, of the influences which surrounded him; of the many elements which combined against his natural devotion. Making all possible allowance for these, we believe that his master-spirit could have transcended them, and therefore hold him responsible, to a dread amount, for the misapplication of the talents confided to his charge.

He appears for a long time to have laid religion, as well as philosophy, altogether on one side, and to have contented himself with the use and enjoyment of this world. It need scarcely be said, that under such influences he could only ripen into a confirmed and selfish sensualist. The egotism of Goethe is, indeed, his most marked characteristic: the unreality of his best feelings meets us in every page of his Autobiography. We see him sporting with the holiest affections, regarding all things as made for his gratification only, and employing every power bestowed on him without the slightest reference to its effect on his fellow-creatures, Christianity remaining for him a thing apart. In "Werther," in "Wilhelm Meister," every where, save in a few loose epigrams, he treats it with a species of involuntary homage, though he does not subscribe to it. Meantime, he *indirectly teaches* his fellow-countrymen to regard it as something effete, if once beautiful; left behind us in the progress of humanity. He preaches (if so self-satisfied an egotist can ever be said to preach) a morality, or rather an immorality, of his own. He is too comfortable, too "*bequem*" for Christianity; too easy, too cosy, too selfish, too Goetheian. Repentance, he says, is a *bore*, and sorrow for past errors is altogether needless, because it cannot recall what has been: he neglects to observe that it may amend the heart for the future. Finally, rising above the usual rationalistic assaults on Christianity, he feels that its evidences are weighty; that it is next to impossible to account for its existence on the ground either of self-deception, or of conscious imposture in its Founder and Teachers: so, without allowing himself to enter on the inquiry at all, he bars the gate on any Revelation, by proclaiming that Personality must be a boundary, and that the Godhead therefore cannot possess personality; in other words, that It is identical with the All, or is nothing but the Divine principle of nature. This once admitted from antecedent reasoning, all historical evidence is rejected as needless, and Pantheism received as truth infallible. It is not ours here to expose the monstrosity of this system; suffice it to say, that had Goethe's

heart been in the right place, his head could not have failed to reject so poor a syllogism. It is manifestly preposterous for us to proclaim that Personality bounds, *because creature-personality does so. The Creator, who embraces all, need not the less exist, because He is self-conscious.* Divine will and purpose, in fine, are manifest on all sides, and a God who loves us is ever present with his own. Goethe, however, we repeat, might have arrested the torrent of German infidelity; and probably *he alone*. He preferred to help it on, and he and his country must both abide the consequence. His political views are well known: they were rather favourable than otherwise to Absolutism, but had little influence on his nation, which rightly attributed their existence to that egotism which sought for nothing beyond its own personal satisfaction. Goethe agreed with Wieland in regarding man as a being, whose chief purpose should be to enjoy this life; and he thought democracy with its intestine strife unfavourable to social happiness. We pass to his great rival in literary estimation, who according to the popular voice, perhaps, still bears the crown, the energetic and enthusiastic Schiller.

It is not our purpose here, as we need scarcely say, to treat of the artistic and æsthetic merits of the authors we may enumerate, save in as far as these are inseparably interwoven with our theme, the attempt to trace the various causes which have led to the triumph of Teutonic lawlessness; as we may, not too boldly, word it. Without contrasting Schiller with his greater predecessor who yet so long outlived him, we may frankly assume that he would have followed in the former's track, had the bard of Francfort enrolled himself under the banner of Christianity. Schiller's early impulses were directly devotional; and traces of this feeling will be discovered in the great disfavour with which the unbelievers and scoffers, "Franz" and "Spiegelberg" are treated in his first tragedy, "The Robbers." But Schiller, alone and unaided, was scarcely capable of bearing back the torrent of German unbelief; he became a captive to the popular Kantian philosophy of the day, and conceived it his duty to regard Christianity as a worn-out and partial expression of the truth, not worthy even of a careful examination. At an earlier period we find him proclaiming in his "Arcadia" and other poems, that this life is all, and that retribution should not be looked for beyond the grave. Later, he in some degree revolted from this stern conclusion, as his "Thekla, a Spirit's voice," "The Lay of the Bell," and his more matured dramas, give us to understand; but even then, he could mourn in his "Gods of Greece" that beauty had flown from earth with paganism, and appears scarcely to have realized the mere æsthetic value of Christianity. No

doubt, the romantic spirit, which derived its being from Christian sources, was plainly manifested in many of his ballads, as also in "Maria Stuart" and "The Virgin of Orleans." Nevertheless, Schiller has left no such distinct tribute of homage to the genius of Christianity, as was more than once expressed by Goethe; and in his essay on the "Mission of Moses," he has indulged in an offensively rationalistic strain, which it would be impossible for a Strauss or a Bruno-Bauer to surpass, and which far transcends in evil the corresponding account in Goethe's "West-Eastern Divan" of the children of Israel's sojourn in the wilderness.

It is true, that Schiller frequently expresses an ideal of pure and lofty tenderness of soul, which is essentially Christian in its character; but, inasmuch as this is given us as a thing altogether apart from and unconnected with religion, its presence could only make his works more dangerous to his admirers. The same remark applies to Goethe, whose pathos and grace, though less prominent to the vulgar eye, are essentially deeper and higher. These two great writers, both in their best prose and poetic works, may be said to have furnished their nation with a moral Ideal, such as a Pagan writer of the fourth century might have been supposed to draw, who had become familiar with Christian virtue, and adorned his own philosophy with its semblance. A morality, however, which is not founded on revealed religion, may never be trusted to; and thus, that of both these writers will be oftentimes found defective; so presenting a painful contrast to that of our own mighty Shakspeare. Not the monstrosities of "Stella" only, the exaggerations of "Werther," the flagrant indecencies of the "Roman Elegies" and the "Venetian Epigrams," and the refined immorality of "Wilhelm Meister," are to be blamed in Goethe's works, nor need we call special attention to the yet more dangerous tampering with the social ties manifested in his "Elective Affinities;" but even his purest works, such as "Torquato Tasso," are not free from evil tendencies: *every where* we recognize the presence of a Pagan code, conveyed in those expressive words, "Whatever pleases be allowed!" Schiller is far purer, but his ideas are frequently characterized by meanness and even hardness of heart. Thus his "Fiesco," though represented, or rather meant, as a hero, acts as the vilest of scoundrels alone could do; and in his "Cabal and Love," the hero and heroine, despite their mouthing assertions of virtue, are alike impious and graceless. The moral of "The Bride of Messina," if it have any moral, is one of the most awful nature; directly arraigning, in fine, the goodness and justice of Providence: and his very last play, "Wilhelm Tell," not only studiously advocates cold-blooded assassination, but

throws a sentimental colouring over it, which is most pernicious in its effects, and tends to confuse the first principles of right and wrong. Schiller, then, followed the evil impulse which had been communicated to his country's literature, and carried on the work of ruin.

Yet, all this time, Christianity externally maintained itself: a system based on the Word of God, and dating back for nearly eighteen centuries, could not be overthrown in a day. Infidelity was still confined to the educated classes, and was not even universal among these. Literary men, however, had been gradually led to assume the fallacy of Christianity, not from any examination of its historic or moral evidence, but because it was presented to them under a cold form to which their sympathies were hostile, while they believed themselves to be already possessed of the Absolute, in the philosophy of the schools. The Humboldts, and others worthy of esteem, were all imbued with this indifferentism to vital religion, which they rather ignored than assailed, and taught their nation to ignore with them. A partial reaction manifested itself in the so-called Romantic school, which originated in the desire to re-awaken the buried memories of the middle ages. The Schlegels were the critical leaders in this movement, Tieck being its principal literary representative; he, however, was satisfied with the externals of romanticism: they pressed on for its reality, which they could only discover in Christianity; and so, Frederick von Schlegel at least, and his friend and ally, the Count of Stolberg, were driven to take refuge from rationalistic Lutheranism in the bosom of the Roman Church. But the influence of this school on the German nation was by no means considerable; the bards of Weimar, Wieland, Goethe, Schiller, and Herder, reigning in indisputable supremacy.

However, a more potent aider of the cause of Christianity was provided in the sore need and distress of the German nation under the yoke of Napoleon. In their efforts to achieve their liberties a positively religious spirit once more manifested itself, and quasi-philosophy for a time seemed cast to the winds. Inspired by the Christian, or, at least, devotional strains of Körner, and Rückert, and De la Motte-Fouqué, a pious impulse fired all hearts, and infidelity was silenced by the urgent prayers that arose on all sides from a suppliant nation. Schiller had departed: Goethe withdrew into himself ingloriously, and was for awhile forgotten. Had the German sovereigns seized the hour of victory to fulfil their promises, had they *then*, whilst all hearts were filled with gratitude to Heaven, bestowed representative constitutions on a loving and earnest people, the cause of

faith and order might in all probability have proved triumphant: *but this they did not do*; they disappointed the hopes and expectations of their subjects, when these had been wound up to the highest pitch; they re-enacted the laws of censorship and every other restrictive penalty, and converted the German nation into an immense body of malcontents, once more disposed to quarrel with their faith, and bearing a deep grudge to the authority which had deceived them. Thus, what might have been made an occasion of reformation and renovation, was converted into a goad and snare to the most evil tendencies, and the spirit of irreverence once more regained its sway.

There can be no doubt that the German sovereigns had great difficulties to contend with, on the termination of the European struggle in 1815, if their sincere desire was (as they asserted) to assimilate the institutions of Germany to those of our own favoured country: but these difficulties were by no means insurmountable. The great social and political evils of Germany were, the existence of a barren and almost numberless bureaucracy, and the hollow and unpopular position of the untitled aristocracy throughout the land. The first of these was easily to be remedied by the adoption of free institutions, bringing with them, as they must have done, the modified principles of self-government, and rendering the whole system of secret police, censorship, and private administration of justice, a meaningless anomaly. The needful reform of the aristocracy was not so easy to deal with: but, as the danger connected with it was even more alarming, all delay in grappling with the evil could only make things worse. It was obvious that a mere titular aristocracy, many tens of thousands in number, for the most part idle and ignorant, solely employed in the army or the bureaucracy, looking on the wealthiest and most honourable of their fellow-citizens as so much dirt, and consequently hated by all classes, could not safely be allowed to exist in the nineteenth century. The obvious remedy was to effect a reform on English principles, to found a house or rather houses of peers, of which the mediatised princes, at least 150 in number, would have formed the nucleus, to whom all the *heads* of great and wealthy houses might have been added, recruited in some special instances of merit from the plebeian ranks. The remaining nobility should have been deprived of the right to bear any further title than "*Herr von*," which like our own "*esquire*," might also have been left open to every great merchant, and even to every larger shopkeeper retiring from business. The youngest sons of peers, also, should certainly not have been permitted to "*sport*" the family title of prince and count to the last descendant of their youngest branches according to the absurd custom of the



### *The German Mind.*

continent, but should have been restricted without exception the same simple note of gentle blood. Of course, each man might still have borne whatever arms pertained to him, as in this country, and could not be deprived of his inherent nobility. Had the reformation been effected at the period referred to, and had it gone hand in hand with the yielding of constitutional privileges, the present alarming state of anarchy might in all probability have been averted for ever; and—the nation being then favourably disposed towards the faith of its governors—teachers, and bards, would no doubt have arisen, the offspring of the age, and yet in their turn its guides, encouraging and developing all those good instincts, which the Teutonic race had displayed in the hour of trial and danger. But, as it was, the concessions made to them: representative forms were given here and there, but with little reality attached to them; and, worst of all, the aristocracy was allowed to subsist in its unnatural and exclusive position, which must surely break forth with awful violence at some future not over-distant day. The consequence of all this was, that the ardent and grateful loyalty, both to earthly rulers and the Heavenly Lord of all, which had been called forth, passed away, like “an exhalation of the summer morn.” Tieck, Grillparzer, Uhland, Rückert, and others, who would have been prominent in the conservative ranks, remained silent, or espoused the cause of liberalism, and thereby all the institutions of their country. No honest man ventured to profess himself a partizan or supporter of the government, at that government restricted the freedom of the press. Who wrote in defence of the existing order of things was commonly regarded as a spy or a traitor. Hence, the assassination of Czarevitch, from the sympathies with the criminal which it called forth in all quarters, might well be regarded as a national act! The powers that were,” were still not opened: they persisted in delaying the period of political reforms, and rendering the task more difficult and more dangerous from day, and hour to hour. As political disaffection became general and assumed the offensive, the governments constrained themselves once more to fling themselves with angry malcontents on the truths of Revelation, and found a development of irreverence in the field of theology, or rather of Rationalism waxed more audacious than of yore: the professed its principles openly, in all directions, and

were suffered to do so without rebuke. Finally, a school of glaringly immoral and atheistic teaching developed itself, in the lights of "Young Germany," generally individuals of Israelitic origin, Heine, Börne, Gutzkow, and their "confrères," who gave the literary tone of the day.

For the last fifteen or twenty years, the symptoms of an impending revolutionary outbreak, both democratic and antichristian, have been too glaring to be mistaken. The quiet rationalism of a Neander had given way to the audacious denials of a Strauss, a Feuerbach, and a Bruno-Bauer: Goethe and Schiller were neglected as too conservative for the rising generation, and no literature was listened to which possessed not a directly political bearing. This explains the otherwise unaccountable neglect of so great a dramatist as Grillparzer, and the immense reputation achieved by such a man as Herwegh from the publication of a few republican verses. And yet, all this while, the sovereigns of Germany, (we are sorry to confess it,) as a body, persisted in closing their eyes: Austria derided the bare idea of the slightest concession; and Prussia, too, despite many fine words and vague promises, maintained the "statu quo," and, though no doubt animated by the best intentions, made no serious effort to redress evils, which were daily assuming a more fatal aspect. It is difficult to account for this infatuation. The obnoxious censorship, which had the effect of rendering it virtually impossible for a man of talent to espouse the conservative cause, was *known* to have no real power to prevent the publication of seditious works, and was yet obstinately retained. Forbidden poems were in all cases most widely circulated; even where a veil was thrown over the author's meaning to avoid the penalties of the law, that veil was transparent, and attracted the more fixed attention of the public to the design beneath it: mystery yielded only an additional charm, which barbed the arrow of sedition. Then, too, a vain attempt was made to imprison these literary ringleaders; but, the sense of the nation being too decidedly opposed to this, they were speedily liberated, to "renew their revels." What shall we say!—"Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat?"—Matters had perhaps proceeded too far in Germany, Christianity had sunk too low in popular estimation, Pantheism had obtained too firm a footing, for any permanent cure, save that of the furnace of affliction, which we now see prepared for that once mighty nation.

It is obviously too late to hope for the establishment of an aristocracy in the sense of an hereditary peerage, at least for years. Concentration of power in the one numerical majority, is held to be the only road to liberty. The only practical immediate remedy is a little sound military despotism.—Now are we

sanguine enough to believe, that any revival of orthodox Christianity can be looked for at once in the existing state of things. Rather do we expect the total separation of Church and State, both in Protestant and Roman Catholic countries, and the establishment of national heathenism, while the various Churches thus left to themselves may be expected to split into many more or less flagrantly rationalistic sects, following the example of the so-called "friends of light," Ronge and his followers, and the Neo-Catholics generally. We consider the aspect of affairs to be more directly alarming in Germany, than in any other state of Europe. France has still some Catholic instincts, some sympathies with law and order: the countries of the south, Spain and Portugal, enjoy comparative tranquillity: and Italy, though moved from one end to the other by the revolutionary mania, retains a certain external reverence for religion, and is not likely to yield this under any circumstances<sup>1</sup>. The states of the north, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, though not without many seeds of ill abiding in them, may be looked on as our allies in the conservation of authority and the spirit of reverence. The power of Russia, also, appears as yet unshaken. But Germany is rotten almost to the core, and cannot be saved, we fear, from the consuming fire of *civil anarchy*. For a time every man's hand must be against every man; social strife and virtual atheism must have their day. That there will be a reaction from all this, we doubt not, though we cannot presume to say in what it may consist. Despotism may erect itself on the ruins of democracy: the nations, tired of disorder and disgusted with faithlessness, may demand an Absolute Ruler, and find one of the most fearful order! On this subject we will not speak at present. Rather let us confine ourselves to the strict elucidation of our more immediate theme. Which are then the distinct causes of the downfall of German order? And further, do they exist among ourselves? and, if so, how are they to be combated?

First, then, we have seen that the causes of disorganization and decay among our German neighbours, were religious, social, and political. The dry and unsatisfactory nature of Lutheranism, the existence of an unpopular and practically useless aristocracy, combined with an oppressive and tedious bureaucratic sway, and the maintenance of an odious, yet insufficient right of censorship, together with the refusal of constitutional forms and privileges, all worked together to foment the spirit of rationalism, disaffection, and disorder, and have finally reaped an abundant harvest of

<sup>1</sup> The expulsion of Rome's bishop scarcely modifies our opinion. We still believe the majority of the lower classes to be sincere though superstitious Christians.

evil. Had Protestant Germany (for it is *this* which has taken the lead in the movement, and indeed endued the German national mind with its existing peculiarities), had Protestant Germany, then, been blessed with the hallowing influences of Apostolic Episcopacy, with that scheme of sacramental grace which *must* more or less fully attend its development; had some scope been afforded to poetic imaginations within the Protestant communions, imaginations liable to be deeply impressed with the awful sanctity of the Christian mysteries, but certain to be repelled and even disgusted by a bare course of dry catechetical instruction; *then*, in all probability, we should not have seen the theologians of German universities seeking for sources of excitement in rationalistic and neological controversies; we should not have found the greatest minds of Germany, such as Wieland, Lessing, Herder, and even Jean Paul and the mystic Novalis, imbued with a deep dislike and almost contempt for Christianity, as something harsh and cold, and crude, and only suited for the vulgar, and turning in search of a spiritual ideal, either to the Pagan world of old, or a species of mystic freemasonry, or a vague but transcendental philosophy; any where, in fact, but to "the fountains of living water" the visible Christian Church, which to them was only the symbol of barrenness, dulness, and weariness of spirit. Again, despite this fundamental deficiency in the religious provision made for the national wants, especially those of nobler spirits, (a deficiency which no mere worldly wisdom could have made good,) had an unpopular titular aristocracy, dependent on court favour, and wholly separated from the people, been converted into a real *peerage*, whilst its younger sons and inferior members had been practically employed and blended with the classes immediately beneath them, so as to bring about a solid union of all, and had at the same time a wise and moderate system of self-government, as understood by us, and evidenced in the cases of country magistrates and juries, taken the place by slow degrees of an overgrown and dull bureaucracy; *then*, it is possible that the late catastrophe might have been averted, and the German nation taught to value their social institutions. But though we have called these reforms social, it is obvious that they were not to be undertaken apart from the third class of changes, which we may regard as more directly *political*. Had, then, this establishment of houses of peers and partial abolition of bureaucracy gone hand in hand with the accordance of constitutional rights, as expressed by the calling together of representative chambers, together with uncontrolled freedom of the press, it should seem more than probable, that the German nation might have contented itself generally with a mixed form of government, in which monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, would all

have preserved their due influence, so as to maintain "the balance of power;" in which the equal liberties of all classes would have been combined with just gradations of dignity, useful to all, and offensive to none; in which, finally, no element of our unrivalled British Constitution would have been wanting, save the action of a visible branch of the Church Catholic, a body gifted with apostolic authority, and, as of necessity, enrolled in behalf of the cause of order and wise conservatism.

The original plague-spot in the constitution of the German realm, at and after the Reformation, was the inefficient working of the Church of God within it. In Roman Catholic Germany the Church was directly hostile to all mental development, and conservative of unmitigated despotism: in Protestant Germany, as we have seen, it was equally powerless to guide the national mind aright. Yet, if the German sovereigns with the elements of disorder and irreverence which the great need occasioned, had ventured at an earlier period on the social and political reforms above suggested, it is possible that the spirit of loyalty once awakened, the *Protestant* Churches at least, might have followed the impulse which the present sovereign of Prussia would gladly have communicated to them, and have sought that apostolic ordination at the hands of our Christian bishops, which would have introduced the elements wanting to give them vitality and stability, and have completed and confirmed a Catholic reaction from the absurdities and immoralities of rationalism.

But it is vain to speak of what *might have been*. We have to deal with that which *is*. And is the existing confirmation of evil, which we deplore in Germany, to be dreaded for *ourselves*? Do any of those causes exist among us, which we have found productive of such terrible results? Is rationalism gaining ground within our Church and nation? Is our aristocracy, by its very constitution, unpopular, or likely to become so? Do we enjoy, or not enjoy such an amount of rational freedom in our present system of popular representation as is sufficient to meet the just demands of the age?

Thanks be to Providence, we can answer the first question distinctly in the negative. Rationalism, despite the efforts of an inconsiderable school and the preachments of a certain class of quasi-philosophers, the Carlyles and Emersons of the day, is on the whole becoming more and more unacceptable to the English mind; is regarded with more and more of contempt, not only by our soundest thinkers, but by the vast majority of the educated classes. Not that it can be denied that a certain class of literary men, of whom (we would not speak invidiously, but all *modesty-muffledness* on such a subject would be worse than

treason to our sacred cause), of whom, then, such a writer as *Douglas Jerrold* may be cited as a fair sample, *do* strive to the best of their ability to unsettle the popular convictions on this score. They dare not openly assail the religion of Christ, for then they would find no readers; but professing their desire to attain an impracticable Ideal, they weigh Christianity, such as they behold it, with its own high standard of perfection, and lead men to understand that the Church which does not realize heaven on earth can be no Church at all. But, despite their efforts, they are ever and anon compelled, as against their will, to do homage to a religion which they assail in its external institutions; to acknowledge the beauty of holiness, and the excellence of prayer and praise. Rarely do we find them carping at Scripture texts or Scripture miracles. Little of the German rationalistic tone will be discovered in their lucubrations; scarcely ever do they presume, like every wretched German scribbler of the day, to treat Christianity as a thing beneath them, an effete and valueless superstition. A Carlyle, indeed, may teach that power is virtue, and call on men to worship success, under whatever form, in Moses or Mahomet, in mediæval superstition or puritan sanctimony: but his unbelief is decently veiled beneath a garniture of high-sounding devotional expressions; which to English ears may indeed appear "profane," but which to German rationalists would be simply "absurd!" An Emerson may go farther, and in a style of mystic blasphemy (the phrase is not too strong) inform us, that man is God, that Christ is only to be honoured in as far as He recognized and proclaimed this truth; that all prayer, therefore, is no better than idolatry as involving "dualism," or the belief that there is a God above man, whilst man is simply God himself:—but his warmest admirers do not dare to allude to these follies in their commendations, and call our attention simply to his recognition of the goodness residing in humanity, and the beauties of external nature. We may take occasion, here, to observe, that Emerson is the most distinct representative in the English tongue of that religion of humanitarianism, or the deification of humanity, which Professor Strauss coolly proposed in his last pamphlet to the Protestants and Roman Catholics of Germany, as a substitute for their present creeds, and the healer of all national divisions. But neither Douglas Jerrold (whom, despite his real humour and occasional kind-heartedness, we must include in this category of evil-workers), nor Carlyle, nor Emerson, nor any of their followers, are likely to effect a serious injury to our national faith, as long as that "Pillar of the truth" is maintained among us, known as

the Church Establishment, the most nobly conservative element of our polity.

The Church of England in her wise moderation, encouraging the rightful use of this world, and the development of intellectual power, has exercised the most potent and beneficial influence over the literature of our country, which as a whole is infinitely the most Christian, and consequently the most moral of modern Europe. From Spenser and Shakspeare downwards, with few exceptions, our great bards have been enrolled under the banners of Christianity. In the evil age of licence which succeeded the excesses of puritanic asceticism, even the genius of Dryden was partially led astray, plunged in the quagmire of licentiousness, and finally driven for refuge to the seeming "fair garden" of Romanism, the trees of which "drop poison from their topmost boughs;" but even *he* was a Christian, and has left his manly and vigorous "Religio Laici," and his magnificent version of "Veni Creator Spiritus," (which Goethe calls "Ein Appel aus Genie,") to bear witness to his religious sincerity. Pope, in a cold and barren age, externally a Romanist, and, therefore, not under the direct influence of the Church, was still kept within the bounds of decent reverence, and despite his lifelong halting betwixt two opinions, has hymned some Christian strains, and never insulted the Faith. At a later period, Byron and Shelley can alone be quoted amongst our greater poets as opposed to Christianity; and the former of *these*, even, denied the imputation, and expressed his trembling hope on his death-bed that he might not be cast away; whilst many of his purer strains, such as "The Prisoner of Chillon," and even "The Dream," owe their highest beauty to the indirect influence of Christian sentiment. But, on the other side, what a list of great and worthy names may be enumerated, all more or less directly imbued with the spirit of Catholic reverence and Scripture truth! Let it suffice to name Southey, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, Moore even, in his later works, Crabbe, Burns, Cowper, and Milman: we only pause here, because an enumeration of this nature is needless. In a word, our poetic literature, speaking generally, not only recognizes Christianity as an undoubted objective truth, but strives even to realize it in every subjective form, and is therefore a mighty bulwark to the faith of our nation; the existence of which we are driven to attribute, mainly, to the special influences of the English Church. It has been said, and with justice, that the *songs* of a nation are the most direct criterion and guide of its popular belief: but an examination into every other branch of our national literature would conduct us to a similar result. Our greatest philosophers,



our noblest men of science, even our writers of fiction, have been for the more part direct and avowed adherents to Christianity.

We know well that there is a reverse side to this flattering picture; and that it is only by contrast with foreign delinquency that our native virtue can shine so bright: but our present concern is to ascertain and register general truths, and draw results from them; not directly to moralize on our national corruptions and short comings. We repeat, then, the Church of England has kept alive the spirit of faith within this realm, and consequently of reverence to lawful authority. But, let our statesmen look to it! In these perilous days, when the thrones of earth are shaking, when all first truths are questioned, when infidelity and democratic lawlessness seem too likely to triumph throughout the continent of Europe, it will not do for us to foster any seeds of irreverence to the Church of Christ. Above all, no attempt must be made to degrade her in the eyes of the nation to the position of a mere servile minister to the state; or she will lose all her power for political and moral good, and, becoming unpopular in herself, nay, odious, make the cause of Religion unpopular as well. This is no needless caution. Not only have churchmen to complain of perverse ministerial nominations to high offices in the Church, and the indecent attempt to deny the latter any power of protesting against a ministerial error; not only has a deaf ear been turned to all solicitations for the re-awakening of Convocation, a desideratum, however, which cannot, from the nature of things, be much longer delayed; but a tone of flippancy amounting to direct insult has been constantly adopted by the chief ministers of the Crown, in treating of the Church's dearest rights; it has been declared, for instance, that the Government would henceforth conduct the administration of continental and other foreign chaplaincies without any reference to English bishops, and a positive tendency has been displayed to treat the Church as a respectable but somewhat antiquated state functionary, which has no right to have any will of its own. If Lord Palmerston be imprudently suffered by his colleagues to carry out his rash designs, and degrade the Church in the estimation of the nation generally, he and they may be assured, that the storm will burst ere long! a storm, which will end,—contrary, perhaps, to the desires of its first originators,—in the separation of Church and State, and the consequent ruin of the realm!

It is but too evident that a Romanising, and even an orthodox, but impatient and thoughtless body, *within* the Church, desire to effect this consummation, which many of the dissenters also



ardently long for. The Church may bear much. The bishops and high dignitaries have obviously worldly interests to consult, which would naturally attach them to the State; but, if a certain boundary of State-despotism be overpassed, if it be sought to establish permanently, and to *prove*, that the Church is the mere tool and slave of the State, the whole of the clergy may be expected to rise, almost as one man, and demand *that separation*, for which their enemies have so long clamoured; and, in such an event, the bishops, though even against their wills, would be compelled to yield to the popular stream! Here, then, is one of our most pressing dangers; for of this we may be well assured, infidelity and irreverence would receive a direct and most powerful impulse from the heathenizing of the State. Christianity, being no longer received as a *certain* truth, would cease to permeate all our institutions. That sanctity which the State still derives from its alliance with the Church, and which is felt even by those dissenters and avowed infidels who least suspect its source, would wholly pass away. The crown would no longer be held by Divine right. An impulse, in fine, would be given to destructive liberalism and irreverence, which would soon prove fatal to our constitution. This is no vague warning. We cannot linger over the theme; but we once more solemnly assure the leading politicians of the day, and more especially the existing Ministry, that the State must honour and respect the Church, if it would preserve the public alliance with it, and that, without that alliance, it cannot resist the evil tendencies of the age.

But we proceed. Are we burthened with a useless and unpopular aristocracy? Far from it; the British peerage is one of the highest glories of the nation; it is founded on the first principles of nature and policy, and, as long as it is preserved in its present form, must prove one of the most effectual barriers to anarchy and disorder. It is not fenced off like various foreign nobilities, and more especially the German, from the sympathies of other classes. It is fortunately restricted in its numbers to those possessed, for the more part, of vast landed estates, or otherwise holding an important vested interest in their country's welfare. Its younger members constantly enter the ranks of the gentry, where they render themselves directly useful to their fellow-countrymen, and intermarry with members of other ranks. It is frequently recruited, through the army, the bar, or, (as in the case of Lord Ashburton,) even by high commercial greatness, from the other classes of the commonwealth. It stands between the crown and the commons, directly, indeed, representing the aristocracy, but *indirectly representing all*, as do the other branches of national legislature. The wise constitution of things

can never be too highly lauded, which renders it next to impossible to declare of any educated individual, whether he is or is not noble. Arms are in heraldry considered the unerring signet of nobility, but these appear conceded to all who occupy a certain position in society. The convenient title of "Esquire" is shared by the descendants of peers and representatives of the oldest and noblest families in Europe with merchants, and manufacturers, and even retired shopkeepers. The so-called landed gentry are of inestimable value, together with the baronetage, as supplying the needful link betwixt the peerage and the lower ranks. By the arrangement thus attained, no man's pride is wounded; the privilege of gentility is shared by all the educated; no exclusive barrier is raised betwixt the titled and the untitled; and it is, in fact, impossible to say, where titles commence, and where they end.

There are all the elements of social stability in such an order of things. At this very period, despite the triumphs of the democratic spirit elsewhere, no aversion to our peerage, *as such*, exists, in any considerable party, not even the most innovating, within this mighty empire. On this point, then, we might appear secure. But it is not so. Certain political changes, already loudly clamoured for, would, if conceded, destroy the balance of power, and thus bring about the overthrow of our undoubtedly most noble aristocracy. Up to the present period, neither branch of the legislature (neither Crown, Lords, nor Commons) directly represents the numerical majority of the nation; all have their deep-rooted sources of moral influence, which are on the whole fairly balanced; and thus a just equilibrium is maintained; not the impracticable equilibrium denounced by De Lamartine as identical with stagnation, but a changing balance, preponderating by turns in various directions, but never altogether overthrown. But were household suffrage to become the law of the land, the House of Commons would thenceforth directly represent a vast numerical majority, and, by an almost necessary consequence, power would be centralized in, and finally monopolized by, it. Thus the prevailing taste or fancy of the moment, whatever that might be, would be almost secure of triumph, and the nation would lose true liberty in the very power of carrying all its conceptions into immediate effect.

It is our business here, in this sweeping summary of our national dangers, rather to indicate great truths, than logically to work them out in all their bearings; but it appears to us abundantly evident, that the House of Lords would have little real power to oppose the *direct* manifestation of the nation's will, or rather of the will of the majority, who, though they might by

no means morally represent the true nation, would have the power of making laws that might bind that nation for ever. Universal suffrage, a far more honest and self-consistent measure than the scheme of Messrs. Cobden and Bright, would attain the same result, by vesting the real authority in one single branch of the legislature. That branch which directly and exclusively represented the popular will would soon be found to be all-powerful. Vote by ballot would, of course, be a step in the same direction. As Lord John Russell has wisely remarked, it would be impossible to establish a system of secret voting without yielding the right of suffrage to all men; for, at present, the suffrage is a high and honourable *trust*, and is only to be vindicated on its present foundation as such; it must therefore be acted up to, in the light of day, not discharged beneath the mantle of privacy, and for any possible private or dishonourable purpose. We need not urge here the more common but equally unanswerable argument against the ballot, "That it would be a direct premium on falsehood; as none but the liar and the rogue could profit by it; he, namely, who would vote one way, and affirm that he had voted the other, or who lived a life of perpetual mystification." For the present, we are mainly anxious to establish this great fact, that all who value their country's constitution, in its mingled developments of aristocracy, democracy, and royalty; who believe power when settled in one individual, or one majority, to be necessarily despotic, and consequently evil; and who are, therefore, resolved to uphold that balance of power, which a Montesquieu and a De Lolme have commended as the highest goal of political perfectibility, which the sages of all ages have desired, and which our country has now so long enjoyed; that all these true conservatives, and yet wise progressives, in as far as the social evils of our working-classes are concerned, must resolutely and strongly combine against that false liberal movement, which would tend to centralize power in one branch of the legislature, and so overthrow the equilibrium of the State. This is, perhaps, the most immediately practical danger of the day, and must therefore be recognized and guarded against as such.

The third great danger to our State and Constitution may be discovered in the wrongs and miseries of the working-classes, which can be here but briefly treated of. Our defective political economy has wrought much mischief. Unrestricted competition has been supposed to be the grand panacea for all evils. The aim of our legislature has been cheapness, at whatever cost, and not true plenty. Instead of endeavouring to increase our produce, and more especially our agricultural produce, "the sinews of the State," to a just ratio with our population, we have been

led astray by the fatal error that "population must of necessity exceed production," and that it is our main duty to retard the advance of the former. Yet we have seen in Ireland, that misery will not effect this desired result: poverty brutalizes and frees from moral influences. Imprudent early marriages are the almost universal consequence. It is obvious, without entering on the consideration of the many pressing subjects which present themselves, that statesmen, having to deal with an enormous practical evil, *the excess of population over production*, should apply themselves to increase *the latter* to the utmost possible extent; and this, *not* by striving to develop our manufacturing and artificial powers of produce, at least not primarily, *but* by promoting the cultivation of the soil to the extent, if needs be, of millions of acres, both at home and in our colonies! Capital always exists for *reproductive purposes*: and what could be so reproductive, as its outlay for the creation of *substantial national wealth*, such as might render life a blessing to the working-classes? There are, no doubt, great difficulties to the attainment of this end; but our views are not Utopian. The sources of wealth *exist*, and they may be wrought out to far more purpose than the mines of Golconda ever were. But, once more, our object here is not so much to provide a distinct remedy for existing ills, as to recognize the causes of danger, and prepare men's minds to grapple with them: and it is certain, that one of the most serious of these causes is the state of our working-classes. We speak broadly and generally, and by no means wish to imply that the English labourer is ill-fed, ill-clothed, or ill-provided for, if tested by the continental standard. The very contrary is the case. But far more may be done, than is done; and, *as it may be, must be!* The English people are disposed to loyalty. They are conscious that they are in the possession of all the blessings of political and social freedom. Any strong desire for the suffrage is confined to a certain class of political agitators. But men are generally impressed with the conviction, that it resides within the power of government, and is its consequent duty, to amend their lot. Attain this one end, and the last apparent cause of danger to our country's institutions will be forthwith swept away. And let it not be supposed that these political comments on home affairs are naturally unconnected with our immediate theme, the state of "the German mind:" this is only of immediate and practical consequence to us as bearing on our own. We wish not only to satisfy the curiosity of those who may wonder at the prevalence of infidel and democratic notions among our German brethren, though this curiosity *should be* gratified,—but to apply and utilize

our experience, by recurring to our home standard, and realizing its great excellencies and possible deficiencies.

The example of Germany, then, is mainly useful to us, as teaching us to appreciate the institutions we possess, and which that country stood in so great need of; a wisely balanced representative constitution, a popular aristocracy, and a Catholic State Church; consequently warning us, as thinkers, citizens, and statesmen, against any tampering with that constitution, any disrespect for that aristocracy, or any neglect of that Church, or attempt to underrate her just claims and treat her as a mere State-lackey. The spirit of reverence would soon fail, if her hallowing influence were withdrawn from our political institutions; royalty and aristocracy would lose much, if not all, of their beauty and value in popular estimation; and democratic changes would soon be effected in the third branch of the legislature, which would finally centralize indisputable supremacy in that body, and thus give a death-blow to freedom.

One more lesson we learn from German, as from French, "leveling of religious truth with falsehood." These countries endowed various Churches, or religious bodies, *alike* or *equally*:—further, Christianity was not their common statute law, not treated as the basis of all politics. Let us beware of the light of incendiarism this foreign recklessness has kindled,—or of any kindred danger! Let us not stoop to fire our torch at the same volcano, which may slumber in seeming quiet! Let us not endow *two Churches at once*; thus practically professing, that to this nation truth is truth no longer. The false steps we have made in this direction, whatever they be, let us retrace; and at whatever sacrifice. Sternly let us resist all future encroachments of this foreign faithlessness. *Never be Rome's usurping Church endowed within these Sister Isles!* And—as pregnant with danger is the other quasi-liberal measure we are urged to, in emulation of foreign wisdom; to unchristianize our legislature, our state, our nation; to proclaim that for legislative purposes we are no longer "under Christ," to admit the Jew to our Houses of Parliament. Let us not be told by faint well-wishers, they would aid us if we took firmer ground, if we could with any hope of success urge a more definite protest on our representatives. "On the faith of a Christian!" "How vague is this!" urges well-intentioned weakness. We reply, it suffices for all practical ends. We *could* not make the Church's creeds requisite for admission: could not even, perhaps, with justice, admit the Quaker and exclude the Arian. Where then should we stop? We stop within that line, which attests, that Britain receives the Christian faith as truth absolute, not proble-

matrical, and which imposes silence on the secret infidel who perjure's himself for ambition's gain. More we ask not, need not: but *this is ALL*. Once again, then, solemnly we charge our readers, "Seize not with monstrous folly the very hour of foreign downfall, to emulate its *causes*." Members of the House of Commons, you, in particular, perform your duty; awake to your country's danger; and show Europe that Britain will not be dragged a helpless self-doomed victim in her wake! But *you, Peers*, if indeed the folly, or weakness, or wickedness of others constrains you to perform your duty, (which we will not believe), then flinch not, but earn, by firmness in this hour of trial, the grateful thanks of children's children! We have spoken warmly; some will think too warmly: let us return to a more sober mood, lest we be stigmatized by the common-place as dreamers. We must not lose sight of our immediate theme.

German literature, then, has of late begun to exercise no inconsiderable influence over ourselves. Let us not be dragged into the abyss after our Teutonic friends and brethren: but let us rather extend the helping hand to them, and, in Heaven's good time, assist in upraising them on a more solid foundation! The German mind is a strange mixture of strength and weakness. With little of positive wisdom, it is capable of profound thought. Its tendencies are to the mystic and ideal, but, like "Euphorion" in "Goethe's Faust," it has sought to soar so high above the practical foundations of this earth, that it has lost itself in the clouds, and finally fallen as a dead weight into the stony pit of doubt and anarchy. As yet, the nobler elements of the German intellect have been almost ever manifested in direct opposition to the Christian Revelation. But may we not trust, that sooner or later, when the bottom of the abyss has been reached, a gradual reaction must ensue? that by slow and toilsome efforts, perhaps, yet in some sort and some way, the German mind will soar from its dungeon of rationalistic darkness? Is it not to be expected, that some gifted individual may yet arise (for by individuals, under God, are nations lost and saved), who may possess the power of Goethe without his indifferentism and egotism; the zeal and earnestness of Schiller, without his infidelity; the devotional energy of the mystic Werner, without his wild rashness and inconsistency; the more tempered wisdom of a Schlegel, without those Romeward tendencies or predilections which rendered his highest efforts barren and almost mischievous; some mighty genius, in fine, who will conjure up a train of noble spirits to follow in his train, and who will teach the German nation practically, that the highest intellects may bow to the claims of Christianity, and that genius is never so worthily employed as when hymning

the praises of the Christians' God! But whether this be so or not, let us see that our part be duly performed; that we maintain intact our national religion and freedom, though the whole of the rest of Europe be immersed in the vortex of infidel democracy.

It may be, that the evils which we now see on the Continent may prove only "the beginning of troubles." The fiat may have gone forth, that "for a time and times and half-a-time," in the mystic language of Scripture, the powers of evil should prevail. We feel that in treating of so solemn a theme, the true philosopher and statesman will applaud us, for recalling the cheering promise: "When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a banner against him." Soberly and practically we hold and affirm, that the salvation of Europe, morally speaking, the preservation of law, order, and authority throughout the world, will depend on the stand we are enabled to make within this British Empire. The issues of the hour are great: greater perhaps than they have been for centuries. Mere state conservatism will not suffice us. If we would not be vanquished, the spirit of enthusiastic zeal for right must blend with that of wisdom in our councils. Let us then develop the Church's lawful powers, increase her bishops, and reawaken, if needful, her convocation; warring alike against the superstitions of Romanism and the threatening influences of infidelity. Let us maintain the great institutions of our country, the exclusively Christian character of our legislature, and, more especially, our peerage, as one of the main barriers against the ingress of democratic lawlessness. Let us endeavour by every means in our power to better the condition of the working-classes, and render them contented citizens of the state! Finally, let us not work only for ourselves. Let us not seek to isolate our country from the rest of Europe. Let us not leave foreign states without the aid of our sympathy, our earnest counsels, and our warnings; as though we were not well assured of the justice of our own cause, and shrunk from controversy with democratic and infidel licence. Let us tell Germany, that Britain's heart is still with her in the depth of her distress; that we shame not to pray for her, believing the power of God to transcend all human ability; that we regard her pseudo-philosophy and her false humanitarianism with Christian pity and regret. Far be the spirit of boasting, of confidence, and self-assertion from our hearts and lips! What we are, we are through the grace of Heaven alone. With the favourite hero of our greatest bard, Shakspeare's "Henry the Fifth," we recognize "God's hand, not ours," in all our moral and material triumphs. Nevertheless false modesty must not stay us from reminding the fallen German race, that our national intellect is clearer and more practical than

; and that *that* Christianity is to us a Divine reality, which  
rs to them a fiction; *that* freedom a noble and glorious pos-  
n, which they would sacrifice to democratic lawlessness! It  
e that this moral attitude of strength, this preservation of  
, amidst the crumbling ruins of disorganized society, will  
en the nations, and Germany the first, (which is intellectually  
morally most near akin to us, despite its present fall,) to a  
of their errors and consequent degradation. If we *must* fight  
attle singly, so be it! We are prepared, if needful, to  
ain the rightful cause against the world. But the north, at  
may learn to rally round us, if we maintain our due position  
coming years; and through our instrumentality may the  
renovation be effected, which sages of all kindred and all  
have prophecied and ardently desired; which Scripture has  
t us to expect; and which may develop the noblest powers of  
nity, in true and universal freedom, under the abiding influ-  
of Heaven.

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**ART. VII.**—*Hints on the Art of Catechising; being a Posthumous Work by Archdeacon Bather. Edited by his Widow.* London: Rivingtons, 1848.

EVERYBODY has heard of a Charge which the late excellent Archdeacon of Salop delivered, in the year 1835, on the subject of *Catechising*. The interest by it excited, and the stimulus thereby given to the work of education, led to a determination on the Archdeacon's part, to give to the world a further development of his method, illustrated by means of specimens. This work he commenced shortly before his decease, but was unable to accomplish it. The volume before us consists of the former Charge, and of the observations which the Archdeacon had thrown together in pursuance of his plan, and which his Widow has justly deemed it right to publish, though in an "unrevised and unfinished state." Unrevised as they are, they are better written than much which comes before us, and will be found to contain hints little thought of by many of the clergy, and such as will not fail to commend themselves to all.

Perhaps we cannot do better, in order to draw attention to the book, than to copy out the table of contents. The work is divided into two parts; the second treats of "the Church Catechism," portion by portion. The first is entitled "Hints on Catechising, with some Examples and Illustrations," and is thus distributed:

- "SECTION I.—The first object to be aimed at by the Catechist.
- SECTION II.—Division and Subdivision.
- SECTION III.—Showing how to put questions to help and lead.
- SECTION IV.—Showing how the Catechist may turn to account the blunders which the pupils make in their answers.
- SECTION V.—On Examination by Questioning.
- SECTION VI.—On Examination in the Church.
- SECTION VII.—On Illustration by Fables or Anecdotes."

To some minds, possibly, there may appear but little need to say so much on such a simple subject—just as by others the whole matter may be deemed mere trifling. But we would tell such persons, that after some years of examination, we know no part of a clergyman's duty—visiting the sick, perhaps, excepted—more necessary, more beneficial, or more difficult; *a boy may preach, but it needs a man to catechise*, is a most true, but forgotten, sentence. It is a common mistake, that of imagining, that because a thing is initiatory, it is therefore unimportant; because it is

le, it may therefore be accomplished without trouble. A sentiment declares, that its very simplicity is at once the source of difficulty and the proof of skill; the very fact of its story character is that which stamps it with importance. The plan and the concrete for the foundation are of even more importance, and frequently of greater difficulty, than the superstructure raised thereon. What is the education of youth, but the foundation for the studies and pursuits of after-life? Is it of great importance, or of small difficulty? But surely this very art of catechising is none other than the foundation of the education of youth; the foundation of the foundation; the preparation which leads to receive the after-layers, by which the *preacher* seeks to build up his hearers in their most holy faith. Ask any who have really thought on these matters, whether the result of much labour and thought and prayer be not oftentimes thrown away? Yes, it is notorious that such is the case: the clergy all complain of it. Which of them is there but has observed, while preaching, wandering eye, the vacant countenance of many, well disposed to receive the word of life? Which of them is there, —as he walked home after his day's duties, tired with his labours, mortified at their evident results—which of them but has murmured with himself, “Ah, why is this? I have laboured, I have read, I have thought, I have written plainly, I have spoken simply; why all in vain? Has not my lot fallen upon ground more barren than commonly sterile?” Not so, would be our reply. It results simply from this, that “we have of late years too much neglected to *begin at the beginning*. The primitive order of *catechising* has fallen into too general disuse; and ‘sermons,’ to use in a but little qualification the plain words of an old writer, ‘can do no good upon an uncatechised congregation.’ In order to secure efficiency to our efficiency as religious instructors, this very necessary and ancient practice must be revived.”

nor let it be supposed that catechising was meant merely for the poor. We would press upon the attention of all who are in the ministry, that it is fully as needful for the rich. Expensive as their education, primed as they are with the knowledge of many things, in that of divinity they are miserably deficient. We have often been astonished to find how completely a preacher's influence has been thrown away upon them; how utterly unable the bulk of even what are called “fashionable” congregations are to follow an argument, or apprehend the real drift of a sermon. It would be inexplicable, were it not for the fact that *they have never been catechised*. You are speaking in a foreign language to them, of which they understand but a few words here and there perfectly. You are taking for granted (as in preaching you

must take for granted) an amount of preparatory knowledge—knowledge of “first principles,” such as they do not possess. You are feeding them with “strong meat,” without having prepared their stomachs by that which is easier of digestion. “Yet,” says Hooker, “with religion it fareth as with other sciences, the first delivery of the elements thereof must be framed according to the weak and slender capacity of young beginners.”

Here then is the first advantage of catechising, that we hereby teach those fundamental principles which our hearers will never have subsequent opportunity of learning, and the knowledge of which is indispensable to enable them to profit by even the plainest sermons men can preach. For there is this essential difference between preaching and catechising—that in the one you are obliged to enter into minutiae, which in the other you are equally obliged to pretermit.

And this leads us to note the second advantage of the practice we are advocating, that in catechising we can do that which by preaching we cannot do. A good sermon may be compared to an extended epigram: it has unity and it has point. It is a discourse written to set forth one particular subject of Christian imitation; this is the point aimed at, and to this the whole discourse with a oneness of purpose must tend. To introduce other subjects is to break the thread, to distract the attention. To stop to explain first principles, or to satisfy difficulties which occur by the way, were to interrupt the unity and to fritter away the force. We think it is Mr. Greasley, in his treatise on preaching, who aptly compares a sermon to Raphael's cartoon of St. Paul preaching at Athens: however various the groups, still all parts are kept in such perfect and subdued harmony, that they are but so many rays tending, with wondrous unity, to illustrate the one prominent figure of the Apostle; and look at it where you will, still you see only St. Paul preaching at Athens. But in catechising, the very reverse of this obtains. *There* it is a canon, never stay long on any one point. Explain, as much as you will. Hover from flower to flower. Rather take an opportunity of returning to some point, than run the risk of wearying by working at it too long at a time. A few judicious words at the end will, if necessary, serve to unite the whole; and for this reason, that a catechetical lecture, to be useful, must be exceedingly elementary and very short.

Another argument in proof of the advantage of the catechetical over the oratorical mode of instruction, is its power to fix the attention. You may speak to people for ever, but nothing will either compel or arrest their attention; you may quote Scripture, but they will be none the wiser there is no time, while the

er is going forward, for his hearers to search out the texts, ps there is no inclination, and remember them with once ig they cannot. But let them know that each of them may led on for an answer at the next moment, and it is obvious n nine cases out of ten a sufficient stimulus will be given to e attention of the pupils. And once succeed in fixing their ion by such means, and you have accomplished that which haps the most useful of all the results of catechising—you ompelled them *to think*. On this point Archdeacon Bather's are admirable :

he sermon was blameless, but there was no constraint upon them : their thoughts to it. But just here is the catechist's advantage ; thod forces the child to think. Some little effort and application of s required of him—is actually extorted from him every moment. d of making a speech, the instructor has put a question ; perhaps got no answer, or a wrong answer, but he is not beating the air, s pains are not thrown away ; if he has but shown his pupil that ing has been asked of him, to which he can render no reply, at e has arrested his attention, and probably excited his curiosity, nvinced him moreover of his ignorance, and made him perceive what place and instance he needs information ; and therefore if not made a proselyte, he has got a hearer, and from so small a ing, greater things are soon to follow. A few questions more e pupil's mind nearer and nearer to the point to which the in- r desires to bring him, till his eye actually catches it, and he sees himself, perceives that he has gone a step, and has ground to upon in reaching further ; and because he had something to do ke his advantage of his teacher's hint, and has himself delivered ult of his own reflections, he has discovered that he is capable of ing, and his interest is excited and his mind gladdened, as the t gain of application and effort comes to him."—pp. xxxii, xxxiii.

s is perfectly true. The interest which is capable of being d in their young minds by a judicious teacher, is quite sing to those who are used to contemplate them merely as headed youngsters, fit for nothing better than bird-tending, noisy urchins playing at pitch-farthing in the streets. And e know that, once manage to keep up this interest, the st part of the work is done—that is, for the present ; and familiarity with Scripture is induced, that your subsequent ing will tell upon him with tenfold effect in after-years. re is one argument more which we cannot refrain from g at in favour of the public catechising of the young, as the h directs us all to do. There are, we apprehend, none of our l brethren but will readily acknowledge the difficulty which n felt in the course of preaching, not merely as to *when*, but

as to how to bring forward at all certain subjects, which ministerial faithfulness tells them must not be passed over in unbroken silence, but which, nevertheless, ministerial prudence whispers must be most cautiously and lightly alluded to, lest more harm be done by touching than omitting them. The source of the difficulty is twofold. Certain grown members of your congregation (it matters not whether many or few) are living in some sin,—take, for example, dissent. They are known to be so, and they know that you are aware of it. Yet if you preach on this subject, the chances are ten to one that, to a man, they take offence. “He preached at me,” is the immediate cry; “I may be led, but I can’t be driven.” And the consequence is, they not only confirm themselves more obstinately in that particular sin, but their hearts are hardened against your preaching in general; if, indeed, they do not leave your ministry and the Church altogether. This, then, is one source of the difficulty—the *unwillingness of men to be told of their faults*. Coupled with this is their *unwillingness to have their prejudices disturbed*. Yet so utterly ignorant of first principles are the bulk of our hearers, especially on all subjects connected with Church polity, that—were they never so amenable to the correction of their faults—the preacher can scarcely hope by the plainest statements (perhaps the plainest, the more hopeless) to do more than offend their prejudices. There is no ground on which their mind can take its stand, to judge of the reasonableness and truth of what is advanced. Is it not, then, obvious that *here*—in public catechising—we have the opportunity ready made to our hands for teaching many home truths which our adult congregation would swallow in no other way! We instil them drop by drop. We teach them under the pretence of teaching others; and we teach *them* too by such infinitesimal doses of first principles—which their minds will after a while apply in spite of themselves,—that we do not risk offending their prejudices. It is a successful course of moral homoeopathy. They do not perceive what you are driving at, and by and by are surprised into acquiescence.

As the Archdeacon says:

“Thus all the people of your charge will have the benefit of an easy and familiar method: you will have an opportunity you much want of instilling instruction, drop by drop, into ignorant adults as well as into ignorant children; and you will be enabled, with almost equal ease and advantage, to arrest and fix *their* attention. For next to being asked a question ourselves, nothing awakens and interests us more than hearing others questioned. There will be curiosity to catch the child’s reply. A thought can scarcely fail to cross the listener how he should reply himself, or whether he could reply. Many are glad to get infor-

information without the risk of exposing present ignorance; and when the information is watched and waited for, it is retained. Most people take pleasure in contemplating the efforts of children; and here the auditory is composed of persons who regard the very children before them with a peculiar solicitude."—p. xl.

The following passage, selected from the body of the work, will serve to give some little illustration of what we have said above, and will, at the same time, afford an example of the admirable manner in which this accomplished catechist (now gone to reap the reward of his labours) was wont to press the juices out of the kernel which the Church Catechism placed in his hand. He is lecturing on the baptismal privileges, as set forth in the reply to the second question.

"What is the second privilege? The being made the child of God.—What have you told me Christ is to God? His Son.—In what relation, then, do those who are members of Christ stand to God? In that of children: 'For,' says the Scripture, 'ye are all children of God by faith in Christ Jesus.'—How, then, must we henceforth regard God? As a father.—And how must we behave to Him? As children.—I suppose, then, He will treat us as such. Does a loving father keep his dear child at a distance? No: he delights to have him come to him, without fear or doubting, for every thing he wants.—What does St. Paul say to the Galatians about that? 'Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.'—So you may come and pray to God in hope. What words hath your Saviour put into your mouth to encourage you to this? 'When ye pray, say, Our Father.'—What does a father mean to give his son in the end? A good inheritance.—But does he give it him immediately? No.—Why not? Because he is not fit to be trusted with it.—Then what good thing does he give him first? A good education.—And in order to that, whom does he put him under? Tutors and governors.—Has God done so by you? Yes.—Who stands in God's place over you from your birth? My parents.—And for whose sake must you obey them? God's sake.—They may commit their authority to somebody else. To whom, in fact, have they committed it? To the schoolmaster.—Then, for whose sake must you obey him? First, for my parents'; and ultimately, for God's.—Has not God established a visible society upon earth, in which He has appointed pastors and teachers, for the work of the ministry? Yes.—What do you call this society? The Church.—Then you must look up to the pastors and teachers of the Church to be trained. Now suppose you shall have been trained properly, what does St. Paul say, you will be meet, or fit for? To be partakers 'of the inheritance of the saints.'"—p. 77.

Considering the peculiar circumstances under which the work before us has been composed and published, we feel unwilling to

look otherwise than most tenderly at it. Nevertheless we feel bound to caution those who may be inclined to make use of it, not to allow the author's examples, more especially the Second Part, which relates to the Church Catechism itself, to serve for *more than examples*; not to allow any portion to supersede the efforts of their own mental powers. It was never intended by its reverend author for this; but merely as a guide, a direction at first. It is much too meagre in most points to serve as more. We may particularly instance the part relating to "the pomps and vanities of this wicked world," and the duties to God and our neighbour:—two portions on which we have heard a skilful catechist dilate with much advantage.

But in truth, we would fain warn our readers that books of any sort, however elaborate, can be no more than mere occasional helps and lights. He will never make a good catechist—nay, he will make but a sorry one, who *depends* upon a certain line of questioning which he may have prepared beforehand. To prepare oneself is indeed necessary, and with the greatest pains; and short notes, consisting of *leading* questions and Scripture references, with any particular point capable of illustration here and there, may be useful, if not quite necessary, to assist the memory of the catechist, and prevent his rambling too far from the chief matter in hand. But beyond this let him not go. He must be ready to seize on any opportunity, which a blundering or an unexpected answer will afford. He must have his wits constantly about him; he must remain cool, collected, and patient; above all, he must never lose his temper, or show that he is otherwise than interested himself in what he would beget an interest in others for. Nor, lastly, should he ever suffer himself to forget that he is not a hired master in his school, but a clergyman training his little flock in church.

Perhaps, too, we may be pardoned, if we venture to advise that the catechetical lecture in the church shall never exceed *one quarter of an hour*: experience has proved the sufficiency of these limits on several accounts. It must be an uncommonly apt class of catechumens, and an uncommonly skilful catechist, that can occupy a longer time, at once, than this to advantage. Besides, this will remove a difficulty which many clergy have stated to us, as to the carrying out the direction of the rubric. There are not a few parishes in which, either from the people having become habituated to an afternoon sermon, or from local causes it may be deemed inexpedient to abolish this; and the difficulty is, how to preach the sermon and catechise besides, for fear of wearying the minds of the auditory. Now if the catechising be made to follow the second lesson, and the sermon to succeed to the rest of the

prayers, and neither of them be allowed, as a general rule, to exceed a quarter of an hour, we apprehend that the difficulty will vanish: the time allotted to instruction—whether by *catechesis* or by *prædicatio*, will not exceed the half hour; and being broken into two portions, and diversified in its manner, will not tire either the hearers or the teacher, where a set half hour of continuous declamation infallibly would. At least, we have seen something of this sort tried with apparently good effect.

To conclude, charged with difficulty as the catechising openly in the church confessedly is in most cases, and enhanced as this may be from local causes in other cases, we would earnestly urge our brethren to think long and deeply before they determine to relinquish it. The traveller in Surrey will see many an acre of productive ground, which once was nothing but a seemingly hopeless common; so poor and so stony is the soil. And who shall sit down with folded arms, and declare that his lot has been cast in so unpromising a parish, that nothing save disappointment can result from perseverance, pains, and prayer? Archdeacon Bather's was certainly one of those spots which we are used to think not particularly favourable for great moral or intellectual results: to us then his experience may afford some encouragement. Let us hear it:—

“I was,” he writes, “inducted in 1804 to the living which I now hold. I set to my work at once, and preached as plainly and as well as I knew how, and I should be sorry to think that no good came of it. Still, however, I could not but see, that with respect to the elder part of my congregation, talk as I would, I could not talk it into them. Now and then I might say a thing would strike them, but as to the general argument of my discourse, it was all thrown away. My old lesson in catechising came into my mind [this refers to an anecdote of his school-days], and I turned myself to the younger sort. We had at that time in the parish a good many boys, from 13 to 17 years of age. They worked in the collieries on week-days, and came to church on Sundays, and they were generally very well disposed. So, ‘I will take my catechumens from these,’ I thought; but then, not one in six of them could read. I found a couple of working colliers who could read very well, and I made them my Sunday-school masters. The chief thing they had to do was this:—I appointed them a portion of Scripture, not exceeding two verses at the most, and I saw that they could read it themselves with intelligence. They then read it pause by pause to the boys, who soon learnt the words, and could repeat them with intelligence too. Then, after Divine service, I got my pupils to deliver the passage to me with one voice, and I questioned them upon it; and by this means I found that I could communicate much religious knowledge, which might be, and has been, held fast till now. Besides this, I had two little dame schools, containing sixty children each, and I



thought I would try to do something with them that might be of use to others who should hear them. I appointed a service on a week-day, and catechised the children before the congregation. It was very hard work. I could not for a long while get the children to speak audibly and distinctly, and I was obliged to answer three-quarters of the questions myself. However, you will always have a sharp lad or two among 120 children, and 'Jack' made a good hit now and then, and 'Tom' now and then, and the parents were pleased. Besides which, as the parents sat in the pews close to the aisles, where the children were placed, I could sometimes ask them a question, and often got a very pertinent answer. But then came Dr. Bell, and I got a class that could read fluently, and with correct emphasis and expression, and thenceforth I had ground to stand upon."—pp. 3, 4.

In commending, as we do most cordially, this little work to the attention of the parochial clergy in general, and with it, of course, the exercise of which it treats, we are commending undoubtedly a very difficult duty. But these are not days, we believe, in which the Clergy of the Church of England will shrink from a duty because it is difficult. We express our conviction that catechising is the great instrument, under God, for effecting the regeneration of our country, and saving us from the woeful effects of the infidel liberality, the false and hollow charity, which seem destined to constitute the peculiar trial of Christ's Church in this and the succeeding generation. We do not stay to inquire how often this exercise can be attended to; or how far it may be made to consist, in particular cases, with the other labours of the Clergy. But (in the words of the late Archdeacon of Salop), "to men in earnest in their calling, whose care is not to justify their own failures, but to avail themselves as they may of every facility for usefulness, to such we commend an instrument which may very well aid their purpose."

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- ART. VIII.—1. *Essays and Tales.* By JOHN STERLING. *Collected and Edited, with a Memoir of his Life.* By JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M.A., Rector of Hurstmonceux. In 2 vols. London: J. W. Parker.
2. *The Mission of the Comforter, and other Sermons with Notes.* By JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M.A., Archdeacon of Linc. London: J. W. Parker.
3. *The Life of Joseph Blanco White.* Written by himself. With portions of his Correspondence. Edited by JOHN HAMILTON THOM. In 3 vols. London: Chapman.
4. *The Constitution of the Church of the Future, &c.* By CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN, D.Ph., D.C.L. London: Longmans.
5. *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D., &c.* By A. P. STANLEY, M.A. In 2 vols. London: Fellowes.
6. *The Life of Jesus Christ, &c.* By AUGUSTUS NEANDER. London: Low.

THE volumes which stand first on the list of books with which we have headed these pages are not without interest, as the memorials of a cultivated intellect, though not of any very high order, and of a disposition which appears to have attracted the sympathies of a large circle of friends. But it is not in reference to the intellectual, or even the moral aspect of this work, in itself, that we pause for a while on its contents. We look at them indeed as affording distressing evidence of studies misdirected, talents misapplied, and faith subverted; but we deem them calculated to afford a not unseasonable warning against the insidious approaches of infidelity, under the guise of superior philosophical enlightenment and liberation of thought from needless restraints. Mr. Hare has so far done good service by the publication of this work, although not exactly in the way perhaps which he had in view in collecting the writings of his pupil, and giving them to the world. He is indeed so far led away by his sympathy with Sterling, as to hold him up to admiration as a bold and fearless investigator of truth, and a leader in the cause of progress. His errors are carefully extenuated, and the reader is taught to abstain from passing any condemnation on his conduct and opinions. The connexions subsisting between Mr. Hare and Mr. Sterling were very intimate. Standing in the relation

of tutor and pupil, subsequently of rector and curate, and allied by the most intimate friendship, and even by family connexion; we can of course understand, and make allowance for, much of what might otherwise have surprised us in this book. But we must refrain from following the train of observations to which we might here be led, and reserve them for a more fitting place.

Mr. Sterling, as we learn from his biography, became, at Cambridge, the associate of Mr. Trench and Mr. Maurice; with the latter of whom he became connected by marriage, and to whom he was greatly indebted for the formation of his views. He commenced life as a follower of that *negative* system in reference to religion, which distinguished the Edinburgh Reviewers thirty years ago—i. e., in fact, as a sceptic. Subsequently he became, under the influence of Coleridge, Archdeacon Hare, &c., more reconciled to Christian doctrines, but he eventually reverted to the negative system, under the guidance of Carlyle and of the German writers Schleiermacher, Strauss, &c.

Mr. Hare admits that "there was *always* a broad divergence in his opinions, from those which are held by the great body of the Church, the very same divergence of which Coleridge speaks in his 'Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit' " (p. 129). This related to the inspiration of Scripture, which Sterling denied. Whether this includes the period previous to Sterling's ordination in 1834, we cannot positively say; but it appears from the narrative, that Archdeacon Hare had several years before urged Sterling to take holy orders, at a period when he must have been conscious that "the tendency of his early education was negative." When a person holding Archdeacon Hare's situation tells us that he has strongly urged a man of sceptical and unsound views to take holy orders,—a man with whose opinions he was fully acquainted—we must say that an encouragement is at once held out to any amount of indifference, however criminal, in the choice and recommendation of candidates for holy orders. What condition can be more essential to the due exercise of the Christian ministry, than a firm belief in the doctrines of Christianity? Such was not a qualification at any time possessed by Mr. Sterling.

Mr. Sterling was obliged, in consequence of the state of his health, to relinquish the active duties of his calling, in a few months after his ordination as Mr. Hare's curate. His time was thenceforward spent in literary undertakings, chiefly in writing for periodicals; while his studies lay for the most part in *German* theology, which Mr. Hare and Mr. Maurice have recommended as calculated to improve our own, and which Mr. Hare's curate

pursued with a zeal not inferior to that of his friends. In his latter years, he relinquished theological studies for the most part, and gave himself up to poetry and tales of fiction; but his views on religious matters were of a very decided complexion, and his anxiety for the overthrow of existing beliefs and Churches was overwhelming.

It was, doubtless, the boldness and speculativeness of his views which gathered around him the friendship of a host of congenial minds, sympathizing in the general complexion of their philosophical and theological tendencies, though separated by strongly-marked differences in points of detail. We only miss one name from the circle who ought to have held a conspicuous place there, we mean Blanco White. But the names of Hare, Bunsen, Carlyle, Coleridge, Emerson, Thirlwall, Maurice, Francis Newman, John Mill, Samuel Wilberforce, Arnold, and Trench, are familiar to all the readers of this work, as the friends and associates of Mr. Sterling,—the subjects of his warmest admiration and deepest sympathies. In the case of Mr. Trench, we are led to conclude that the development of Mr. Sterling's religious tendencies was a subject of some material difference between them. The connexion of Mr. Sterling with his friends is not uninteresting or unimportant in any point of view. His life reveals a link between writings and doctrines, which we mentally class together almost involuntarily, notwithstanding their differences in many points, but which we could hitherto only connect by their tendencies. In Sterling's life, however, these various systems are brought together as parts and offshoots of one great movement, each playing its part, and allied by secret ties of sympathy with the rest.

We proceed to extract a few interesting passages. In allusion to his residence at Cambridge, we find the following:—

“ The greatest benefit, and the most lasting, derived from the years spent at college, often lies in the friendships formed there. This was eminently the case with Sterling. Of those with whom he lived familiarly, several continued *his intimate friends through life*, especially Richard Trench and Frederick Maurice, both of whom he loved and *revered* with an affection such as can only spring from a strong and deep heart. He often declared that to the latter, with whom he was afterwards connected by their marrying two sisters, *he owed more than to any other man except Coleridge*. Writing to me in 1829, while they were writing together for the *Athenæum*, he said, ‘ Of what good you have found in the *Athenæum*, by far the greater part is attributable to him. When I have done any good, I have seldom been more than *a patch of sand to receive and retain the impression of his footstep*.’ And again, speaking of the Essays which open these volumes; ‘ the shades

of the dead are mine ; but all that is in them was learnt from Coleridge or Maurice.' With the help of the latter, he gradually emancipated himself from that corrupt and cramping system of opinions in philosophy and taste, which he had brought with him to college."—Vol. i. pp. xiii. xiv.

Are we to understand that the "negative" views of which Mr. Hare speaks were shared by Mr. Sterling's friends ? We quote the following as deserving of remark, though not relating to that particular branch of the school to which Mr. Sterling belonged.

"In a letter in 1843, speaking of Arnold, one of the Englishmen of our days whom he most admired, he says, 'There is a singleness of eye in his writings, which is as like what one conceives of the Deity, as a star to the sun. I know not what higher praise could be given to any mortal.'—Vol. i. p. xxx.

"So again in the last years of his life, having just read the Biography of Arnold, he writes, 'I like, respect, and love the man . . . I certainly am disappointed at the narrowness of his range of thought, his entire want of imagination, of humour, of philosophy, and even of philosophical criticism. And yet how noble a man he was practically ! and how clear his view of the moral evils of England.'—pp. xxxi. cxxii.

He afterwards asks, "Has *all our hope of a better day* disappeared with Arnold ?" Mr. Hare, in speaking of certain writings of Sterling, says—

"Perhaps the most striking and precious quality in them is the *deep sympathy with the errors and faults*, and even with the *sins* of mankind ; a sympathy which in different modes characterizes the works of his two great friends, Mr. Maurice and Mr. Carlyle."—p. xxiv.

In allusion to Dr. Thirlwall, Mr. Sterling remarks—

" 'I have read a good deal of Thirlwall's history over again, and have found even more in it than I had supposed. I can name no history in English at all comparable to it for depth and compass, unless—prepare to laugh,—Carlyle's.' Mr. Hare adds, 'This admiration for the *History of Greece*, and for its author's *other writings*, was often expressed.'—Vol. i. pp. civ. cv.

The following occurs in one of Mr. Sterling's letters.

"John Mill has now obtained the uncontrolled management of *The London Review* ; and he is very anxious to make it a large and free kind of organ. He has written to persuade me to contribute ; but I have answered him that for several reasons I cannot do so at present."—p. cvii.

It is a curious coincidence that at the same time Mr. Mill should have had Blanco White as a contributor to the "London Review." The latter appears to have been almost entirely accordant in sentiments with Mr. Sterling.

"During the summer of 1839, at Clifton, Sterling became acquainted with Mr. Francis Newman, the present Professor of Latin at the London University College, who soon became one of his most highly valued friends, and his esteem for whom he proved by leaving his eldest son under his guardianship."—p. cxliii.

The gentleman here referred to seceded from the Church of England many years ago, and became connected with the sect of Darbyites we believe; since which he is understood to have adopted views in religion generally in accordance with those of the Unitarians, or of the German Rationalists.

We find Mr. Sterling in the midst of all his theological speculations, continuing in habits of intimacy with all his early friends.

"Of all my own contemporary friends, I am not aware that there is one who thinks me entitled to write verses except Trench. . . . Carlyle writes to me that he likes the Hymns, which is a great deal for him to say of any verses of mine. . . . I had the other day a very beautiful and most cordially affectionate letter from him."—p. cxlvi.

Shortly after we read the following:—

"For some time he had also the pleasure of seeing Mr. John Mill, then at Falmouth, one of the friends whom for many years he had most loved, and esteemed, and admired."—p. cxlvii.

He appears to have thought that his friends were scarcely equal to the task before them.

"Pray believe that I am far from thinking it right to blaze up suddenly in the face of a nation's creed and customs. Nothing but reverence for truth should exceed our reverence for all objects of men's living faith; and I am most anxious to be preserved from a spirit of intemperate blame or of mocking levity. If I saw any hope that *Maurice, and Samuel Wilberforce, and their fellows*, could re-organize and re-animate the Church and nation, or that their own minds *could continue progressive without becoming revolutionary*, I think I could willingly wrap my head in my cloak, or lay it in the grave, without a word of protest against aught that is. But I am well assured that this cannot be."—p. cxlii.

We find allusions to other friends elsewhere.

"I have had a most cordial letter from Emerson, thanking me for my poems."—p. cxliv.

"Carlyle, I have not heard from lately, but see many proofs that he is gradually *doing his work*, and convincing men's hearts that no belief can be adopted as useful, unless embraced as true, without being far worse than useless; a brief proposition of most revolutionary import in a day like ours."—p. cxlv.

"Carlyle is the only man I know of (unless M.) under sixty, who has shown himself the possessor of transcendent genius; and in him it all serves the purpose of moral and political exhortation, like that of the old Hebrew prophets."—p. clvi.

"Francis Newman, who, alone of my friends here, has spent his life in reflection and study, is just gone; and it will be long before I find his match."—p. clx.

"I have seen very lately nothing that has much interested me, but Emerson's Essays. They are sometimes self-contradictory . . . but they have much of depth, of comprehensiveness, and of beauty, and express what at this time many minds among us require, and yet will hardly find in English."—p. clxii.

"The loss of Arnold, whom I never saw, has grieved me as if he had been a friend . . . much, on your account, do I rejoice to hear that Bunsen is to be at Herstmonceux . . . Arnold I believe to have been one of the very few, perhaps the only man in England, seeing the whole evil, and prepared to make such *changes in the Church-system* as might possibly have rendered it effectual for its nominal purpose among those who most need a moral reform. Here *the real Church is Wesleyan*; but over three-fourths of England there is, I fear, none."—pp. cxvii.-ix.

Of Ventnor, he says:—

"The only serious disadvantage is the distance from Herstmonceux, and all places where I can see the face of a friend."—p. cxviii.

In his last illness, he writes, that the affection of his friends had been a real comfort.

"There was a note from Carlyle not long since, I think the noblest and tenderest thing that ever came from humane pen. Mill's letters have been almost equally remarkable, and considering the man are much more so. Newman has been all in word and deed that man could be. A letter of Emerson had more heart than one would suppose could be found in all America. Trench, in spite of much inward and outward separation, has shown himself what he always was, one whose feelings are pure as crystal, and warm as the sun. Of the Maurices and my brother I need not write."—p. ccxvi.

We have reserved for the last some further account of the connexion between Mr. Hare, the biographer, and Mr. Sterling.

It appears that their intimacy commenced at Cambridge, where Sterling became a pupil of Mr. Hare's, who writes thus on the subject.

in the autumn of 1824, he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and became one of the pupils at my classical lectures . . . . Thus an acquaintance, which subsequently ripened into *one of the precious friendships vouchsafed to me during my life.*"—p. ix.

is thus held up to admiration:—

By sacrifices of these kinds he did seek Truth, with a stern self-denial, and rejoiced in offering them up to her."—p. xxix.

There are persons who . . . . are gifted with a sort of divining rod, drawing out what was hidden in the hearts of their brethren; of such persons I have known no finer example than Sterling. For him, as in such persons it must ever be, the nobleness of his outward bearing and gesture and manner betokened that of his spirit . . . . I know many witnesses might be collected out of all classes of society, who would rejoice to declare, that to him they owed the first awaking of a higher being, that from him they learnt what they were, and what they ought to be."

In 1834, Mr. Hare met Sterling at Bonn:

"In the course of conversation, I was delighted to find that the device which I had given him some years before, *to enter into the Christian ministry*, had taken root in his mind, and was beginning to assume a definite form. He talked of spending a year or two abroad, with the view of gaining some insight into German philosophy and theology, and said he then hoped to take orders, if he could find any one to give him a title. I strongly urged him to execute this latter resolution, adding, that if when he did so, my own curacy was vacant, I should deem it *a blessed privilege* to enlist such a man in the service of the Church."—p. xlvii.

Accordingly in due time he became curate to Mr. Hare, at Herstmonceux, where "his intercourse" with his former tutor was to the latter "an unspeakable blessing" (p. lv.), and where an intimacy was formed, which Mr. Sterling himself described as that of "brothers" (p. lvi.).

He was compelled in 1834 to resign his parochial duties.

Considering that, as the biographer admits, "the tendency of his early education had been negative, after that mode of negativism which we may remember as characteristic of such as drew their opinions from the oracles of the *Edinburgh Review* thirty years ago," and that only a "temporary reconciliation" was "wrought with that which is best and soundest in the *faith and institutions* of his countrymen" (p. cxxviii.), it seems to us, we confess, deeply reprehensible to have urged Sterling to take orders 'some years before' (as he himself says) "his heart and prin-



principles were fixed in the line of practical Christianity" (p. xlv.) ; before he had seemed to himself "to enter decidedly and for the first time into possession of those blessings which are offered to all in Christ's redemption;" before, in fact, as far as we can judge, he had become a positive believer in Christianity! It seems to us, that the interests of Christian truth were wholly overlooked in such a proceeding as this.

Sterling appears to have been throughout, in habits of intimate friendship with Mr. Hare. To the instructions of his tutor, we presume, we may attribute his predilection for German theology; but the pupil ultimately followed the current of that theology into depths where Mr. Hare did not venture to follow him. He appears to have advanced further than some other of his associates and fellows, amongst whom he especially mentions Mr. Trench, as estranged by his views. Whether Mr. Sterling or Mr. Hare acted in consistency with their own principles, or whether they had either of them carried out those principles to the lengths which they may attain to in other hands, is a question on which different opinions will be held; but certain it is, that Mr. Hare represents his friend as a leader or *avant-courier* of those whose views are tending to the *improvement* of theology. His view of the matter is this:—

"Among men of intellectual vigour, I will not say the majority, but undoubtedly a very large portion, are only withheld from open infidelity by giving up their thoughts entirely to the business of this world, and turning away with a compromising indifference from serious inquiries about religion. In such a state of things it becomes the imperative duty of all who love the truth in Christ, to *purge it, so far as they can, from the alloy which it may have contracted in the course of ages, through the admixture of human conceits, and which renders it irreconcilable with the postulates of the understanding.* This is, indeed, a very delicate work, and accompanied with many risks; and many will go astray in attempting to accomplish it. But still it must be done. . . . We cannot arrest the winds or the waves; nor can we arrest the blasts and tides of thought. These, too, blow and roll where they list. We may, indeed, employ them both; but, to turn them to account, *we must suffer ourselves to be impelled and borne along by them.* . . . Fresh obstacles are ever rising across our path, and we must assail them. If we do so, though some lives may be lost in the attack, *one obstruction after another will gradually be removed.* Now Sterling was one of the men whose nature commanded him to *stand in the van of human progress.* He belonged to the body-guard of him who might be called by the name of the heroic Prussian, Marshal Forwards."—pp. cxxx.-xxxi.

The publication of the works of a writer whose main and leading object for many years was the subversion of belief in the super-

character of the Christian Revelation affords, we think, resumption that the editor himself has been making pro- n the same direction. If Mr. Sterling's opinions are to be as a sample of the kind of teaching which may be expected those whose *avant-courier* he is to be, there is, we think, s ground for alarm at what is before us, and more especially a man like Archdeacon Hare ventures openly to hold up a of this class to admiration. We might have expected from iever a solemn warning against the causes of such aberrations r. Sterling's. We might have anticipated some attempt to ly an antidote to the poison of unbelief which is thus placed re an unsuspecting public. But this, alas! is not Mr. Hare's v. He deems it expedient to be "impelled and borne along" the blasts and tides of thought, even if they are infidel in their racter. He endeavours to enlist our sympathies for the sceptic. e becomes the eulogist of one who, by his own admission, was, : almost the whole of his life, an unbeliever in the Divine autho- y of Christianity, and died in that unbelief. Such was the al position occupied by one whom Mr. Hare holds up to admi- ation as a hero "in the van of human progress." Of course he annot condemn him. How could Mr. Hare condemn a man who ad simply followed out his speculations under the guidance of Neander, Schleiermacher, and other writers recommended by his tutor?

"If there is any man who, having exerted himself laboriously and perseveringly to pry into the hidden recesses of our nature, to pierce through the unfathomable abyss of evil, and to catch a glimpse of the light and glory beyond and behind, can say he has never been shaken or troubled in the calm composure of his faith, let him cast a stone at Sterling: *I cannot.*"—p. ccxxviii.

Does not the warning which Mr. Hare gives in condemning the perusal of Strauss' *Life of Jesus* apply equally to the German Theology in general? "If we walk through mire, some of it will stick to us, even when we have no other aim than to make our way through it, much more when we dabble about it and sift it. Such, too, must be the case with those who pass through any sort of moral mire" (p. cxxxiii.). And again, "When the utmost ingenuity of a dexterous advocate, scraping together the results of all that previous advocates have effected, is employed in picking holes in the New Testament, in fabricating absurdities, in detecting or devising inconsistencies and contradictions, how can one allow one's mind to dwell among such contemplations without having one's reverence impaired by them" (p. cxxxiv.). German philosophy arose at a period when the miraculous and supernatural

character of Christianity was assailed by an elaborate and audacious criticism; and this character of essential infidelity has remained deeply impressed on German literature as a whole, even to the present time. Glimmerings there have been, indeed, now and then, of a partial and uncertain belief in more or less of the doctrines of Revelation; but we look in vain for any set of men whose faith is not grounded in mere philosophy, and can be regarded as fixed and settled, or who have even advanced so far on their way towards soundness of faith as to embrace, sincerely and simply, the first elements of Christian doctrine—the Creeds of the universal Church. We will take Mr. Sterling's representation of the state of the case, which we believe to be perfectly accurate, and which is not the statement of an opponent of German doctrines. We extract the following passage, not without feelings of horror at its startling irreverence:—

*“ Divine Commandments are but the Commandments of Divines, for him who does not feel that, in compliance with them is the only liberation of his soul from death. . . . The freedom of an earnest mind brings with it laws as strict and holy as any in the Pentateuch or the Canons. . . . Political freedom is a great blessing; but there is a still better kind, known only to the good and wise, and of which Schiller, and Fichte, and their compeers are teachers and examples, such as Europe, for near two centuries, had hardly seen. Connected, not very remotely, with this matter of spiritual freedom is the remarkable fact that, while of the population of Germany considerably more than half are Catholics, every man who has gained an immortal fame in that country as a thinker, was born and bred a Protestant. As to the right of the greater number of the following names to appear in the list, there can be but one opinion:—*

Leibnitz,  
Frederick II.,  
Lessing,  
Winkelmann,  
Klopstock,  
Herder,  
Hamann,  
Wieland,  
F. H. Jacobi,  
Goethe,  
Schiller,  
Kant,  
Fichte,  
Schelling,

Hegel,  
Schleiermacher,  
Eichhorn,  
Johannes Müller,  
Jean Paul Richter,  
2 Stolbergs,  
2 Schlegels,  
2 Humboldts,  
Novalis,  
Tieck,  
F. A. Wolf,  
Voss,  
Niebuhr,  
Savigny,

*“ Three of these illustrious men—one Stolberg, one Schlegel, and Winkelmann—became Catholics. . . . But even these converts, all,*

except Winkelmann, but second-rate among the great, were formed in the comparative freedom of Protestant doctrine. Of the others, many, perhaps nearly all, were very far from what we commonly call orthodoxy, that is, from believing that the Creeds of the Reformers three hundred years ago, or any one such document, contain the whole and nothing but the truth as to man's spiritual constitution and destiny. But, though mostly *heretics* in the eyes of synods and consistories, *and of our bench of bishops*, they were generally far more completely removed from any allegiance to the doctrine of the schoolman or to that of the fathers."—Vol. i. pp. 415, 416.

Mr. Hare intimates, that he did not himself concur in Sterling's views on the subject of inspiration, and yet it is evident that he differs widely from the prevalent belief on the subject. He speaks of "the *exaggerated* importance ascribed in our popular theology to certain ignorant, uncritical, baseless assumptions concerning literal inspiration" (p. cxxx.), as driving such men as Sterling into an opposite error. "An intelligent theory of inspiration," is in Mr. Hare's mind "a most pressing want." But he is of opinion that "little good and far more harm will be done by *the removal of the error*, if in removing it we cut down the tree round which the parasite has clung" (p. cxxx.). We do no injustice to Mr. Hare, by inferring from this, that he regards an intelligent theory of inspiration as a desideratum, and consequently that it is not merely our *popular* theology to which he objects.

We really cannot but wish that these men would more fully and frankly state their opinions on the subject of inspiration. They are continually assuring their disciples that all our existing views are wrong, and that there certainly will be an awful explosion, which will subvert the authority of the Scriptures. We think that more mischief is done by such anticipations, than could be done by an open avowal of sentiments, even if they were erroneous. To pursue the former course is to labour to impress on the public mind *that the whole existing religious system is unsound and untenable*, and destined to fall beneath the assault of a powerful philosophy. Mr. Sterling points to the source—the materials, he says, for an attack on revelation exist in abundance in Germany. We know this: but we differ widely from these writers in our estimate of the comparative strength of the orthodox doctrine, and of the German systems. We should deeply regret to see any members of the Church of England identify themselves with the latter; but we feel perfectly satisfied that if they do—if such writers, for instance, as Sterling or Hare, were to throw their whole strength into the cause of infidelity, backed by the rationalistic theology of Germany—the result of the struggle would be only fatal to themselves and their theories. Let them only speak out dis-

tingly enough at once, and the matter will, we believe, be soon brought to a close in the discomfiture of the antagonists of faith. There is much to lament in the condition of England; but it is not *yet* prepared to part with Christianity, or to hold it only as a better species of heathenism—a philosophy—a mere fabrication of the human mind.

We would here offer a word or two on the subject of pantheism. It would be of course impossible to deny the shocking nature of this doctrine, its utter contradiction to Christianity, or its inevitable connexion with atheism in the cultivated and polytheism in the popular mind. But, at the same time, the adoption of this theory appears to us impossible, where the mind has not become bewildered by speculations on subjects which are beyond its powers, and where the natural reason and the evidences of the senses have not lost their authority. In such a state of wild and dreamy mysticism the mind may be prepared to receive any positions however monstrous: but the great mass of the community, when in any degree under the influence of Christianity, will not comprehend, we think, the “fascination” of a theory which recognizes THE DEITY in every brute: in all matter, however loathsome or offensive to the senses; or even in men polluted with crimes and impurities! Surely fatuity never appeared in a more repulsive and ridiculous form than this! And such is the God whom philosophy presents to us, in place of the CREATOR—the REDEEMER—the SANCTIFIER—the JUDGE of the Universe!

Let us here take a more particular survey of the religious theories adopted by Mr. Sterling.

In 1836, he writes thus to Mr. Hare:—

“I have just finished an Essay or Discourse on the Narrative of the Fall, which pretty well satisfies my own mind as to the main outlines; but I do not yet see my way as to the history of Cain and Abel. The narrative is evidently meant to be *significant*, and not a *mere legend* (see, for instance, the names); and yet significant of what? What is the meaning of Cain’s punishment, and the mark set upon him? I will own to you, that the more I go into the Old Testament, the more ground I find for *hesitating about the great physical miracles*, from the apparent mixture of alloy in the narratives, their slight outward authority, and the difficulties of any scheme that would furnish a previous ground for the facts, and yet account for the imperfection of our record of them. But I am far from giving the thing up. . . . The obscurity in my mind lies in this, that in the very proportion in which the Hebrew records afford clear and lively evidence of this evangelic element in the old world, in the same degree they are free from the mixture of the prodigiously miraculous; and therefore one cannot but ask whether the physically marvellous be not a separable alloy. I am far from denying the

ility, that in the earliest times, and especially at the great epoch of the constitution of a Monotheistic nation, all things may have been in an outward state, and connected themselves necessarily with more manifestations of the spiritual system around us and within us. I must add, that any painfulness of interest in the question entirely from the state of opinion on the matter in this country; the possible view of it would be to my mind one which weakens the efficacy of the Gospel, any more than the overthrow of the old notion of the uncompounded and elemental nature of atmospheric air could impede the breathing of the undeceived philosopher."

Mr. Hare observes that "the same train of thought is carried somewhat *fancifully* in the following remarks:—

"I have just read Schleiermacher's beautiful and affecting discourse on the tomb of his son's grave. . . . It is in a great degree the want of faith, hope, and love, that makes people write on religion in a style suitable for bills of exchange and kings' speeches; and it was partly the fulness of these in the prophets that gave them their visionary and symbolic style. You see Schleiermacher *opens* with images; and the style there runs smoother and more equally; and such, I think, is the natural course of *passion*. It is not *but* connect this with the bursts of *fact imagery*, and *phenomenal imagery*, at the first crash of each of the great epochs of Revelation. If it makes you laugh, I do not know that it will have done any harm." lxiii.-lxv.

"I own ourselves to be in no small degree surprised at the estimate which Sterling had evidently formed of his correspondent, when he supposed *capable* of treating as a matter of levity a sentiment which distinctly resolves the facts and miracles of the Bible into mere imagery supplied by an excited imagination. We are equally surprised at the publication of this correspondence by Mr. Hare, but not at any other remark on its decided infidelity, than that the train of thought is "somewhat *fancifully*" carried on! We may at first sight almost infer that Sterling understood the temperament and the views of his tutor, when he supposed that such speculations would make him "laugh;" but we believe that the object of the editor was simply to extenuate the faults of the author of his memoir. Mr. Hare observes that the line of Mr. Sterling's studies at this time was such as "to estrange him more and more from the theological and ecclesiastical *opinions* of our Church;"—he *ought* to have said, from the belief of the Christian

"I constantly meditate (he wrote in November, 1836) larger and more connected performances, and of late have been speculating chiefly on the possibility and propriety of at last breaking the charmed sleep of English theology by a book on the authority of the Scriptures. I sent

tingly enough at once, and the matter will, we believe, be soon brought to a close in the discomfiture of the antagonists of faith. There is much to lament in the condition of England; but it is not *yet* prepared to part with Christianity, or to hold it only as a better species of heathenism—a philosophy—a mere fabrication of the human mind.

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to England for a volume on inspiration, lately published by a learned dissenter, a Dr. Henderson. He means well enough, but merely takes the old ground. . . . His argument, *e. g.* for the inspiration of Mark's Gospel amounts nearly to this; that Mark was probably infallible, because he was an acquaintance of Peter, and because Dr. H. would be abused by other dissenting ministers if he allowed that he was not. But make it ever so plain that, *in upsetting this dead idol*, one was striving for Christianity, and not for critical and historical science merely, yet I am persuaded that any clergyman *caught in the fact* must abandon all notion of duty for the future in any ecclesiastical function. It has struck me that, if my life shall be prolonged, as I must, at all events, relinquish all public ministration, I might, perhaps, be peculiarly well situated for trying to do some good of this kind in theology. The materials are all prepared and abundant in the books of the Germans. I find that I could not conscientiously publish the things I wrote some time ago about the Old Testament. The earlier portions of it seem to me too uncertain to justify me in professing that thorough and religious faith in them which I do not entertain."—pp. xciv. xcv.

On this passage we must remark, that the object of Archdeacon Hare's eulogium was distinctly and fully aware that his doctrines were such as would, if made public, expose him to ecclesiastical censure of the gravest kind,—that they were contrary to the belief of the Church of England. There was not much of the spirit of martyrdom in the feeling, that being obliged by health to renounce public ministrations, he might *safely* assail the doctrines of the Church. We should have thought that a testimony given at the hazard of *losing something* would have been more generous, and more influential.

He afterwards remarks :—

"I will own to you—for I do not know why I should not deal with you in all sincerity—that I find myself more and more removed from all the views in which the Church of England divines differ from the foreign Protestant Churches. I cannot trace this tendency to any corrupt self-indulgence of my own. . . . The more earnestly I strive to know and do the will of God, the less I seem disposed to admit any thing like the claims of a hierarchy, venerable though it may be as a monument, and useful as an instrument; or to believe in any normal outward institution by Christ or the Apostles, of rulers and teachers in the Church."—p. xcvi.

We are bound to say that Mr. Sterling does not anticipate agreement in these views on the part of "many of the wisest and holiest of his countrymen." The *fact*, however, of such actual difference does not appear sufficiently in the present work, we think.

His correspondence, apparently with Mr. Hare, is full of such



We quote the following as evincing the *anxiety* which the overthrow of belief in the inspiration of Scripture.

to see distinctly that the hour must come for the disclosure of a scientific theory of the Bible ; which, however, will not, w, *directly affect the faith of the multitude*, but will certainly all our theology and theological no-education. I hold it material for the ultimate result, whether this revolution shall be about *by the writings of an infidel*, or of a scientific believer ; but ; most important for the believer's own being, if he should do k, not to feel or write, even momentarily, as an infidel. I can, sincerely affirm, that I am ready in heart to receive the whole re of the Pentateuch, as that of Paul's preaching at Ephesus and , if the grounds of belief were equal ; but where there is a clear tion of the reason, I feel less and less inclined to approve of an and contented suppression of one's opinion on such subjects."—

ie latter sentences of this passage strike us as being intended n answer to some friend who had been urging him to refrain a *publishing* his opinions on Revelation. If so, it is rather a ous fact, that they are *now* published. What are we to infer n this ! We do not trace in his letters any evidence of marked approbation on the part of his friends of *his views on inspiration*. In the case, indeed, of a publication in the London Review, Montaigne, we learn from Mr. Hare, that “ there were several ings both in the matter and style which displeased” him, and at he wrote “ to express his objections, with a good deal of verity.” Yet Mr. Hare has published this most objectionable per, in these volumes, without any attempt to point out its rors. We should have been glad to see the points in which Mr. are differed from such statements of this essay as the following, at the theology of the sixteenth century, “ whether Romanist or otestant,” was constructed, “ chiefly from the schoolmen,” and admitted a cumbrous element of what was purely arbitrary and ricious ;” that “ the religious creed” of that day was “ partly e product of a tradition grounded in foreign and ancient modes thought and feeling, partly of the metaphysical science of inter- ediate times, partly of accident and caprice ;” that “ all that re- ion requires, all that philosophy can grant,” is “ the existence an absolute and eternal element in the vague and shifting mass the common beliefs ;” that “ supersensual and universal rea- ies, relied on and worshipped by the heart, are objects of *reli- m*,—and embodied in beautiful symbols are the *deified* forms of e imagination, and haunt and spiritualize the highest poetry ;” at it is a question “ what is meant by belief, and what by Chris- nity ;” that one day or other “ the puzzle of existence may find

its solution in the accompanying *puzzle of Revelation*," &c. The expression of such sentiments was, we say it with amazement, satisfactory to the literary and theological school of which he was a member. "From *everybody*, with *one other exception*," he says, "I have heard only flattery about it" (the essay on Montaigne).

We learn further (p. cxxxiii., &c.), that subsequently, Mr. Sterling perused Strauss' Life of Jesus, and became so far a partisan of this infidel writer, that some "controversial letters" passed between him and Mr. Hare on the subject. Mr. Hare remarks very correctly, that the criticism of this writer which "eats away *all* the facts of Christianity," must undermine "all its essential doctrines;" and this sufficiently accounts for the repugnance which he manifests to receive the doctrines of this remarkable work.

Mr. Sterling appears to have been continually under the impression, that his friends would view with great uneasiness and displeasure any premature declaration of views and principles on religious subjects. "I write plainly to you," he says (after expressing his view of the necessity of a great crisis in England "which will indeed destroy Socialism and Sectarianism, but *will just as certainly shake off the Thirty-nine Articles*"), "but *pray believe* that I am far from thinking it right to *blaze up suddenly in the face of a Nation's Creed and customs*." We presume that the object was to be attained rather by a slow and cautious sapping and mining of the bigoted and antiquated belief on the subject of the Inspiration of Scripture, and the truth of the Creeds and the Thirty-nine Articles, which at present opposes so many obstacles to "freedom of thought."

It is a favourite idea amongst such persons, that Religion in England consists chiefly in attachment to certain *words* and terms—in fact, to the Creeds and Thirty-nine Articles. We extract the following illustration of these views selected from the imaginary travels of "Theodore Elbert," and supposed to be written in the dome of St. Paul's:—

"I am now standing on a building which proclaims to every eye in the Capital of England the nominal supremacy of Christianity. Yet nine in ten of its inhabitants never turn a thought towards the benevolence and piety of Christ; while the majority of the remainder . . . feel, it is to be feared, no whit of love to God or man, but angrily cling to their sect, and idolatrously bow to some *lifeless creed*. Nor is this to be wondered at. Every thing tends to make religion a matter of *forms, and names, and lip-service*."—Vol. ii. p. 11.

We do not know whether we are to understand in the same

Mr. Maurice, the friend of Mr. Sterling, in these words from a recent publication :

"In all ages a disposition has been apparent, not in irreligious minds, to turn their devotion towards that which has been, rather than to that which is, towards images and relics. . . The modern English form of religion, which makes *words*, rather than visible objects, the substitute for real realities, is externally so unlike the other, that we are not persuaded of their essential identity." (The Lord's Prayer, p. 7.)

Her doctrine which is prevalent amongst these persons, that the external evidences of Christianity are valueless, and may be dispensed with. This is, in fact, the position assumed by German writers in general, who have *subverted* those evidences by the aid of criticism. "To found an argument," says Mr. Sterling, "for the *value* of Christianity on its own evidence, and not on the condition of man and the pure God, is to hold up a candle before our eyes that we may see the stars" (Vol. ii. p. 121).

He argues that miracles cannot prove the truth of a Reve-

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sical results can *prove* nothing but a cause adequate to produce what it is, a physical cause; though doubtless these results, when applied to a spiritual system, may be used as illustrations of it. "Proofs of a spiritual system must be drawn from itself, must be spiritual proofs, and spiritually discerned."—Vol. ii. p. 121.

I have, perhaps, dwelt sufficiently on Mr. Sterling's religious opinions. To say that this accomplished and amiable person held views altogether contrary to the unanimous sense of the Church of England, and even to that of all other religious denominations amongst us, except the Unitarians, and contrary also to his own engagements as minister of the Church, is sufficiently true.

But his Infidelity (we cannot give it any other appellation) went to the very root of the claims of Christianity. He denied the Bible to be the Word of God—for this is simply the avowal of his rejection of its inspiration. He denied its super-natural facts, and therefore must have believed the sacred writers to have been either impostors and relaters of fables; or else must have supposed the sacred text to have been so extensively interpolated as to render its authority altogether valueless. He was the adherent of that philosophy and of those writers who resolved the existence of God into the Universe, and Man as its chief part, and whose vain and empty conceit leads them to the worship of all material objects, or to open Atheism. Such was the position—theoretically—of this disciple of the school of Coleridge and Carlyle.

We do not mean to say a word against the moral character of Mr. Sterling. We do not accuse him of treating Christianity as Tom Paine and Voltaire treated it. There was no vulgarity or brutality in his attack upon Revelation. He was withheld by some of his friends from making a premature assault on its foundations. But still his case affords a very salutary caution to those who may be tempted to embrace the class of views which led to the subversion of his faith in Scripture; and which, were they generally adopted, would reduce this country to the level of Germany or France as regards its religious belief—that is, to complete Infidelity.

Of the philosophy in which these tendencies have taken their rise in the minds of a certain class of thinkers, we are, it seems, to recognize Coleridge as the English interpreter. Mr. Sterling, who was one of his most ardent disciples, says: "Coleridge is the genial interpreter of the lore, now of Kant, and now of Schelling" (Vol. i. p. 385).

Now in reference to the influence exercised by the writings of Coleridge, in thus propagating German philosophy in England, Mr. Hare, the editor of Sterling's Remains, speaks thus distinctly:—

"At that time it was beginning to be acknowledged by more than a few, that Coleridge is the true sovereign of modern English thought. The 'Aids to Reflection' had recently been published, and were doing the work for which they are so admirably fitted; that book, to which many, as has been said by one of Sterling's chief friends, 'owe even their own selves.' Few felt this obligation more deeply than Sterling. 'To Coleridge (he wrote to me in 1836) I owe education. He taught me to believe that an empirical philosophy is none, that Faith is the highest Reason' . . . He became an enthusiastic admirer and reverer of his great Master; the riches of whose wisdom, he, in his earlier writings, was continually asserting and proclaiming, as is apparent even in the portion of them incorporated in this collection. When an opportunity occurred, he sought out the old man in his oracular shrine at Highgate, and often saw him in the last years of his life, and he was one of the two disciples who attended his funeral, my own duties rendering it impossible for me to make a third."—pp. xiv. xv.

It is not for us to deny the reality of Mr. Coleridge's faith in many most important points, but at the same time it is clear from his "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit," that his intimacy with the German writers<sup>1</sup> had not been without a disturbing influence on the very foundations of his faith in the Holy Scriptures

<sup>1</sup> "M. Guizot is a pupil of those deep and zealous schools,"—*Sterling's Essays*, vol. i. p. 385.

as the Word of God. In that work he speaks of the Grecisms and *heavier difficulties* in the biographical chapters of the Book of Daniel, while he thus refers to the New Testament:—

“Accommodations of elder scriptural phrases, that favourite ornament and garnish of *Jewish eloquence*, incidental allusions to popular notions, traditions, apologues—for example, the dispute between the Devil and the Archangel Michael about the body of Moses (Jude, 9,)—fancies and anachronisms imported from the synagogue of Alexandria into Palestine, by, or together with, the Septuagint Version, and applied as mere *argumenta ad homines*—for example, the delivery of the law by the disposition of angels (Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19; Heb. ii. 2;)—these, detached from their context, and contrary to the intention of the sacred writer, first raised into independent *theses*, and then brought together to produce or sanction some new *credendum*, for which neither separately could have furnished a pretence.”—*Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit*, pp. 48, 49.

The tendency of Coleridge’s sentiments in this work, may be gathered from the language of his admirer, Dr. Arnold, who considered them as “well fitted to *break ground in the approaches to that momentous question* which involves in it so great a shock to existing notions; the greatest, probably, that has ever been given since the discovery of the falsehood of the doctrine of the Pope’s infallibility.”

Mr. Hare also furnishes the following testimony to the character of the religious views held by Coleridge, and “*adopted*” from him by his disciple Mr. Sterling. In speaking of the latter he says:—

“There was *always a broad divergence* in his opinions from those which are held by the great body of the Church, the very same divergence of which Coleridge speaks in his ‘*Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit*.’ These Confessions, though they were not printed till after Coleridge’s death, had been written many years before. . . . Sterling, however, had read them in manuscript with delight and sympathy, had been permitted to transcribe them, and had adopted the views concerning inspiration expressed in them; deeming these views, as Coleridge did, to be thoroughly compatible with a deep and lively Christian faith, and with a full reception of all that is essential in the doctrines of our Church.”—p. 129.

We shall see hereafter, what security for the maintenance of the first elements of the Christian faith is afforded by such distinctions as these. Coleridge, as we find in the volumes before us, was certainly *not* a Pantheist, nay he held the personality of the Deity as the Great Essential of Religion. But Sterling appears to

<sup>2</sup> Blanco White held the same opinion.

have been very unsettled on this point, notwithstanding his "deep and lively Christian faith," and his acceptance of all "essentials" in our Church's doctrines.

The latter creed—of Pantheism, Mr. Sterling appears to have partially adopted under the training of his *second* great master, Carlyle, who would seem to rival Coleridge himself in the influence he exercises over the school of which we are speaking. We perceive that there are some material differences of view between Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Hare; and the latter does not speak in the same cordial tone of Carlyle, as he does of Coleridge. We are glad to find that this is the case. Of Carlyle's views, however, we have the following exposition from the pen of his admirer Sterling, which we believe to be in general correct.

"As a hint and foretaste of what is written in his works, it may be said that Mr. Carlyle thus teaches:—

"1. The *Universe*, including Man as its chief object, is all a region of wonder and mysterious truth, demanding before all other feelings, *Reverence*, as the condition of insight.

"2. For he who rejects from his thoughts all that he cannot perfectly analyse and comprehend, all that claims *veneration*, never will meditate on the primary fact of *existence*. Yet what is so *necessary* to the being of a thing, so certainly the deepest secret in it, as *Being itself*? . . .

"3. Religion, therefore, is the highest bond between Man and the Universe. The world rises out of *unknown* sacred depths before the soul, which it ever draws into *contemplation* of it. It repels the man into entire ignorance, only when he fails to acknowledge the unfathomable depth which *he owns it belongs to*.

"4. But at best we are immensely ignorant. Around us is a *fulness of life*, now vocal in a tone, now visible in a glance, but of which we never can measure the whole compass or number, or explore the endless forms."

This, so far, seems to be an exposition of the creed, such as it is, of Pantheism. The *Universe*, and Man as its "chief object," is the object of Religion, *i.e.* the Deity. Existence itself takes the place of God; and with *this* Divine being, man is identified as a part of the Universe. We see at once the meaning of such phrases as a "fulness of life" being around us. Religion is "a bond" between man and the universe, as teaching him to recognize the Deity in the Universe, not as its Creator. We receive fuller light on this subject in the continuation of the passage.

"5. To him who looks aright, the *Divine substance* of all is to be seen kindling at moments in the *smallest*, no less than in the grandest thing that is: for *Existence is itself Divine*, and awakens in him who contemplates a *sense of divinity*, such as men of old were fain to call prophetic."—pp. 257, 258.

terling was aware, that Pantheism, at least, was a doctrine which might be liable to some objections. In fact his *other* master, Coleridge, regarded the opposite doctrine of a Deity distinct from the Universe, as the great essential notion. Thus in the account preserved by Mr. Sterling of one interview with that distinguished writer, the latter is introduced as saying:—"The personality of the Deity is the great error which the ancients were Spinozists: they could not help seeing energy in nature. This was the *anima mundi sine centro* of philosophers. The people of course changed it into all the shapes that their imagination could supply. The religion of the philosophers was *Pantheism*, and that of the people *Polytheism*. The people knew nothing of creative power" (p. xxi.). Mr. Sterling replies:

We are far from wishing any one to *pin his faith* on these propositions, either as absolutely, still less as completely, true, or as adequate representations of Mr. Carlyle's views. They have indeed been deduced, without care, from his writings; and those who read them with attention and a tentative *sympathy*, will hardly fail to see in them the representations of a *pure and lofty mind*; and one *original*, if only in this, that his *doctrine* is but the *dogmatic form* of his whole feelings and character, and not a web of abstract *speculation*."

Mr. Carlyle's views were, therefore, precisely opposite to those of Mr. Coleridge on the first article of religion—rather a curious illustration, by the way, of the sort of guidance in religious matters which philosophy alone is able to afford. And in this case we find that either master appears to have been positively certain of the truth of his doctrines.

Mr. Sterling then was aware that Mr. Carlyle's Pantheism would not meet acceptance with the disciples of Coleridge; and we gather from some parts of Mr. Hare's book, that such *was* the case, and that Mr. Hare himself, at least, does not embrace Mr. Carlyle's positive creed on the subject of Pantheism, though he speaks strangely enough of "the *FASCINATION* of Pantheistic tendencies" (p. cxxxvi.).

It seems that Mr. Carlyle, though not a Christian, is one of that class who think *favourably* of Christianity! We extract Mr. Sterling's apology for his views, which, however, he appears to have held himself.

"If in these views were not included a full recognition of the *worth of Christianity*, there would be much reason to accuse them of fatal error. But such a man as we have spoken of, with such convictions, is not likely to be guilty of *callous sneers* against *any devout faith* in things beyond the region of the senses, and, *least of all*, against that religion which has strengthened and glorified the lives of a *greater*

number of the truest heroes and martyrs, than all *other* worships, and all philosophies together."

Christianity will not, perhaps, attach much value to such a preference, while it is avowedly not based on any recognition of its claim to be the Truth revealed supernaturally and miraculously by God, and while it is thus regarded merely as *superior* in its moral effects to those of heathen or other false religions. But we proceed with Mr. Sterling's account of the mode in which reasoners of his class regard the claims of Christianity:—

"The Gospel, the good tidings of *Jesus of Nazareth*, not merely have now come to be *taken for granted* by the many, but are recognized by whosoever is of purest purpose and most comprehensive thought among civilized men, as, on *grounds of intelligible reason*, of experienced accordance with our deepest *cravings*, and of unquestionable *results* in history and the hearts of men, the most effective word of truth ever communicated to this earth."

That is to say, the Gospel taught by "*Jesus of Nazareth*" is a *more* effective "word of truth," than the religion taught by Zoroaster, Confucius, or Mohammed; it is deemed *superior* to those religions by such philosophers as Carlyle, Cousin, Mr. John Mill, Guizot, Hegel, &c. &c. But then the Christianity thus complimentarily introduced to notice, and patronized by the philosophers of the day, is something perfectly distinct from what is usually understood by the appellation. It is the *residuum* which remains after the application of philosophical criticism and "the *highest reason*, which is faith." Mr. Sterling speaks of

"The countless *dreams* which have been spun around it, the frauds practised in its name, the carnal battles waged for its spiritual *watch-word*, the bewildering varieties of *schemes, sects, heresies, speculations, laws, rites, customs, &c.*"

as rejected by true philosophy; and though his words do not here imply so much, it is certain, that beneath these contemptuous expressions are included the creeds, and the great doctrines of the Christian Church.

What is the source of these theories! Let Mr. Sterling answer:—

"Of the main view as to the world which we have attributed to Mr. Carlyle, it is evident that the great fountain is the literature of *Germany* during the last sixty years. This is not merely apparent from the *citations which he makes*, the *men he delights in*, and the key-words and peculiar terms of expression which he employs; but the proof of it lies in the thought itself. All the *higher minds of Germany*, beginning at least with Lessing, have seen and taught, not that there is a *scheme of*



*truth, called Christianity, on one side, and on the other a heap of experiences and notions, called the world, the two connected by a rope, longer or shorter, weaker or tougher, called Evidences of its truth; but that human existence, and the universe which it belongs to, are the manifestations of a higher idea, which breaks out in all true religion, and above all, but not exclusively, in what is called, and is, Christianity.*"

to presume that in something of the same sense all other religions and philosophies are also Revelations.

When in its imperfect, partial displays, this higher unseen substance has supplied the energy and light of *all religions* upon earth. In its historical radiation it has been, rather than been mingled with, Christianity: and in its fulness and purity consist *the Christian religion and the wisest and most faithful spirits*. But this supersensual infinite of which all phenomena are but gleams and echoes, has spoken in many times, more or less forcibly, home to the hearts of *all men* who have ever rejoiced, with trembling, at the name of God."

It is to say, Christianity has no *peculiar* or exclusive claim to be regarded as a Divine Revelation. It stands in this respect, on a level with all other religions in the world.

On this general point of view, and the bent of soul which it implies, Mr. Carlyle is entirely at one with the Germans; *whose tendencies are in perfect agreement more and more with the whole thought of the best minds in Germany*. These views, indeed, have been often very indirectly conveyed to those who now partake of them, and who are sometimes furiously jealous for a benefit, of which one wishes, therefore, to believe them unconscious. *The speculations of Coleridge, which are daily working wider and wider changes among us, were altogether cast, and in his case avowedly, in the German mould*. But in no one known in English letters has the spirit of that old fatherland of England been so apparent and so true as in Mr. Carlyle."—pp. 263, 264.

When we to regard Mr. Carlyle's popularity as a writer as evidence of the general acceptance of his views in England, we may indeed tremble for Christianity in this land. But our peril is, that his books are, in many cases, read from admiration and abilities, or from love of excitement and novelty, without acceptance of his views. Their indiscriminate perusal is, therefore, a sign of *unguardedness* at least, which the adherents of Christianity should not overlook in forming their estimate of the state of the public mind.

But the opinions of Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Coleridge were to a great degree formed by the study of German literature, we have the statement of Mr. Sterling and Mr. Hare. From the

biography before us, it is evident that Mr. Sterling was himself wholly under the same influence; and judging by the tests above applied to Mr. Carlyle, we can scarcely avoid including Mr. Hare also in the same school. But of this we propose to speak more fully hereafter.

We have seen already the unsoundness of Coleridge's views on the subject of the inspiration of Scripture—a doctrine on which, of course, the whole of the Christian faith depends. Whatever may be a man's belief in the particular doctrines of religion, we cannot consider him as a sound or safe teacher when he disputes the only rational foundation of his own belief. For a Christianity merely founded on philosophical argument, we have not a particle of respect or value. It is a mere rope of sand, which has no principle of cohesion. It may be dissolved by the same intellect which has chosen it as accordant with its own views. It is not founded in faith. Can we, without disloyalty to that Gospel, which we know to be no "cunningly devised fable," recognize as our guides men who have made shipwreck of their faith in the authority of that Gospel? Yet we have Archdeacon Hare without scruple admitting Coleridge's "broad divergence" from the faith of the Church on this point, while he describes him as "the true *sovereign* of modern English thought."

Coleridge did not attempt to conceal his principles. We have seen this in Sterling's intercourse with him; and the very same evil influence was operating on a mind but too much predisposed to receive it. We allude to Blanco White, whose views, principles, and tendencies remind us forcibly of those of Sterling. In Blanco White's Life, (Vol. i. p. 417, &c.) we see that about 1825 he formed a personal acquaintance with Coleridge, and on one occasion paid a visit at his house six hours in length. We know that at this time Blanco White's own opinions on the subject of the Scripture, were of a most unsettled character—in fact those of an unbeliever. "At all times," he says (p. 404), "have I suffered the most painful uneasiness at church when many of the Sunday lessons were read. The miracles of Elisha revolted me; the history of Samson exhausted my patience; and that of Balaam appeared to me as a mockery of the Deity. My difficulties in regard to the Divine authority of the writings of the New Testament were considerable, but they could not be compared to those first mentioned. Still, however, I clung to the character of Christ; the one only thing indeed which has always kept up my sincere determination to profess myself and be his follower; that is, to worship God as *he* did, and serve God as he set the example." In this state of mind Blanco White became acquainted with Mr.

ge, and it cannot be supposed that he attempted to consentiments on religious subjects. Indeed what remains correspondence between them, shows that there was no ment of view. In a letter, written shortly after their first stance in 1825, Coleridge says to Blanco White :—

is indeed delightful to me on so many points, to find myself part, and spirit, in *sympathy with such an intellect and such a yours*. But, my dear sir, much, very much I have to say to which not worldly but Christian discretion requires a *fit* auditor petent. First, I thank you for the manliness with which you posed that current illiberal dogma, that infidelity always arises re or corrupt affections. Secondly, I venture to confess my on, that the pernicious *idol of delegated infallibility has its base deeper error, common to Romish and Reformed*; and I would w you a series of letters, which have for more than a year lain in isher's hands, on the right and superstitious use and veneration *acred Scriptures*. God knows! if all the books in the world one scale, and the Bible in the other, the former would strike n, in my serious judgment. But still an infallibility wholly , and without any correspondent *subjective* (call it grace, spiri- erience, or what you will), is *an absurdity*—a substanceless idol ich *sensations* may be attached, but which cannot be the subject ct conception, much less of a clear idea.”—p. 419.

apparently were the speculations which this “sovereign ern English thought” was in the habit of indulging amidst le of his “disciples,” of whom Mr. Hare acknowledges to be one. It is therefore with no unfounded distrust that r the latter speaking of “ignorant, uncritical, baseless ions concerning literal *inspiration*,” and the pressing want *intelligent theory of inspiration*.”

ose who have perused Blanco White's Life, the sympathy between Coleridge and him will not seem in the least sur-

They differed in details doubtless, because Blanco White almost all the doctrines of Christianity in particular, which no means the case with Coleridge. But they were agreed ing or denying the inspiration of the word of God; and idies were directed to the same sources. The German bers and writers on religious subjects (we cannot bear to m theologians), such as Kant, Fichte, Schleiermacher,

Nitsch, Neander, Paulus, &c., were especial objects of on to Blanco White, just as they were to Coleridge and disciples,” Mr. Hare and Mr. Sterling. Neander, one of of these German writers on religious subjects,—one of heretical in his views, in reply to a communication from

B. White stating "his separation from the Church of England, his declaration of Unitarian principles," his belief that "the crime of intellectual heresy is imaginary, and that Christianity is not orthodoxy" (Vol. ii. pp. 145, 146), sends "to his dear friend, the Rev. Blanco White, a token of his undisturbed friendship, love, and spiritual communion" (p. 236). It was in the same spirit that Dr. Hampden, about the same time, published the opinion, in his pamphlet on the admission of Dissenters into the Universities; that Socinians were to be placed on precisely the same level with other Christians,—a sentiment which awakened the keenest sympathies of his friend Blanco White, who felt his own principles involved in the controversy on Dr. Hampden's writings; while Lord Holland, B. White's patron, who consoled him by the quiet assurance that the Christian religion "was not intended to convey a proposition so revolting to one's understanding, and such a solecism in language, as that *one is three, and three are one*," and that Unitarianism is preferable to "any shape that Judaism, Paganism, Hinduism, Mahometanism, or Christianity has hitherto assumed" (pp. 129, 130), was equally indignant at the "impudence of the intolerants of Oxford;" and while wishing success to Hampden's cause, referred his correspondent to works where he would "find matter wherewith to expose the folly of exacting particular explanations, as well as subscriptions to creeds, and arguments against the injustice of denying the name of Christians to Socinians" (p. 194). It is a fact not undeserving of notice also, that in the late controversy on Dr. Hampden's appointment to the see of Hereford, Mr. Hare was amongst his warmest supporters, while Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, on a full examination of a work, the spirit of which is subversive of our creed and articles, pronounced it free from doctrinal error. Mr. Maurice, one of Sterling's "two great friends," was also ranged on Dr. Hampden's side, as Blanco White and Arnold were in 1836. We deem such facts as these illustrative of the affinity, at first sight so little perceptible, which seems to exist between persons of different views. Mr. Hare and Mr. Maurice are certainly not Socinians, nor do they agree with Blanco White on other points, and yet they and others of the Coleridge school, are drawn by some influence into the same course of action on an occasion when the cause of Christian truth in general is involved. In the hour of difficulty they are found combating on the same side as Arnold, Bunsen, or Hampden, though in a somewhat different tone.

In the perusal of Blanco White's Life, it is curious to trace the similarity of his views to those of Sterling. In both there is the same thirst for absolute freedom of thought, contempt for creeds and articles of faith, denial of the inspiration of Scripture, with

is for its subversion, rejection of the notion of *any* Christianity as of Divine appointment, professed sympathy with its writers.

The readers of Hampden's Bampton Lectures, the following of Blanco White on the baptismal service will be fami-

the whole theory of original sin, according to Augustine and the view of the sacraments, as CHARMS operating by means of magical powers, attached to certain things or words, is conveyed in a series of assertions delivered with all the dogmatism of a professor of the thirteenth centuries."—Vol. i. p. 269.

In one period, while externally in communion with the Church of England, he tells us, that "he was convinced of the uncertainty of *dogmatic conclusions* on the subjects disputed among Christians; that the *Scriptures* do not afford the means even of high probability for settling these questions," that he was "on the verge of absolute disbelief in Christ;" that, however, he "was a practical believer in Christ, but had *no definite creed*" (Vol. i. p. 367). He tells us that he at length perceived "that neither Christ, nor the apostles whose productions make up the New Testament, had conceived the plan of making a creed the foundation of the religion they preached to the world; that Christianity has no *latitude*—that Christianity "was published more as *destructive* of idolatry, than [as] a constructive system of doctrines and ceremonies;" that the "*gross rejection of Christ* which prevails every day more and more, is a necessary consequence of the rejection of *dogmas* and *Scripture inspiration*" (Vol. i. p. 405). Blanco White tells us that—

"Every church establishment is a mighty joint-stock company of error and deception, which invites subscriptions to the common fund, from the greatest amount of hypocrisy to the lowest penny and farthing contribution of acquiescence in what the conscience does not entirely approve."—Vol. ii. p. 193.

"At insuperable difficulties," he says, "fall away upon dismissing the *strange* supposition of the divinity of Christ, and of the infallibility of the writers in the Bible! Dr. Whately has endeavoured to overthrow the false political economy of the Gospels, and indeed of the New Testament altogether, in regard to almsgiving: but the thing cannot be done. Christ and his Apostles *thought*, that to give away to a beggar a man possessed was one of the highest acts of virtue."—Vol. ii. p. 200.

He shudders in transcribing this passage.

Sterling, Blanco White was an admirer of Strauss' *Leben Jesu* (Vol. ii. p. 270). His view of Scripture history was this:—

"Whoever believes in prophecy is under a religious duty of finding it realized as history at some time or other. Reports about Jesus would circulate, and if they agreed with the supposed prophecies, no *Messianists* would hesitate a moment to receive them as facts. In this manner were the Gospels compiled. They contain an original moral and intellectual sketch of the individual Jesus, which the right moral feeling of every man may recognize and fill up. This is the only historical element of Christianity."—Vol. ii. p. 271.

We are reluctant to pollute our pages with passages like the foregoing; but the interests of Christian truth forbid us to shrink from exposing the issue of tendencies which are elsewhere more cautiously and timidly developed, but which are *increasing* amongst men—tendencies which are, we are persuaded, in connexion with the spirit of anti-Christ, which seeks to dethrone Jesus Christ on earth, and to establish a chaos of blasphemy, superstition, and frenzy in place of the Gospel. What else can be the meaning of these open and stealthy attacks upon the Scriptures, which Christians glory in acknowledging to be the inspired Word of God, written under the guidance of the Holy Ghost? What else can be the meaning of those innumerable attacks on those professions of faith which, for fifteen, nay, eighteen hundred years, have enshrined the simplest, though most sublime, elements of the Christian Revelation? Whence those varied efforts to create dissatisfaction with all settled and fixed convictions: whence these appeals to the deep-rooted pride of the human heart to struggle against all authority, human and even divine; to proclaim man's self-sufficiency, and thus virtually to deny the existence of a Creator? And weak, well-meaning, shallow men are carried away by the pompous name of Philosophy, under which incredulity and blasphemy conceal their approaches. They are made tools in the hand of Infidelity to advance its hideous cause. They cry, "Peace, when there is no peace." Misled by a criminal vanity, or a thirst for innovation, or by a miserable party spirit, they *will* pave the way for doctrines which they themselves do not hold, and which, if they gained the ascendancy, would precipitate into destruction the very persons who had aided to introduce them.

Sophists may weave a thousand webs of disputation around all things human and divine. Philosophy, in its transcendental speculations, can teach us, not merely that there is no God, or that the earth on which we tread is God, or that man himself is God (which means, in other words, that there is no God); but it can teach us to doubt our own existence. We are, therefore, compelled, in all matters of practical importance, to descend from our philosophical reveries, and to be guided by the common and unphilosophical powers of the human understanding. It is to such

and ordinary powers of the human mind that the Christian religion, in its evidences and its doctrines, is addressed. The unlearned person is as capable of receiving the great truths revealed by God as the philosopher can be. He can, perhaps, comprehend *them* more fully and deeply, because his mind is less clogged by preconceived ideas. This was to be anticipated from the design of God in revealing a religion—not merely for a few men, but for “all nations.” Its universality of design is for the unphilosophical form which it necessarily possesses. Philosophy could never have become the religion of the world. Philosophy can devise some arguments in favour of Creeds: it can certainly advance at least as many against them. Doubtless, if we assume the supremacy of human reason, we can easily show that Creeds are inconsistent with such a notion. It may be easy to show that they are an impediment to freedom of thought, intellectual progress, &c. Odium may be raised against them as containing language derived from the schools, from false philosophy, &c. &c. forth. This is all very fine and very learned, without effect; but we put aside all this cant of Infidelity by asking whether the Creeds do not contain statements of doctrine simply and definitely put? Do not those Creeds, for instance, distinctly affirm the divinity of the Son of God—the divinity of the Holy Spirit—the forgiveness of sins—and other similar dogmatical statements? Every one knows that they do. The *fact* of their containing distinct and binding statements of doctrine furnishes the ground and cause of objection to them. If so, then the objector must either point out the particular doctrine contained in the Creed which he believes *erroneous*, in which case he proves himself to be a heretic; or he must confess that he objects to the Creeds, not because their language is scholastic, or because they are obstacles to freedom of thought, but because he denies the existence of *any doctrines* in Christianity, in which case he is to be regarded as AN INFIDEL. In this day we have nothing to fear from either Heresy or Infidelity if they will only show themselves.

It is when they lurk under the guise of Christianity, and are sapping and undermining the edifice of faith without disclosing their ultimate objects; or when they are able to tempt vain coxcombs by the inducements of distinction and worldly favour, to do mischief,—it is then we say, that real danger is to be apprehended. An avowed heretic or an avowed infidel in the present age is shorn of his power.

We admire fair and open dealing. Let those who object to Creeds, point out in what particular doctrines or statements they are faulty. Let them produce better Creeds if they can; let them

argue that this or that article ought to be omitted from the Creed, for some assigned reason; or let them openly say that they do not believe in *any doctrines whatever*, as revealed. But do not let them pretend to object to mere modes of expression, or needless restraints on liberty, or other points which are beside the main question.

We must here say something of another point which comes out prominently in the writings of authors such as we have spoken of, who are connected by certain main and leading principles, though differing widely in details. We allude to their attacks upon what they designate as "Priestcraft," and "Priesthood." This is a very important subject, and the assiduity with which the attack is maintained, is a sign of its importance. There are some writers, such as Whately, with whom this never-ending condemnation of those who maintain that there is any Priest in the Church except its Divine Head, is comparatively innocuous, wearing in fact the character either of a truism, or of an argument against an abuse of one of the sacraments by the Roman Church. In a certain sense we know, of course, as every one who believes St. Paul does, that there is only *one sacrificing Priest*, in the Universal Church, and that in this sense no human being can be a priest. But although the repeated assertion of this truth may in itself arise from no evil intention, it is very much to be feared that there is frequently more really involved in it than meets the ear, and more meant by it, than many of those who have adopted the cant of their leaders, would themselves approve of. As far as we can judge, the notion seems to have been imported from Germany by the Chevalier Bunsen, from whom it was adopted by his admirer Dr. Arnold, and then by Dr. Whately, Blanco White, and all the connexion. But few of these writers appear to have thoroughly penetrated the real meaning of the objection to the "Priesthood" in the present day, except Bunsen, Arnold, and Blanco White, with whom Sterling may be also classed.

The objection, then, of these writers to the Priesthood, is *not* to the sacrificial character with which they are invested by the Church of Rome; but it is an objection to the notion of *any order of men being set apart by Divine appointment* to administer the sacraments, teach the doctrines of the Gospel, and manage the government of the Church. There are various modifications of this view, but, on the whole, it goes to destroy the ministry in every Church and every sect, whether it be Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent, and to do away with the notion of any Christian ministry; leaving it to every man to be his own Priest. To carry



se views properly, the Church property ought to be confiscated and the churches ought to be pulled down to mend the roads, and converted into cotton-factories.

There has been, we all remember, a vast deal of discussion of various kinds on the subject of the Christian ministry; and much has been said on both sides of the question, which ought to have been left unsaid. Exaggeration in some quarters has been met by exaggeration in others. But amongst those who have been the most violent and longest in their attacks on the extravagancies of Roman Catholicism, we cannot remember any who have assailed the Christian ministry itself, or have held it up to execration as a device of the Devil or of Christ to uphold falsehood. There is a latitude of opinion on the subject of the Divine obligation of certain forms of Church government, which may fairly exist in the English Church, as it exists even in the Church of Rome. But we are not now about to discuss any such diversity of views in matters of Church government or the ordination of ministers. We have to point out the existence of principles, which tend to the total subversion of the Christian ministry in every shape. We begin with Blanco White.

One of the passages announcing the *independence* of the true Christian ministry from a Priesthood is that quoted by Peter in Acts ii. and taken from the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is extremely figurative. It nevertheless shows that *prophesying*, i. e. the exposition of religious points, was under the Gospel, to be left to all who should have the Spirit of Christ in them. The Spirit of Christ is promised to all true Christians. 'But ye (all Christians) have received the unction (χρίσμα, consecration as priests) from the Holy One, that ye may know all things (1 John ii. 20). *You are your own Priests and your own expounders.* 'Stop!' says the frightened Theologian, 'Christians infallible?' They are *infallible*, i. e. each Christian is his own guide to himself."—Vol. ii. p. 5.

A second course of experience has made me perceive that the *Protestant* Priesthood is very far from being free from the mischievous tendencies which made me quit my country; that in spite of the principles which would justify the Reformation—in spite of political freedom and of the Protestant Clergy, as a Priesthood, are (I do not speak of every individual) bigoted, intolerant, jealous of mental progress, and deliberately opposed to every thing which is not calculated to keep the mass of the people in a state of pupillage to *the Church*, that is, *a union of Priests*. My impressions of the character of the Priesthood among Roman Catholics were certainly not prejudices. Did not I, on the contrary, *perceive* when I was first persuaded myself that *a Priesthood* did not contain the seed of evil under the form of a Protestant Church?"—Vol. ii.

In the preceding passage it appears clearly that the objection

to a "Priesthood" is simply an objection to a clerical order—to the notion of men being set apart specially for the ministry of the Gospel.

"One of the oldest and most pernicious errors of mankind is that which supposes the necessity of forming a *body of men* who, in the name of Heaven, shall take the guidance of the religious principle of all the rest. Once grant that such bodies exist, for the benefit of morality, or much more, for the salvation of the eternal souls of men, and a most active, encroaching principle is brought into existence, which must be perpetually at work upon society to bring it completely under the power of the *Priesthood*. . . . Place a numerous body of men in the position of mental guides to a whole nation, which is the *legal* position of the Church of England, in such a body, ambition of the most injurious kind takes the appearance of virtue."—Vol. ii. pp. 175, 176.

The following passage is deeply instructive, in showing the connexion which exists between "a Priesthood," that is, the ministry of the Gospel, and the *doctrines* and *evidences* of the Gospel. The object of those who assail the ministry of the Church is to remove the whole of Christianity along with it. This is just what might have been expected.

Hear Blanco White—

"Christianity must carry its own proof in its *reasonableness*, in its agreement with *the light within us*, as the original Quakers very properly asserted. . . . This light of the conscience is what Christ and the original Apostles called the *spirit*, which was to lead the disciples into *all the truth*. The necessity of believing in *inspiration* and *miracles* was the contrivance of those early Christians who wished to become *Priests*. A Priesthood cannot exist unsupported by *oracles* of which they are to be exclusive interpreters, and mysteries of which they alone are the dispensers."—Vol. ii. p. 280.

The inspiration of the Bible is, it seems, wholly the invention of the "Priesthood" or Clergy: *in order to overthrow the Bible we must first root out the Clergy*. We are thankful for this admission. It will open the eyes of the most unobservant to the real source of the attacks on the "Priesthood," as it is called with malicious intent. "Priestcraft" in the eyes of those men consists in defending the Bible as the inspired word of God, and in preaching and teaching that which is firmly believed to be contained in the Bible.

Take the following again :

"All the ancient Asiatic temples had an establishment of slaves, who belonged to the Priesthood. That custom has revived in a spiritual shape among us. I have just been looking at a long double row of girls and boys walking slowly towards Mr. S—'s church. What a

ous medley will the minds of those children present if they actually be in the instruction of their *Priest*! No one can form to himself an idea of such a state of mind who does not know Mr. S—, *one of the greatest luminaries of the evangelicals*. . . . It is melancholy to conceive numbers who are thus mentally crippled by the activity of the *Priesthoods*. Mr. S—'s school appears to me to consist of from three hundred children. Does Mr. S— and his compeers love education? Yes, passionately; they love the education which produces a *Priestly* class. Allured by the name education the parents lend their children that the Priest may **BREAK THEM** fit them to his service. Until *all Priesthoods shall be abolished* we cannot move on steadily towards the point of moral and intellectual dignity which belongs to our nature."—Vol. ii. pp. 315, 316.

is frank and plain speaking, and we trust it will be useful. We now pass on to another writer—a writer from whose influence we believe the whole of the modern attack on the Christian religion to have proceeded—a writer allied by the closest intimacy with Dr. Arnold, and with Archdeacon Hare—and, appropriately enough, *a German*. We allude to the Chevalier Bunsen, a man of ability and of learning, but deeply imbued with the characteristics of the modern German mind, and a Revolutionist in religious matters. The Chevalier Bunsen has recently given to the world, in his "Church of the Future," the doctrines which he has been instilling into the ears of his friends<sup>3</sup>. We call him a Revolutionist in religious matters, because he represents *Christian doctrine in general* as a human invention, and assails every existing religious society as anti-Christian, while, with comical inconsistency, he proposes to reconstruct in Prussia a new Church, in which there are to be all Priests; and yet an Episcopate and Priesthood modelled after that of the Church of England and of America is to be maintained. We demur to M. Bunsen's principles, but we cordially approve of much of his constructive schemes, with one grand exception, we mean his fantastic proposal that the new bishops receive *no* ordination from those who are alone qualified to give it—the Bishops of the Christian Church.

We must make some allowance for German prejudices in connection with which Bunsen protests against the notion of Episcopacy being essential to the Church as a matter of Divine institution, and which leads him to exclaim with extraordinary violence,

"If an angel from heaven should manifest to me, that by . . . merely introducing the introduction of such an Episcopacy into any part of

<sup>3</sup> Church of the Future, Preface, p. xxiv.

Germany . . . I should successfully combat the unbelief, Pantheism, and Atheism of the day, I would *not* do it : so help me God. Amen. We may be doomed to perish, Church and State ; but we must not be saved, and cannot be saved, by seeking life in externals."—p. xlvii.

Such sentiments afford a very fitting introduction to such statements as the following, in which we recognize the genuine spirit of German speculation.

"The Reformation," says Bunsen, "demanded in behalf of Christian life the recognition of the *Universal Priesthood of Christians*." This "Universal Priesthood" of Christians is, in other words, "man's *personal* moral responsibility," or "*the full freedom of conscience* of the individual" (pp. 16, 17). Here we have the same doctrine of which we have been speaking, namely, the assertion that each individual is, or ought to be, *his own Priest*, to the exclusion of the clergy.

The Reformation, as Bunsen justly affirms, did not "actually realize" this Universal Priesthood (p. 17) ; but it rendered its exhibition *possible*. Indeed, as he goes on to state, Christianity rests only on the belief in those "*facts*" of creation, redemption, and outpouring of the Holy Ghost, on which *theology* raises its superstructure of *doctrine*, in the form of confessions, articles, and systems ; this she has done for the last three hundred years in the Protestant Churches . . . with the same one-sided view as the Clergy of the earlier Church for a thousand years before. I mean with the notion that Christianity is in the very first place a *doctrine*, and that unity of doctrine, that is, of a theological system, is the condition of the development of the Church in every other respect. Such a view *must necessarily arise in every Clergy-Church*."—p. 19.

We have here the same statement from Bunsen as from Blanco White, that *Christian doctrine as a whole*, with all the creeds, articles of faith, and religious systems of every kind, depend vitally upon the existence of the *Clergy*. Mr. Bunsen objects altogether to the notion that Christianity depends on *doctrine*. Idolatry and the other evils of Christianity arise, according to him, from the *polity* of the Church, i. e., we presume, its non-recognition of the "Universal Priesthood." Concede, in short, the principle that every man is his own Priest, and the Clergy will have no more power to uphold the authority of such dogmas as the Inspiration of Scripture, the Trinity, the Atonement, the Incarnation, &c. We *believe* the Chevalier. He is quite right. We see the result quite as clearly as he does ; but *we* do not wish for that result.

This "fundamental principle of the Universal Priesthood," according to Bunsen, "is bound up with all Protestant life, amongst

s in particular," "in opposition to the usurpation of an  
ve Priesthood;" and this Universal Priesthood "resolves  
to the general moral responsibility of every individual"

Bunsen attempts to reconcile the notion of the Divine  
on of a ministry in the Church, with this sweeping prin-  
hich he admits to be "apparently contradictory" to it;  
think this attempt at reconciling the two, leaves the  
just as it found it. The whole argument of his work is  
ve of the Christian ministry.

*y Spiritual Corporation* . . . . has necessarily a tendency to  
the ministry committed to it, to consider itself as the whole,  
f a part called to a particular office with respect to the whole;  
his to ground an assumption of power and plenipotentiality.  
endency in the Christian ministry not only encroaches upon the  
the Christian people, but also leads to superstitious views of  
itself. For it tends of necessity to obscure more and more  
g of the Universal Priesthood, and of the purely spiritual nature  
crifice, and, unless we entirely misunderstand the history of  
stian religion, can even lead to a complete misconception of the  
character of Christianity altogether. The most general evil,  
which such views produce is this, that they lead men to judge  
side of ecclesiastical relations from an exclusively theological  
view, and to make a question of conscience out of a question

This we take leave to call *Priestcraft*, and we consider it  
er to which all *Clergy-Churches*, as such, are exposed,—that  
lesiastical communities, in which the body of the Clergy, prac-  
least, steps into the place of the Christian people, and makes  
e the Church. The Lutheran Clergy have exhibited this spirit  
craft under their consistorial polity, and the Calvinist under  
sbyterian form of government, as much as the Oriental, Roman,  
lican bishops; it was manifested as much at Wittenburg,  
and Dort, as at Jerusalem, Rome, and Canterbury."—p. 72.

irse it follows from this, that the Clergy are a great evil,  
to their existence is to be traced the general interference  
at "fundamental" principle of the "Universal Priest-  
Away, then, with the Clergy! "Let the theologians be  
'as Blanco White exclaims to Mr. John Mill—"Ecrasez  
!" "Yes!" rejoins Bunsen; "all Church polities  
or imagined during this dead and dreary period, rest  
the remains of the earlier building, that is, on the Epis-  
f the middle ages, or on the mere negation of it . . . .  
ition which the Church of the Future must hold with  
to both can scarcely be doubtful, after what has been  
aid. *The ruins of the old Clergy-Church must be cleared*  
.—NO. XX.—DEC. 1848.

away, as well as those modern systems [of Dissent] which are built up upon the mere denial of what is false in it" (p. 67).

We shall not follow the Chevalier through his scheme for constructing a Church system in Prussia, which is absolutely ludicrous after the principles which he has laid down. For, in the name of common sense, is it to be endured that sixty bishops, with plenty of archbishops, and we know not how many synods, diocesan and provincial, &c. &c., should be established in Prussia to weigh down the "fundamental" doctrine of the "Universal Priesthood?" The Chevalier endeavoured to present an Episcopacy with pretensions suited to German notions and prejudices; but the constructive part of the "Church of the Future" is now at rest for ever; its *aggressions* on the Church, however, are still bearing fruit, and are fostering amongst laymen with whom the position of this writer brings him in contact, the most pernicious and unsound principles; and converting them into enemies of the Church of England. The principles of Bunsen, and Dr. Arnold, his disciple, have been greedily received by politicians; and hence the renewal of the old Infidel cry of "Priestcraft," and "Priestly pretensions."

We now come to Arnold's views on the subject of the Christian ministry. The following extracts from his Life and Correspondence will sufficiently illustrate the nature of those views, and their connexion with those of Blanco White and Bunsen. We would however first remind the reader of the sympathy expressed by Arnold with Coleridge's views on the *Inspiration of Scripture*, which has been already referred to, and of his well-known proposal of a plan of Church Reform, which consisted in the union of all sects in one communion, without entering into any agreement in matters of doctrine. Arnold was led to make this monstrous proposal, by the excessive apprehension under which he laboured, that the Church would speedily sink under the assaults of its radical and dissenting opponents, if it were not thrown open to the dissenters of all kinds. The general tone of his principles was of a latitudinarian complexion, as may be readily conjectured from the fact of such a proposal as that alluded to. As his biographer remarks—

"It was as frustrating the union of all Christians, in accomplishing what he believed to be the true end enjoined by their common Master, that he felt so strongly against the desire for *uniformity of opinion* or worship, which he used to denounce under the name of Sectarianism. It was as annihilating what he believed to be the Apostolical idea of a Church, that he felt so strongly against that principle of separation between the clergy and laity which he used to denounce under the name of Priestcraft."—*Life*, vol. i. pp. 225, 226.

old laboured in all ways to efface the distinction between  
and laity. The order of deacons was to be revived, in such  
as to promote this (Vol. ii. p. 152). The laity were to sit in  
—the Clergy to be admitted to the civil legislature. He  
xious for an authoritative permission to be given to officers  
army and navy to administer Baptism and the Lord's  
r (Vol. i. p. 228). All of this was for the purpose of breaking  
the Priestcraft system—the distinction between Clergy and  
That distinction he regarded as human in its origin, and  
evous in its results.

u (Sir T. S. Pasley) ask whether I think that a Christian minis-  
of Divine appointment. Now I cannot conceive any Church  
g without public prayer, preaching, and communion, and *some*  
inister in these offices. But that these 'some' should be always  
*e persons*, that they should form *a distinct profession*, and, fol-  
no other calling, should be maintained by the Church, I do not  
o be of Divine appointment. But I think it highly expedient  
should be so. In the same way, government for the Church is of  
appointment, and is of absolute necessity, but that the governors  
be for life, or possess such and such powers, or should be appointed  
and such a way ; all this appears to me to be left entirely open."  
ii. p. 284.

regards it as

e of the most mischievous falsehoods ever broached, that the  
nent of the Christian Church is vested by Divine right in the  
and that the close corporation of bishops and presbyters—whether  
more makes no difference—is, and ever ought to be, the repre-  
re of the Christian Church. Holding this doctrine as the very  
stone of all my political belief, I am equally opposed to Popery,  
Churchism, and the claims of the Scotch Presbyters, on the one  
nd to all the Independents, and advocates of the separation, as  
ll it, of Church and State, on the other ; the first setting up a  
od in the place of the Church."—Vol. ii. p. 190.

following passage is well worthy of remark.

ould do any thing in the world to destroy that disastrous fiction  
h the minister has been made "*personam Ecclesiæ gerere*," and  
the Oxford doctrines are not only upholding, but aggravating.  
*laurence* seems to me to be infected in some measure with the  
ror in what he says respecting the rights of the Church—meaning  
rgy—to educate the people. A female reign is an unfavourable  
mean for pressing strongly the doctrine of the Crown's Supre-  
Yet that doctrine has been vouchsafed to our Church by so rare  
re a blessing of God, and contains in itself so entirely the true  
the Christian perfect Church—the kingdom of God—and is so  
to the *overthrowing of that which I regard as the essence of all*  
*evil in Popery—the doctrine of the Priesthood*—that I do wish

even now, that people's eyes might be opened to see the peculiar blessing of our Church constitution, and to work it out to its full development."—Vol. ii. p. 234.

The allusion to Mr. Maurice in the preceding passage as a writer from whom Arnold had not expected to hear any "Priestly" doctrines, reminds us of the close sympathy subsisting between Bunsen and Arnold on the one hand, and Hare and Sterling, who were disciples of the Coleridge school, on the other.

Sterling's admiration for Arnold, and thorough sympathy with him, we have seen. He looked to him as much as he did to his two great friends, Carlyle and Maurice, for the reform and purification of the national mind on religious subjects.

Bunsen, in speaking of Arnold, says:—

"It is a token full of comfort, that in our own age no one has conceived and presented the truth of the Universal Priesthood of Christians with so much life and in such close connexion with the very marrow of Christian doctrine, and has made it tell once more so powerfully, convincingly, and extensively against the assumptions of the Clergy-church, as another clergyman of the Episcopal Church of England, Arnold. . . . The spirit of this revered apostle of the free Church of the Future departed before he had completed the great work of his life, his book on the Church."—*Ch. of the Future*, p. 221.

Be it remembered that this writer describes the English Church as one of those Clergy-churches "the ruins of which must be swept away." Mr. Hare also evinces the most entire sympathy with Arnold, as one "whose name now stands higher, perhaps, in the esteem, and admiration, and reverence of England than any other man of our generation, my dear and magnanimous friend Dr. Arnold" (*Letter to Dean of Chichester*, p. 5); while of Bunsen's work he observes, in reference to the development of the various elements of the Church—"as has been admirably shown by my beloved and revered friend, the Chevalier Bunsen, in his Treatise on the Church of the Future" (*Miss. of Comforter*, pp. 10, 11).

And yet it is worthy of remark that these various reformers of our religious system were men of widely different views in details, and even on points of the highest importance. They were not of the same school in the sense of any identity of opinion; but still there was a profound sympathy between them, a consciousness of general oneness of tendency amidst all their contradictions in detail. And in this sense they may be classed by men as of one school. What is the common characteristic of that school? We believe it to consist simply in the striving after intellectual liberty, a tendency to reject all which does not commend itself to the individual reason as right and true—a tendency to resist authority of whatever nature it may be, which interposes any restraint on



edom of speculation. It is not so much any objective truth thinkers of this class contend for, as liberty of thought in itself. Their objection is not to particular doctrines, but to imposed obligation on individuals to receive those doctrines. The tendency manifests itself in innumerable shapes, but where it is, it is a link between men otherwise discordant in their views, and makes them act together. For instance, Mr. Hare is as the apologist of Dr. Hampden, who is of a different opinion in some respects. Thus again, Mr. Maurice steps forth to oppose against any censure on Mr. *Ward's* doctrines, the opposite of his own! Why is this? Because no infringement on the liberty of speculation is thought desirable. Blanco White was almost driven out of his senses by the condemnation of Hampden in 1836, from whom he differed in some points—not that a “truth” was condemned; but because “intolerance” and “error” were triumphant.

Let us return now to Sterling and his editor. Mr. Hare has, we think, taken a very *bold* step in publishing Sterling's Remains. It is of opinion that a few years since he would have hesitated to expose to the Church such a mass of pernicious speculations, the avowal of an infidel philosophy from which Mr. Hare himself

The Oxford movement had its exaggerations and its errors, but it barred the way against such attempts as this. It shifted from its original principles, under the sway of one or two unsettled minds, it lost its hold upon the public mind, whether good or ill; and the road was opened to principles which had at a time been trampled down and buried beneath its victorious progress. In the view of men of unsettled principles, and of a speculative disposition, the time has now arrived for a free and full investigation of the claims of Christianity. Mr. Hare has taken a long step in this direction by publishing Sterling's Speeches. It is true that he professes not to agree with some of them, and we entirely *believe* him; but it is plain that the very fact of publication by a person in his station cannot be understood in any other light but this: that such speculations are *fit and proper to be placed before the English public*, that they ought to be fully *considered and examined*. The publication *can* mean nothing less than this.

Mr. Hare forbids us to condemn Sterling. He himself “cannot do so.” And this is perfectly consistent with his oft-repeated sentiment, that the liberty of thought must not be checked in any way, but that we must *go along* with the intellectual tendency around us, and endeavour to direct it aright. Accordingly while Mr. Hare does not hesitate himself to condemn Rationalism in the abstract, and in language the vigour of which is fully equal to that of

any writer we are acquainted with, he will not allow any one to discourage the study of such German theology as he himself approves of, and is indignant and scornful at the very notion. While he speaks of the "slough of Rationalism"—the "stigma of German theology"—"its *anti-Christian* spirit"—"the enormous mass of evil, of shallow presumption, of ostentatious folly, of wild extravagance in the German theology of the last half century;" and while he admits that it is impossible to read such writers without injury; he, nevertheless, has no patience with Rose and Dewar, who point out the dangers of studying German Infidelity and Heresy. He sneers at those who look on the region of German theology "as a vast wilderness peopled with 'Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire'" (*Mission of Comforter*, p. xii.). "The views conveyed by Mr. Rose's denunciation were *utterly erroneous*;" "*Ignorance*, however," [such as that of Mr. Rose!] "has not been silenced, and when it is *maledicent*, is sure to find a *credulous* auditory; and thus even Mr. Dewar's *worthless* book is quoted and extolled as an authority" (*Ibid.*). Englishmen merely "give vent to their *bile* and *self-satisfaction* in *abusing* German theology" (p. 800): on which such a man as Dr. Mill "deems himself warranted in *passing sentence without searching into the merits of the case*" (*Ibid.*). "In spite of the indiscriminate *abuse* which has been poured out so continually on modern German theology, they who desire a *sound Christian interpretation of the Scriptures* . . . will be much likelier to find it if they only knew where to look—in the living or recently deceased theologians of Germany, than in Aquinas or any of the schoolmen, nay even than in any of the Fathers. Our *praters about German theology* are in the habit of choosing the evil and refusing the good" (p. 985).

Mr. Hare is in the habit of quoting copiously from such German writers as he approves of. Amongst these "*able champions of the truth*" (*Mis. of Conf.* p. xiii.),\* this "*better school of theology*" (p. 485), which, according to Mr. Hare, has arisen to combat with the anti-Christian spirit in Germany, are Luecke and Neander, Tittman and Schleiermacher, with Nitach, Olshausen, and others whom he quotes. When we remember that even the Unitarian, Dr. Norton, observed to Blanco White, that "the German theologian, Schleiermacher, so highly reputed among his countrymen, was a *1<sup>st</sup> atheist, an admirer of Spinoza, a disbeliever in the personal immortality of man*, and denied any *connexion between religion and morality*" (*B. White's Life*, vol. ii. p. 339), we shall not be accused of bigotry, perhaps, when we say that Mr. Hare's notions of what constitutes a "champion of the truth," conveys, to say the least, a curious notion of what he regards as "truth." When we remember, again, that Neander, another of his "heroes,"

o Blanco White's announcement of his separation from  
ch of England and open declaration of Unitarianism, by  
rance of his "*uninterrupted spiritual communion*," we  
ain say that the Archdeacon can easily satisfy himself on  
tion of orthodoxy; and that we, therefore, cannot wonder  
tire and honourable acquittal of Dr. Hampden. And  
remember that Luecke, a third of his "better school of  
," is, in his *own* work, described as "having some of the  
*Rationalism* sticking to him," insomuch that "he main-  
newhat *pertinaciously* and perversely," that St. John, in  
ular passage, "*has not apprehended our Lord's meaning*  
rectly" (p. 485): again, that Tittman, another of his  
s (p. 484), is acknowledged, in one instance at least, by  
re himself, to be "following in the wake of the dull  
*ism* of the last generation" (p. 563); we do submit, with  
gree of confidence, that Mr. Hare's testimony to the or-  
of any man is of very little weight. Mr. Hare appears  
e of those persons who possess that kind of "deep sym-  
th the *errors* and faults" of mankind which he describes  
gst the most "*precious qualities*" in the writings of  
Carlyle, and Maurice (*Sterling's Life*, p. xxxiv.).

reference to Olshausen's Commentary on the New Testa-  
rich is spoken of in the most laudatory terms by Mr.  
his "Mission of the Comforter," it is sufficient to observe  
has recently been shown in the pages of the "Irish  
stical Journal," that *this* representation of Mr. Hare's  
school of theology," doubts of the authority of the 2nd  
of St. Peter; denies that the Epistle of Jude is apostoli-  
ards the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes,  
mon's Song, as "a transition to the apocryphal books," and  
which should be used with caution; considers the history  
ergesene demoniac to offer "difficulties peculiar to itself,"  
one of the Evangelists speaking of *two* such persons, and  
Evangelist of *one*; that the Apostles and Evangelists  
asionally guilty of "*oversights*;" that the rationalist  
was probably right in considering that our Lord's "direc-

Peter about the tribute money (Matt. xvii. 24—27)  
at he was to find the money, not in the fish's mouth, but  
y it!" &c. Is this the kind of theology which Mr. Hare  
o recommend?

ave already mentioned one circumstance calculated to  
me light on the opinions of Neander; but the means of  
a judgment are now within every one's reach, by the  
ublication of a translation of "Neander's Life of Christ."

This volume, translated by two American professors, and with a preface, which is paraded as being the production of "*a Clergyman of the Church of England*," is sufficient to condemn, decisively and at once, the "School of Theology" recommended by Mr. Hare, and by those who think with him. It is a production which, under pretence of defending Christianity against Infidelity, subverts the whole foundation of the Christian faith; and amidst its denunciation of the stronger forms of Rationalism, is itself steeped in that abomination. The anonymous author of the preface has done wisely to conceal his name. We presume that he felt some misgivings as to the reception of the work by the Church of England. He is one of those who argue that a taste for German theology having been created, it is desirable to gratify it; and thus, although Neander himself disclaims the responsibility of translating his work into English, as having been written amidst the intellectual struggles of Germany, and containing views at variance with old opinions in undisturbed countries, this "Clergyman of the Church of England" lends his aid in disseminating the work, under the pretence that we require the assistance of such writers as Neander to counteract the danger of adopting Strauss' Pantheism. We trust that English Theology can maintain its ground without the aid of such writers as Neander. Our faith would rest on a feeble foundation, indeed, were *he* its guide.

It is worthy of remark that Neander identifies Coleridge with Schleiermacher and with himself, as having a common object and tendency.

"Perhaps," he says, "the influence which the American mind has received from the profound COLERIDGE, who (like Schleiermacher among ourselves) has testified that Christianity is not so much a definite system of conceptions as a power of life, may have contributed, and may still further contribute to prepare the way for a new tendency of scientific theology in your beloved country."—p. xii.

We shall now briefly refer to some of this author's opinions, as specimens of the remainder. He considers that a "system of doctrine which lays down as a standard a definite number of articles of faith . . . and makes this standard a criterion of every one's claims to Christianity," is an "enthusiasm" which leads "to falsehood" (p. xxvi.). He "could not subscribe to any of the existing symbols, except the Apostles' Creed . . . as an unconditional expression of his religious convictions" (Ibid.). The three first Gospels are a mere compilation of traditional accounts and memoirs, and "Matthew's Gospel in its present form *was not the production of the Apostle* whose name it bears, but was *founded* on an account

by him in the Hebrew language" (p. 6). The life of Christ is made up "of fragmentary accounts, whose *literal* we have no right to pre-suppose" (p. 11). We must "wish" the objective reality of the events [of the life of Christ] from the subjective form in which they are apprehended "accounts" [Gospels] (Ibid.). "We cannot vouch with accuracy for the *accuracy* of the means by which the sages after their arrival in Jerusalem, that the chosen child was born in Bethlehem" (p. 27). Neander's mode of meeting attacks of such persons as Strauss and others, who deny the existence of Christ, or the personality of God, is by assuming, as an indisputable axiom, that Christ is "GOD-MAN!" an assumption which might be reasonable enough in a person who has secured the universal belief of the Christian world from the Gospels as a sufficient testimony; but which is, in the case of a man who rejects all external testimony, simply ridiculous. What possible argument can *Neander's* assumption be to any one? In his attempt to meet the theory of Strauss, he "begs the question," and can of course *then* do as he likes. He does not waste more time on this weak, heretical, and disgusting book, than to remark, that in denying, as it does, the moral correctness of the Holy Scripture, it throws doubt on the facts, and all the doctrines, of Christianity.

I cannot wonder at Mr. Hare's commendation of this heretic, when he holds up Sterling to admiration, notwithstanding his disbelief in the inspiration of Scripture. In the same way Coleridge is spoken of, in terms of almost idolatrous devotion, notwithstanding his errors on the same vital point. Mr. Hare is anxious that the writings of this "great religious heretic" should be studied by those whom, in his peculiar terminology, he terms "the *genial* young men of the present day." He recommends some of his *Remains* which contain his views on Scripture, and which Mr. Hare himself allows to be grounded on "the *Rationalism* of Eichhorn and Bertholdt" (*Sterling's Life*, &c.)—are especially recommended. These errors, according to Mr. Hare, form *not more* than "a twentieth part" of the work; and, *therefore*, be safely perused by young men!

At this, we may feel less surprise at an *Archdeacon* assailing the Church of Uniformity with all the virulence of a Dissenter. The publishers have merely to reprint the preface to his sermon on the Duty of the Church and his annotations, and they will have done more for the cause of the Church than any they now do by publishing a controversial tract against the Church than any they now do.

It is written exactly in the tone of Dr. Binney or Mr. Binney. We pass over his attacks (we cannot call them any thing

also) upon Episcopacy, and his pernicious hint, that Episcopal ordination in England was not required by law till long after the Reformation (*Mission of Comforter*, p. 1007); and, therefore, we presume that it would be well to abolish so unjust a law. These, though important matters in themselves, are infinitely less so than the deliberate and persevering efforts of this writer to promote the study of theological systems which are deeply tainted with heresy and infidelity. The danger and the criminality of such a course is in no degree diminished by the fact that Mr. Hare is himself careful to avow his belief in the divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and other cardinal doctrines of Christianity. He leads his disciples into the surges of heretical and sceptical speculation, amidst which Sterling made shipwreck of his faith—from which Coleridge himself did not escape unscathed—in which Blanco White was finally engulfed. On such men as Mr. Hare rests the responsibility of having assiduously fostered that taste which is now being gratified by the publication of English translations of Strauss' *Leben Jesu*, Jean Paul, Fichte, Neander's *Life of Christ*, and other mischievous publications of the same kind.

Mr. Maurice must be included in the same category as Mr. Hare in this respect, though we do not mean to assert their identity in all other points. *He* also anticipates benefits from the study of German theology.

"My own conviction is," he says, "that if any thing will put an end to what is most vicious in the tone of our modern fashionable chapel and bazaar Christianity, and at the same time will call out that which is strong and healthful in the feelings of those who have given their sanction to it, a more extended, and less suspicious communion with German thoughts and feelings is likely to produce that effect. . . . The moment our divines begin to know what their brethren abroad have been really thinking and working at for the last eighty or a hundred years, they must begin to perceive that a merely sentimental religion of comforts and experiences, a merely social religion of coteries and circles, a merely outward religion of excitements, cannot avail in this our day. They must 'lengthen their cords and strengthen their stakes.' They must dare to encounter those awful thoughts respecting God Himself which occupied the Church in the first ages; they must dare to ask themselves how He has constituted us, in ourselves, and in relation to our fellow-men."—*Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer*, p. 65.

We agree with Mr. Maurice so far, that if the study of German theology become general, the controversy will turn on the nature and existence of God, and the possibility of a Revelation: questions certainly of more moment than now occupy us. It will unquestion-

move the controversy from comparatively unimportant matters of "fiddle faddle," as Mr. Maurice calls them—to the question whether Christianity be true or false ; whether God is a personal or an abstraction, or a nonentity. These are indeed the great questions ; but can any *Christian* deliberately and deliberately maintain, that it is *desirable* thus to shake the very foundation of Christianity, in order to see whether it can stand the

Those who act so are incurring a tremendous responsibility. They do not see any reason to expect a miracle to preserve men from infidelity, when subjected to the same influences which have created it in Germany. This perpetual laudation of the new theology ; these condemnations of all who oppose it ; these ever-ceasing attacks on religious dogmas, and on scholasticism with reference to the imposition of creeds and articles of faith ; these assiduous and varied attempts to destroy the influence of the Clergy ; to excite jealousy on the part of the laity ; to bring the Clergy into contempt and distrust, nay, to abolish any ministry ; these expectations of a time when the authority of Scripture will be shaken to its foundation, and all the popular notions subverted ; this earnestness and anxiety for free and open speculation on the very foundation of religious truth ; these combinations of minds of various mould, and of opinions from Pantheism to Orthodoxy, in the effort to upheave the edifice of law, and custom, and public opinion, which keeps down the imprisoned spirit of anti-Christianism—What is to be the end

See no reason, at the present moment, to fear the ultimate result of all these influences. But we do say *this*—that it is time for those who do not wish to have any part in leading the nation into infidelity, to abstain from promoting the circulation of infidelical works ; and it is high time for all whose faith remains deeply rooted, to nerve themselves for the vindication of the old faith—the faith contained in the CREEDS—the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds—against all cavillers. It is time for them to look with distrust on any man who recommends a Theology tainted by incurable scepticism. It is time to resist, and to denounce, those who would thus, in vanity and reason, undermine our *faith*. As it is, all such men are under the influence of public opinion ; they *fear* it. They *know* that the popular mind of England is strongly adverse to their views. They show the principles of the Clergy as a body, and they are now provoking a strong re-action. The advocates of the old faith, as we have received it from the beginning, have, now, only to unmask, and to hold up to the public condem-



Germany . . . I should successfully combat the unbelief, Pantheism, and Atheism of the day, I would *not* do it : so help me God. Amen. We may be doomed to perish, Church and State ; but we must not be saved, and cannot be saved, by seeking life in externals."—p. xlvii.

Such sentiments afford a very fitting introduction to such statements as the following, in which we recognize the genuine spirit of German speculation.

"The Reformation," says Bunsen, "demanded in behalf of Christian life the recognition of the *Universal Priesthood of Christians*." This "Universal Priesthood" of Christians is, in other words, "man's *personal* moral responsibility," or "*the full freedom of conscience* of the individual" (pp. 16, 17). Here we have the same doctrine of which we have been speaking, namely, the assertion that each individual is, or ought to be, *his own Priest*, to the exclusion of the clergy.

The Reformation, as Bunsen justly affirms, did not "actually realize" this Universal Priesthood (p. 17) ; but it rendered its exhibition *possible*. Indeed, as he goes on to state, Christianity rests only on the belief in those "*facts*" of creation, redemption, and outpouring of the Holy Ghost, on which *theology* raises its superstructure of *doctrine*, in the form of confessions, articles, and systems ; this she has done for the last three hundred years in the Protestant Churches . . . with the same one-sided view as the Clergy of the earlier Church for a thousand years before. I mean with the notion that Christianity is in the very first place *a doctrine*, and that unity of doctrine, that is, of a theological system, is the condition of the development of the Church in every other respect. Such a view *must necessarily arise in every Clergy-Church*."—p. 19.

We have here the same statement from Bunsen as from Blanco White, that *Christian doctrine as a whole*, with all the creeds, articles of faith, and religious systems of every kind, depend vitally upon the existence of the *Clergy*. Mr. Bunsen objects altogether to the notion that Christianity depends on *doctrine*. Idolatry and the other evils of Christianity arise, according to him, from the *polity* of the Church, *i. e.*, we presume, its non-recognition of the "Universal Priesthood." Concede, in short, the principle that every man is his own Priest, and the Clergy will have no more power to uphold the authority of such dogmas as the Inspiration of Scripture, the Trinity, the Atonement, the Incarnation, &c. We *believe* the Chevalier. He is quite right. We see the result quite as clearly as he does ; but *we* do not wish for that result.

This "fundamental principle of the Universal Priesthood," according to Bunsen, "is bound up with all Protestant life, amongst



reles were not always concentric one with another. The several individual ministerial influence and excellence did not converge to a general resulting momentous force; and that, partly, because as no one focus towards which all might bend their efforts; or no one centralizing and attracting body, where all might take origin, and whither all effects of their labour might unitedly converge.

A law of gravity (as it were) was needed, which should control, harmonize, and sustain, the different elements of individual goodness. This was sought and supplied in the Church, established as a visible institution, and no longer inadequately represented by these independent though much-blessed labourers."—pp. 16, 17.

What he says on the same subject shortly before, is also worth mentioning. In reference to the foundation of the see of Calcutta, he observes :

That inadequate as such provision manifestly was, the boon was received with gratitude and hopefulness. It was felt that at least *the Church* was recognized of planting the Church, in all her integrity, never she was planted at all. The futility and inconvenience of leaving forth a few scattered clergy, subject to no superior spiritual authority, far removed from any means of instruction or mutual advice, and to no penalties for even grosser derelictions of duty, whether from ignorance or negligence, were so far acknowledged by the Government, and such remedy as then lay in her power was applied. *The want and novelty of establishing a church without a bishop* was in some degree remedied. *The past failure of the independent system of action to produce any general permanent impression on the conduct and character of their exiled Christian brethren*, had been but too fully brought to the notice of all earnest-minded men in England; a growing desire was felt to plant in British India the national Church in all her unmutilated proportions and time-honoured efficiency."—p. 5.

But, by stretching the nominal supervision beyond all reasonable bounds, it was intended to travestie the very name and functions of episcopacy, this diocese, of already unheard of dimensions, was further enlarged, under Heber, in 1823, by jurisdiction over "all his Majesty's dominions within the limits of the Queen's charter;" and again, in 1824, "the colony of New South Wales, and its dependencies, including Van Diemen's Land" was also constituted into an archdeaconry, subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta. The very extent of the jurisdiction, however, began to work its own cure. The rapid deaths of successive prelates showed too forcibly the preposterousness of such an arrangement; and in consequence the diocese of Calcutta was subdivided into three; and Bishop Corrie, in 1827, and Bishop Carr, two years later, were appointed to fill the sees respectively of Madras and Bombay. As our readers know,

together with three archdeaconries, extending from Delhi and Bhurtpore, the then northern frontier of British India, down to Cape Comorin, "an enormous territory, extending from 9° to 30° north latitude, and comprising 1,280,000 square miles; being in territorial extent one-third greater than the whole of central and southern Europe." This took place in 1814; and in 1817 the Island of Ceylon was constituted a fourth archdeaconry. Such was the beginning of the Church in British India; and when we compare with this its present state, painfully inadequate to the requirements of that vast territory as this is, we cannot but thankfully acknowledge the Providence of the Great Head of the Church, which has so signally strengthened the hands of his servants, and taught us not to "despise the day of small things."

It will be perceived from the foregoing, that the rise of the Church in India is dated, by the author, *from the foundation of her first bishopric*. One possessed of proper church-feeling could do no less, and we are not aware that any apology—such as we here meet with—for this was due. Truth *must* be exclusive, to a certain extent; furthermore we are bound, by the very conditions of its tenure, to assert it; and the assertion of a great principle cannot be justly charged with a want of charity towards those who ignore it. It is the fashion, however, to speak otherwise; and we have even met with some who hesitated to affirm Baptism to be necessary to constitute a Christian, because they would thereby unchristianize Quakers who are without it! So, universally has this morbid liberality spread, that we find occasionally the best men unconsciously ministering to it: and so we think has the author perhaps in this case. His apology, however, contains so much that is just and true, and most needful to be enforced, that we make no excuse for transcribing it:—

"And let it not be deemed, that in thus dating the rise of the Christian Church from the foundation of her first bishopric, unseemly neglect is offered to the single-hearted and unwearying labours of those early evangelists, who came forth to a land comparatively unknown, to raise by their individual energy and self-forgetting devotion, the standard of their Blessed Master. Pioneers of Christianity—men great in Israel—brethren whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches,—were Brown, and Buchanan, and Martyn, and Thomason. Yet their very discouragements and difficulties witness to the painful want of active support, and systematic co-operation, against which they had to contend. There was no nucleus around which pious designs could gather themselves, and gain maturity by sustained efforts. Christianity wanted a permanent resting-place. All depended on the influence and activity of *the man*. Each formed around him a distinct circle, and

e which has been already resorted to by the Bishops of  
nd Australia); “in the first instance, by the power  
the bishop of constituting a commission of inquiry on  
and in the second, by the authority entrusted to his  
ners to examine on oath all evidence which should be  
to them by either the accuser or the accused.” In  
nforce his authority at present, the bishop is obliged to  
rse to the local governments, or the missionary societies  
e may be).

evocation of a clergyman's licence is indeed within the  
wer, and it is presumed that either the Government or the  
uld so far recognize revocation of licence as to withhold from  
o visited his salary and employment during the time of sus-  
p. 72.

ould have supposed so, *a priori*; but our memory  
deceives us, if certain very disagreeable circumstances  
last few years have not served to dissipate such an  
on; for there seems to be no inconsecutive reasoning  
pposition, that a Society which has dismissed a mis-  
obeying the Prayer Book under sanction of his Bishop,  
sitate to retain a Clergyman, who, for irregularity, may  
silenced by his Bishop. We suspect the Bishop of  
of a contrary opinion to Mr. Whitehead in respect of  
y which owns a layman for its “patron,” and places the  
p of Canterbury as its *vice*-patron. And as to the  
nt, a recent case has shown that there *are* foreign  
who care little for an episcopal licence, when oppor-  
rs of truckling to the clamours of puritans and schis-

hor next devotes a chapter to a suggestion of three  
which he is of opinion would add to the efficiency of  
1, and remedy some practical difficulties. We must  
ppear to us fair enough, and such as common sense  
gest without any minute acquaintance with India. They  
ow:—1. To erect the Church in India into a separate  
mpowered to decide questions of internal arrangement,  
e necessity of referring for final sanction (as at present)  
st Reverend Prelate at Lambeth. 2. The multiplication  
conries, and consequent lessening of their extent; each  
at present co-extensive with the limits of the diocese to  
s attached. 3. A declaratory act of the legislature,  
g definitely the parties between whom the Church's  
ould be necessary to constitute a legal marriage, and  
in a clergyman's absence, such a marriage might, for  
oses, be performed. This would check the interference  
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in ten years from the date of that last appointment, the territory over which one bishop only had had in 1824 the control, was given to behold no fewer than *eight* prelates ruling the British portion of God's heritage on its surface: in 1847 the sees of Adelaide, Newcastle, and Melbourne, were added to those of Colombo and Tasmania, which had been previously erected within the limits of the one original diocese.

But we have travelled out of our province, and must return to our author. Chapter III. details the constitution of the British Church in India, viz. three bishops; three archdeacons, who are at the same time occupied with the ordinary parochial duties of other chaplains—an arrangement charged (as he observes) with the gravest disadvantages; and 227 clergy: little enough for the work to be done, and yet what an increase on the staff which Bishop Middleton found there in 1814, for at that time "India possessed fifteen parochial clergy! From the clergy the author goes on to the subject of *churches*, or we should rather say, buildings at present devoted to purposes of worship; for he mentions, that those erected by the Church Missionary Society are unconsecrated. The excuse for thus failing to set apart these buildings by a solemn act of dedication is, partly, that as they maintain clergy solely for missionary purposes, and so hold themselves bound to push continually forward and take up new ground, it would be inexpedient to adopt a course which would pledge them to the maintenance of any particular spot as a field of missionary labour; and partly, that government *may* some day be compelled to abandon this or that station, and therefore it would be improper to devote to the service of religion a building liable to such contingency. In arguing against a principle so wanting in faith as this last, Mr. Whitehead mentions a remarkable circumstance: he says, "it is a notorious fact, that neither a ship containing a missionary has ever been lost between England and India, nor a station containing a church dedicated to God's honour and service has ever been in even temporary occupation of the enemies of Britain."

The next point to which he draws attention is the defective state of Church discipline. It is true that the law recognizes the power of each bishop to open his consistory court, but the obstructions to its working are so great as to render it useless. These obstructions are twofold; "first, the great distance whence evidence must in many cases be procured, involving a difficulty amounting almost to an impossibility; and, secondly, the want of power to enforce the attendance of witnesses." These evils, he observes, would both be remedied by extending to India the operation of the Church Discipline Act of 3rd and 4th Victoria

earned by these poor agriculturists average from two to five (four to ten shillings) monthly!"—p. 105.

have a very well argued chapter on the question,—what and style of education ought to be adopted to meet the intellectual craving of the heathen, and to divert their into the healthy channel of sober faith in the truths of religion. He asks whether, "by making philosophers of the natives, the missionary is likely to make them Christians? or is intellectual cultivation the passport to religious faith?" (p. 122.) The reader may possibly be surprised that Mr. Whitehead should devote several pages to combating a notion, which one would have thought a child could answer. But he will probably be still more surprised when he learns the reason for it, as contained in the following passage extracted from another part of his work:

"Education has advanced with rapid strides; the government of India has come forward with a zeal which only causes regret *that even the direct diffusion of Christianity forms no part of its system*: the intellects of the native mind have become awakened from their past torpor, and despite the drawback which a method of training presents, *every thing bearing on Christianity, its doctrines, and even its rites, is zealously excluded*, conversions have not been unfrequent as so taught. And while it is admitted that the natural tendency and general result of this ill-judged scheme is to make its *élèves* shallow disputers, certainly not idolaters, but as surely utter contempt at all religion whatsoever, deriders of Christianity as but one of the existing forms of superstition, and classing it (in that respect) with Paganism and Buddhism, yet" &c.—p. 99.

even so. A complicated and costly system of education of high secular order has been adopted, "which forbids all direct or indirect training in Christian knowledge, which carefully excludes the Bible from its class-rooms, and forbids all instruction in it, even to those of the natives who would willingly search for it, and this, upon the alleged fear, "lest the introduction of religious scriptures should drive students from their schools." Really almost incredible. Yet how exceeding like to the system of education forced by Her Majesty's Government on another portion of Her Majesty's dominions. And for the self-same reason as with Romanists in Ireland, if left to themselves, so the Hindoos in India, such a fear is wholly imaginary. In proof of this the author relates an anecdote, which strikes us as being so remarkable that we cannot resist extracting it.

An intelligent foreigner travelling in India, visited Decca in 1846, and was introduced to some ex-students of the government College in the city. 'Well,' he remarked to a Brahmin, 'do you not think that

the British Government is very kind and liberal, in giving you and your countrymen so good a gratuitous education, and not compelling you to learn Christianity with it, or attempting to win you from your own creed?' The young man replied: 'No, we should prefer having the claims and evidences of Christianity at the same time fairly set before us; for the education we receive *compels* us to abandon most of our old notions, and so we *lose our own religion, and gain nothing instead*. We, who have been brought up at the college, cannot remain Hindoos: we should like, at least, to be taught what Christianity is.'—p. 154.

With this we must conclude. We think Mr. Whitehead has done good service to the cause he so evidently has at heart, by this little publication. We do not hesitate to recommend it to all our readers, even as it treats of a subject which must interest them all.

11.—*The Island of Liberty, or Equality and Community. By the Author of "Theodore."* London: Masters. 1848.

THE following story (as we are informed by the notice prefixed) was written during the Monmouthshire riots, in the winter of 1839-40, and has been revised for publication, as being applicable to the present times. The outline of the tale is soon told. Lord Eversham, a man of large property, a liberal heart, and an energetic mind, was one of those who read with enthusiasm the history of the past, and forget that times and circumstances must change. Living in an ideal world, he formed to himself scenes of perfection and bliss, where all live alike, each contributing to the assistance of the other. He saw, indeed, that the perfection he read of did not exist; and he believed that an entire change—a radical reform, would produce what he wanted, redress existing grievances, and regenerate society. He discarded Christianity, and sought for perfection where it could not be found. His liberal mind was above the narrow-minded prejudices which stigmatizes crime with disgrace, and condemns it to punishment and ignominy. He would have all men to be equal, with none to punish offences. In short, *Liberty, Equality, and Charity*, was his watch-word. Filled with these notions, he obtains a grant from Government—sells his estates—charters three ships—and publicly gives out his intentions. Numbers flock to his standard, consisting chiefly of broken-down tradesmen, the discontented, and the dishonest. Upon arriving at the island to which they were bound, an equal division of land, implements, and stock is made to all; and my lord sets to, like the rest, to knock up a hut for himself and his beautiful daughter. The natural course of events soon follow. The idle become envious at the prosperity of the industrious.

ness attendant upon petty robberies gives confidence, and of desperate villains is formed, who live upon the industry of the colony. Robbery leads to murder; the fiercer passions are let loose, and then follow all the necessary results of misery and anarchy throughout the colony. Lord Eversham's eyes are now opened, and he beholds with deep remorse that his plans have been contrary to the laws of God and the constitution of man. At this time a vessel arrives from England (Lord Eversham contrived to send home word), and brings out not only a patent creating him governor of the colony, a regiment of military to enforce obedience, together with a number of several clergy. From that day the scene changes; order is established; the evil passions of men restrained; churches, its Cathedral, Schools, &c., are reared; and the account of the colony, written by a visitor twenty years subsequently, is such as to wish that this were not the only British colony in the world, in which a nominally Christian Government would see the necessity—not to say the honesty—of attaching from the continent, a staff of clergy headed by a bishop. Alas! *such* assistance exists as yet, so far as Protestant England is concerned, and alas, we fear.

Every thing is not badly conceived; and if it be not very cleverly contrived, at least it is written in the right principles, religious and political. We hope it may do good.

*The Holy Oblation; a Manual of Doctrine, Instruction, and Devotions relative to the Blessed Eucharist. By an ANGLO-CATHOLIC PRIEST. London: Cleaver.*

The ordinances which the goodness of God has provided for the nourishment of piety in man, none better fulfils its mission than none is gifted with such power of adaptation to the changing moods in which the events of this changeable scene of life present to the mind, than the sacrament of the Communion of our Lord's body and blood. We can neither, then, wonder at, nor regret the multiplicity of Manuals, or "Companions for the Communion," which by this time are offered to the choice of communicants. But since the Liturgy, properly so called, involves, and the various works bearing on it must likewise involve, many points of doctrine and of deepest importance to Christian truth, we should, as reviewers, to scrutinize with watchful jealousy every new work of the sort. Inasmuch as we must believe them to be penned with good intent, we desire to look at and speak of them in the spirit of charity; but seeing that they treat of the vital points of Christian faith, and affect the purity of the

highest act of Christian worship, we may not suffer our charity to the authors to deter us from speaking of their works in such terms of severity as, haply, we deem them to deserve.

We proceed at once to inquire in what respect the "Manual" before us differs from its many predecessors. The reply is that, not content with what is prescribed in red and black in our Prayer Book, the compiler makes a conscience of introducing certain ceremonies, and other matters which he is pleased to consider primitive, and (as it would appear) necessary to the due celebration of the Liturgy.

To three of these he calls attention in his Introduction, as of extra importance; indeed, as to the first of them he declares that, "it would be absolutely suicidal in a clergyman to omit it."

These are, "mixing water with the wine, washing the hands, and making the sign of the cross." Before mentioning these, he quotes the 34th Article, and then coolly tells us that, *though* "not prescribed in our Liturgy," yet these "three Eucharistic rites are certainly approved by common authority." This "common authority" (as we gather from frequent notes) is the primitive Church, King Edward's First Book, Bishop Andrewes' Form of consecrating a Church, and Rules for the celebration of Divine Service during Prince Charles's residence in Spain. Now we would ask the compiler, does he seriously mean to affirm that all or any of these can be taken to constitute that "common authority," the stamp of whose approval the Article requires? Nay, we would ask, in respect of regulating how a clergyman of the Church of England at this day is to perform Divine service, of *what* authority any one of them is? To which of *them* is it that we have given our "unfeigned assent and consent?" Was it King Edward's Liturgy, or the Liturgy of St. James, that we declared on oath contains nothing contrary to the word of God, and that we would use in public prayer, and none other? Or was it not rather that of the Church of England, ACCORDING TO THE REVISION OF 1662? And if so, we protest that we are utterly unable to discover what any earlier revision of the Prayer Book is to us, much less any foreign Liturgy, ancient or modern. Were a fresh revision made the question, then we should do well to consult primitive rituals: or were it in contemplation merely to provide a manual of private devotions, it would be open to the compiler to recommend any innocent practice. But in the case before us it is otherwise: this book is intended to direct *priests* how to *celebrate publicly*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That we are correct in this assertion will be readily seen by a glance at p. ix. "Our Church surely never intended that these venerable and significant ceremonies should be abolished."—P. xi. "These rites . . . were not thought to require any special directions for their adoption or continuance at the last revision." And the



rist, and, by consequence, to teach the laity to feel and dissatisfaction if it be not so celebrated. This is one of the means by which weak-minded persons are insensibly led to

regard to the three matters which our author is at such pains to recommend to us (devoting four pages of Introduction to them, and afterwards inserting rubrics, devotions, and other proper places in the service), we may think them as good and innocent or desirable as he does; we may perchance wish that those who revised our Liturgy had retained them, if we deemed them to be even much more desirable than, as they are now, confessed, we do, we should be very loath to recommend their adoption; at least, the adoption of the two former, would not but excite the attention of the congregation. We should think, however primitive or excellent they may be, we should not allow any clergyman to act exceedingly wrong, who introduced them, should think it contrary to the 36th Canon, and the Act of Uniformity; for he has promised to "use the form in the said rubric, and none other." We should be of opinion that to "offend against the common order of the Church," understood in common sense and honesty this expression must be; we are sure, that he *would* "wound the consciences of" his weak brethren." Nor can we by any means allow the force of the reasoning at p. vi.

It will be said that the Church herself has declared what doctrine is, and that we should submit to her decision, rather than use our individual judgment in the matter. True, to a certain extent, and as regards what is evidently clear and express; but in extraneous circumstances, she has been prevented giving effect to her mind on any subject, or where any thing has been done she not only permits, but requires us to search for ourselves."

We submit that such reasoning would hold in a case of nothing whatsoever either is or ever has been said: we do right in "searching for ourselves" what practice enjoined. But if it be a matter touching which the Church has once spoken fully and minutely, but now only partially,—in the words of this writer, has not given utterance to her mind," that is, to what he conceives to be her mind; we argue that she had some good reason for changing her mind is *changed* for some cause which may

be mentioned at p. xii. that "it is impossible to conceive the amount of spiritual mischief which a clergyman may unwittingly inflict upon the docile and humble-minded of his flock, by neglecting" these ceremonies; which neglect is understood as neglecting to give full effect to the intention of the Church in regard to the altar."

or may not now be guessed at. Thus if she formerly directed bread and wine to be placed on the table, and with it some water to be mixed; but now, though still directing the bread and wine to be so placed, and giving as minute directions about the quality of the bread, she yet makes no mention of the water; we say that it is a fair inference, that she purposely omitted all reference to it. It is quite possible that the *cause* which suggested the prudence of this omission may have long since passed away; still, until "competent authority" shall re-establish the former usage, we maintain that every priest is bound to omit it: nor can we comprehend how that can be "ordained and approved by common authority," in behalf of which can be pleaded neither canon nor rubric now in force, nor the use of the Church at large, nor the example of even one prelate since the last Review. Every theologian knows that, while some rites and traditions are invariable, there are others which may be changed; at one time used, relinquished at another (provided only it be done by the Church, and not by individual judgment); and certain rules have been laid down for distinguishing variable from invariable rites. The administration of the sacrament to infants rests on much the same authority as the mixture of water with the wine: would, then, "the omission" of *this* be accounted as "absolutely suicidal in a clergyman!"

But let us examine the work a little further. We have an introductory chapter on "the nature of the Eucharist;" which is said to be threefold;—that, namely, of "a Sacrifice, a Sacrament, and a Communion." So far all is right: "the Church *has* always viewed this ordinance under these three aspects." But it is well known, that with regard to the first of them—a Sacrifice, much and grievous error has prevailed in one large portion of the Church. It is well known that to such an extent was this error carried in the Church of Rome, and has since been stereotyped there by the Council of Trent, that our Reformers in 1562, judged it needful to frame an Article in counteraction of the heresy. We admit that there is a sacrifice in the Eucharist; and further, that this doctrine has shared the fate of several other Catholic doctrines, which Romanists had abused,—viz. that it has been forgotten and denied; and thus men have sustained an injury, inasmuch as no particle of truth can be overlooked without injury. Hence it is right that this portion of the truth should be re-enforced. But surely common sense and common charity alike point out, that those portions of the truth which have been, and are therefore liable to be, perverted, ought to be treated with more than ordinary delicacy and caution. But is it thus handled in the work

e us? Not so. After devoting a page to explaining that—in “DO THIS in remembrance of me,”—means, “offer as a sacrifice” (a notion which would appear to have been owed without acknowledgment from the Notes to Nicholls on Common Prayer), we find the following statement:—

Our Church views the Eucharist as a *continuation* of the sacrifice of the Cross, and commemorative of it, as well as the means of applying its benefits to our souls and bodies.

In both respects He [Christ] is also the priest, for the ministers of the altar personate Him, and consecrate the oblation ‘not in their own name, but in Christ’s, and by His commission and authority.’ (Art. xxvi.) Therefore they say not ‘This is the Body of Christ,’ but simply and truly, ‘This is my Body.’

Its continued identity is strikingly exhibited in the distribution of the sacred elements. When the priest says, ‘The *Body* of our Lord Jesus Christ, take and eat *this* ;’ ‘The *Blood* of our Lord Jesus Christ, drink of *this* ;’ he at the same time connects them with the sacrifice on the cross, thus: ‘which *was* given for thee,’ ‘which *was* shed for thee.’”  
p. 8, 9.

Now the 31st Article was directed, it is true, *prima facie*, against the vulgar and heretical doctrine of the *reiteration* of Christ’s sacrifice in the Eucharist. But verily the difference, if difference exist, between the *reiteration* and the *continuation*, is much too fine for common understandings. For if the sacrifice be a continuation of the other, the latter must needs be *identical* with the former, of which it is the continuation; but if it be not identical, we see not how it can be denied to be a *reiteration*.

The second of the three paragraphs, which we have quoted above, we really do not understand. We do not understand how it can be said that Christ is the priest *actually, because* the ministers of the altar *personate* Him: and if He be not so actually, then the former’s argument is not helped; if He be so only by representation, this supports the true Catholic doctrine of a *commemorative* sacrifice. Now if the Eucharist be a commemorative sacrifice, it cannot be a continuative one. The truth is, that the words of institution, in this prayer of consecration, are simply a commemorative or repetition of what took place, as related in the three Gospels.

We had intended to remark on several other points, but our observations have already exceeded the limits which we had proposed to ourselves. We will therefore hasten on to another paper, and conclude.

At page 5 he recommends—the placing of “two lights” upon the altar. This matter has acquired some degree of celebrity of late from the fact of having received the sanction of the Bishop of London in his famous charge of 1842; “provided that the candles are not burning, except when the church is lighted up for evening service;” a proviso which, it has been said, was made on the principle—in accordance with the spirit of the times—of utility *versus* symbolism; but we trust that some of the remarks which follow will show that his lordship may have had a better reason for this proviso, while kindly falling in with, so far as he was able, a desire which he found manifesting itself among some of his clergy\*. Altar candlesticks, too, are much in vogue with some at present, as Mr. Potter, of Southmolton-street, can thankfully testify. We desire, therefore, to avail ourselves of the present opportunity to say a few words on the practice in question.

We are willing to make the advocates of it a present of all that can be adduced in the way of prescriptive usage; as, for instance, the injunctions of King Edward, as also the Provincial Constitution of Archbishop Walter, in 1322, which desires that “tempore quo Missarum solennia peraguntur, accendantur dum candelæ, vel ad minus una;” and even the Constitution of Winchester, of seventeen years previous date, which mentioned “Candelabrum pro cereali paschali,” if this can be pressed into the service. For what of all this! Obsolete Constitutions cannot be counted to have much weight now; and as to the Injunction of Edward, let the real wording of it be carefully considered. It is as follows: “. . . shall *suffer* from henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers or images of wax to be set before any image or picture, save only two lights upon the high altar *before the sacrament*, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall *suffer* to remain still.” To our minds the passage appears only as *permissive*, not mandatory—“shall *suffer* to remain”—at least we think it is fairly open to this construction. And let it be observed further, that this—whether permissive or mandatory—was only “before the sacrament;” in other words, before the consecrated wafer *reserved in the pax*, as might have been fairly supposed in absence of all proof, and as the wording of Queen Mary’s Act renders certain. But since our present Prayer Book enjoins most explicitly that “if any” bread and wine “remain of that which

\* The reader may perhaps not be uninterested at hearing another reason which a witty papist once assigned in our hearing. “Ah,” said he, “you have them, but not lighted; the reason is clear—it is to signify that the light has gone out from your church.”

d, the priest, &c. shall, immediately after the  
ntly eat and drink the same," it follows that there  
"sacrament" to reserve; and, consequently, the  
the suffering the two lights, contemplated in the  
removed.

were all this otherwise; suppose it could be shown  
of the injunctions had actually *enjoined* the use  
ts, and this without assigning any cause now done  
pose it could be demonstrated that the Act of  
ended to enforce these injunctions; still we must  
ould savour of Erastianism—more, probably, than  
this manual would care to be charged with—were  
*consideration*, to attempt to urge such purely lay  
erence as binding upon the ministers of religion;  
ly in the absence of all canonical or synodical  
*against* our customs ecclesiastical: for we do hold,  
strongly to press it at the present moment, that,  
ere ceremonial observance, "we have no such  
ite sufficient plea; and hence we recognize the  
the prelate to whom we have already referred, who  
the candles a *permissive* sanction—"I see no ob-  
." In cathedrals, indeed, and in college chapels,  
of two candles, though not lighted, has continued;  
inmeaning though they be, may still be "*suffered*."  
further recommends a "cross in the middle"  
o lights. Now, what we have just been saying,  
ply to this point. Does he mean to recom-  
as on the ground of its being ordered in the  
ic for "the Order of Morning and Evening  
included in "the spirit of Article XXXIV."?  
ner ground, we tell him that there is not a  
xt for supposing a cross upon the Lord's Table to  
mpleted. There is not a word about it in the  
n the Act of 2 Edward VI. On the contrary,  
affirmed not to be an "image of stone, timber,  
earth," its *removal* is made imperative by 3 and  
c. 10. If he ground his recommendation on  
article XXXIV.," then it ought to be found in the  
ority" to which this Article refers. But is it so?  
ority" must be determined by *use*: but had a  
iddle" of the Lord's Table been the usage of our  
1562? We believe not. Both then and now  
nowledged of this, that "we have no such cus-

together with three archdeaconries, extending from Delhi and Bhurtpore, the then northern frontier of British India, down to Cape Comorin, "an enormous territory, extending from  $9^{\circ}$  to  $30^{\circ}$  north latitude, and comprising 1,280,000 square miles; being in territorial extent one-third greater than the whole of central and southern Europe." This took place in 1814; and in 1817 the Island of Ceylon was constituted a fourth archdeaconry. Such was the beginning of the Church in British India; and when we compare with this its present state, painfully inadequate to the requirements of that vast territory as this is, we cannot but thankfully acknowledge the Providence of the Great Head of the Church, which has so signally strengthened the hands of his servants, and taught us not to "despise the day of small things."

It will be perceived from the foregoing, that the rise of the Church in India is dated, by the author, *from the foundation of her first bishopric*. One possessed of proper church-feeling could do no less, and we are not aware that any apology—such as we here meet with—for this was due. Truth *must* be exclusive, to a certain extent; furthermore we are bound, by the very conditions of its tenure, to assert it; and the assertion of a great principle cannot be justly charged with a want of charity towards those who ignore it. It is the fashion, however, to speak otherwise; and we have even met with some who hesitated to affirm Baptism to be necessary to constitute a Christian, because they would thereby unchristianize Quakers who are without it! So universally has this morbid liberality spread, that we find occasionally the best men unconsciously ministering to it: and so we think has the author perhaps in this case. His apology, however, contains so much that is just and true, and most needful to be enforced, that we make no excuse for transcribing it:—

"And let it not be deemed, that in thus dating the rise of the Christian Church from the foundation of her first bishopric, unseemly neglect is offered to the single-hearted and unwearying labours of those early evangelists, who came forth to a land comparatively unknown, to raise by their individual energy and self-forgetting devotion, the standard of their Blessed Master. Pioneers of Christianity—men great in Israel—brethren whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches,—were Brown, and Buchanan, and Martyn, and Thomason. Yet their very discouragements and difficulties witness to the painful want of active support, and systematic co-operation, against which they had to contend. There was no nucleus around which pious designs could gather themselves, and gain maturity by sustained efforts. Christianity wanted a permanent resting-place. All depended on the influence and activity of *the man*. Each formed around him a distinct circle, and

th, and have left to posterity any Christian writings," some places of their works (such is human infirmity), the mind's eye to penetrate into the more hidden from the truth whilst following what was like the *similitudine aberrantes a veritate*." And if any readers by become imbued with error, he teaches for a remedy authority of the Catholic Church, and of other most n esteemed highly as disputants and writers in its be set above such opinions."—*S. August. de Catech.*

ing of "the minor saints" of the Church's calendar, been selected" as "apt representatives of her catho- writer indulges in what appears, to say the least, extravagant language; he says—

re duly consider how our Church adopts these holy men as doctors, rather than her reforming bishops, whom she does mention in her formularies, great as their services were in restoring her ancient privileges, and purging her titious usages, we shall be at no loss to discover where her ctrine are to be primarily learned."—pp. v. vi.

s us to conceive how our Church *should* "mention her bishops in her formularies," under which designation seems to include the Calendar. Has the Reformed England ever canonized any holy person? (Certain not the Church, do indeed speak of *Saint Charles*.) Or, when that Calendar was drawn up, had the ne elapsed since their deaths, to canonize any of our bishops? Yet the Calendar mentions none but canon- But really, canonized or not, to tell us that the pts the minor saints of her Calendar as "her peculiar is the fountain whence we are to "learn primarily her doctrine," and that in preference to her reforming is does startle us. Why, of four-fifths of these minor know scarcely more than the fact of their deaths are to believe the trash which Messrs. Newman and blished a few years ago)! How, then, can we go to rn the Church's "mind and doctrine?" One of these doctors" is St. Dunstan; of whom Bishop Overall r his death he was sainted, *but God knows why*."

e noticed this book more at length than we should from the conviction that its compiler is one of gentlemen who, doubtless with the best inten-

in ten years from the date of that last appointment, the territory over which one bishop only had had in 1824 the control, was given to behold no fewer than *eight* prelates ruling the British portion of God's heritage on its surface: in 1847 the sees of Adelaide, Newcastle, and Melbourne, were added to those of Colombo and Tasmania, which had been previously erected within the limits of the one original diocese.

But we have travelled out of our province, and must return to our author. Chapter III. details the constitution of the British Church in India, viz. three bishops; three archdeacons, who are at the same time occupied with the ordinary parochial duties of other chaplains—an arrangement charged (as he observes) with the gravest disadvantages; and 227 clergy: little enough for the work to be done, and yet what an increase on the staff which Bishop Middleton found there in 1814, for at that time "India possessed fifteen parochial clergy! From the clergy the author goes on to the subject of *churches*, or we should rather say, buildings at present devoted to purposes of worship; for he mentions, that those erected by the Church Missionary Society are unconsecrated. The excuse for thus failing to set apart these buildings by a solemn act of dedication is, partly, that as they maintain clergy solely for missionary purposes, and so hold themselves bound to push continually forward and take up new ground, it would be inexpedient to adopt a course which would pledge them to the maintenance of any particular spot as a field of missionary labour; and partly, that government *may* some day be compelled to abandon this or that station, and therefore it would be improper to devote to the service of religion a building liable to such contingency. In arguing against a principle so wanting in faith as this last, Mr. Whitehead mentions a remarkable circumstance: he says, "it is a notorious fact, that neither a ship containing a missionary has ever been lost between England and India, nor a station containing a church dedicated to God's honour and service has ever been in even temporary occupation of the enemies of Britain."

The next point to which he draws attention is the defective state of Church discipline. It is true that the law recognizes the power of each bishop to open his consistory court, but the obstructions to its working are so great as to render it useless. These obstructions are twofold; "first, the great distance whence evidence must in many cases be procured, involving a difficulty amounting almost to an impossibility; and, secondly, the want of power to enforce the attendance of witnesses." These evils, he observes, would both be remedied by extending to India the operation of the Church Discipline Act of 3rd and 4th Victoria



er-stones; viz. the particular feature or features  
stances have called into greater prominence in  
s Divine grace and foreknowledge, at one time,  
ch, as at this time. He observes, that the several  
are to be regarded but as large practical hints,  
nnot err by separately obeying, but which we must  
nt try to unite into a symmetrical whole." The  
sermon is occupied with an inquiry how far *we* are in  
lling into this error. But he is led to consider how  
er what circumstances "the Church in general, and  
communities in particular," have committed them-  
scientific theology," and "enforced the reception of  
as represented by certain logical *formulae*." This  
an appendix on "a just appreciation of the oecu-  
matic divinity to which our own Church has com-  
which is connected with an examination of the drift  
ampden's Bampton Lectures; in which Mr. Garden—  
eatly disagreeing "with many of its statements"—  
ng amounting to heresy therein, and nothing, there-  
rant ecclesiastical proceedings against the author."  
ar that Mr. Garden is tinged with the class of errors  
the present day, to which we have been obliged to  
ion at some length in the present Number.

not on these hard subjects only that Mr. Garden  
pen. We will quote a passage from another sermon  
h, which, we apprehend, will come home to the hearts  
sons. The sermon is on the text, "The heart know-  
bitterness, &c." And he says:

be sometimes apt to repine at this necessary separation be-  
es and others—to wish, as we say, that they could *really*  
's; to wish that we could unburden ourselves to them. . .  
granted upon earth. There is no one to whom we can  
, and well, indeed, that there should not be; for frail crea-  
are in mercy kept from knowing the whole of each other's  
d we do justice to each other? Supposing any one of us  
his whole heart disclosed to another, would it be possible  
still to love him? Would there not be revealed before  
amount of meanness, of sordid selfish thought, of degrad-  
dark, bad passion, such as he had never before suspected  
we not, if we knew all the secrets of each other's hearts,  
away from one another as from ghastly spectres? Well,  
t mortal and sinful hearts are thus, in some sort, a secret  
the other. The curtain that conceals so much that is un-  
pulsive, enables us to fix an undistracted eye on the tokens

with his duties, which a chaplain has now occasionally to complain of on the part of dissenting ministers; and would prevent members of the Church of England from shielding themselves in irregularities under alleged uncertainty of the law.

So far concerning *the Church of the English*; the last three chapters relate to *the Church of the natives*. We are wont in England to receive with some degree of hesitation the accounts which late years have so abundantly brought to us, of conversions from heathenism in the various parts of India. But here is one who, to much personal experience adds (we feel bound to confess) the appearance of a sober, not too enthusiastic mind: and if any thing like the numbers which he gives us be an image of the truth, we may indeed thankfully acknowledge with him, that

“the seed sown (oftentimes in tears) by Swartz and Jænickè, and Gerickè, and Cœmmerer, and Kohlhoff, all names great in Israel, has, by the good pleasure of the Lord of the harvest, and under the quickening dew of his Spirit, taken root downwards, and long since begun to bear fruit upwards.”—p. 96.

We are told that “the Church of England can number at present, among the natives of the diocese of Calcutta, upwards of 6000 souls brought from darkness to light;” and it is mentioned that at Kishnagur “the ordinary morning attendance at daily prayer is from 250 to 100!” In the diocese of Madras (wherein “the parochial system among the native Christians has been more generally carried out, and better organized”) we find, in its northern provinces, “Hydrabad in the Deccan, Masulepatam, Bangalore, Arcot, Vellore and its vicinity, all brought within hearing of the blessed Gospel by the agency of the Church.” Farther south, “Cuddalore and its neighbourhood, Negapatam and Combaconum, and Trichinopoly, each the centre of a circle of mission villages, occupied by its pastor.” Proceeding onwards, in Tanjore, “what once was a single district, cultivated by a single workman, the rich and fertile valleys of the Cauvery and Coleroon, is now, from its increasing Christian population, necessarily subdivided into five distinct districts, each with its church and resident missionary.” In Tinnevely there is “a body of worshippers already amounting to 44,000 baptized Christians.” And as a proof that their Christianity is not merely nominal, we have the pleasing fact, that

“A single village has contributed the sum of 1500 rupees (150*l*.) towards the erection of a church, while another has come forward with the smaller offering of 500 rupees (50*l*.) in their hands, and prayed to have a separate and resident pastor.” And it is added, “the ordinary

lfishness, self-indulgence, and worldliness, are perhaps are all most liable to fall into in common life. This al will be found useful to many who are anxious to the discipline of life, in the same humble but earnest ick the book is written.

*otations on St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corin-*  
*signed chiefly for the use of Students of the Greek Text.*  
AS WILLIAMSON PEILE, D.D., &c. &c. London:  
AS.

e third portion, completing the first volume, of the Annotations on the Apostolical Epistles."

already expressed our opinion of the general plan and of these Annotations, in our review and notice of the parts; and little is, therefore, left to us, in respect of , beyond an announcement of its appearance, and an that the literary character of the work is fully sus- his epistle, too, is of a nature to put the sagacity and of a commentator fairly to task; because, besides difficulties of language in the way of certain apprehen- ear exposition, it is, as must often be the case with remains, strongly impregnated with bare allusion to stances which called forth its various portions; and it same time, receive, on this point, but scanty light al sources.

ret to observe that Dr. Peile refers to *Neander* and e same class as authorities; and we also regret to find s been misled by the erroneous and mischievous work alier Bunsen—"the Church of the Future"—into the views on the Christian Ministry which, in their legiti- tion, tend, in our opinion, to the subversion of Episco- Episcopal Ordination is held to be needless, the way is pared for the subversion of the Church, because a mere urch Government of human invention ought not to e way of the reunion of those who object almost wholly fear that Dr. Peile allows German writers to have too nce with him.

*ers and Sisters; a Tale of Domestic Life.* By FRE-  
REMER, Author of "*The Neighbours*," "*The Home*,"  
*nslated from the original unpublished MS.* By MARY  
. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Colburn. 1848.

remer is wise, she will keep to the intention declared lumes of writing no other novel. She has reached the  
-NO. XX.—DEC. 1848. H h

highest pinnacle of excellence which she can hope to attain, and having done so, it would be the mark of sound sense to stop. For, whatever be its faults, and they are great, the work before us is one of great merit, and stands without a rival amongst the productions of its authoress. The delineation of character is wonderful—the unpretending pathos irresistible—the humour delicate and delightful—the examples of self-denial and self-devotion with their rewards which meet us in one page, and the evil consequences of self-will and self-indulgence which stand opposite to them, have a powerful moral effect. Miss Bremer is not, however, free from those rationalistic tendencies and those latitudinarian principles which in most other lands reign entirely undisputed, and are, even in England, contending for supremacy. And, in addition to these faults, we are frequently pained with the irreverence of expressions, which though natural on the lips of those who use them, are offensive to the English ear—the ear, we mean, of those who are not accustomed to hear the holiest name taken in vain as a matter of course. It is fair, however, to say, that where these expressions occur, they are in the mouths of persons, who evidently use them, as the authoress repeats them, without any evil intention.

The character of Augustin is nobly imagined—that of Hedwig is almost angelic—Engel is a sweet girl—Gothilda a delightful creature—Bror the perfection of good-natured humour—Ivoer the personification of false principle guided by headstrong passion—Gerda powerfully drawn—Sigurd, a master-piece of “mannishness”—Karin, a sweet and beautiful creation, graceful in the extreme—but our great favourite, the real hero of the book, is Uncle Herkales, a noble old soldier, a gentleman, and a Christian: the scene where he prays for his perverse nephew is one of the most beautiful with which we are acquainted.

The book, however, is not one that can be skimmed—it must be carefully read through to be really appreciated. We conclude this notice with the following beautiful extract:—

“ People talk about how much youth adorns home, but a beautiful old age does so no less. And without an old man or an old woman a family picture is not complete, and without them the domestic virtues cannot fully develop their beautiful existence. Youth is never more amiable than when it looks in love and reverence on the old—the old never more beautiful than when they bow themselves down to the young in affectionate care. And beautiful and remarkable is that impulse which always arises in domestic life, the eldest and the youngest in a mutual interchange of comfort and joy.”—Vol. i. pp. 63, 64.

*vols in the Great Desert of Sahara, in the Years 1845*  
846. By JAMES RICHARDSON. 2 vols. 8vo. London:  
ay. 1848.

is a good deal of amusement and information to be obtained from these volumes—though they might be advantageously fitted to a winnowing machine. Mr. Richardson gives a full account of life in the desert—and his very carelessness attends the picture more actual and full than it would otherwise be. His repetitions and varying impressions of the external circumstances and things give a reality to the picture he draws; though some of them might have been spared with advantage. We could have spared, too, his own opinions—especially those which have a quasi-religious character—a great portion of the sublime and the sentimental might have remained unwritten. Despite, however, all this there is a great deal of what is useful and agreeable in the book; and it will be read with pleasure by any one who will excuse the occasional which extreme conceit has at times led the author to

as, as in many other books of travels, we are painfully struck by the contrast between the deep reality—the all-pervading, compelling power of Mohammedanism as received by the vast numbers of its professors—and the hollow conventionalism which supplies the place of religion in our own land, and the gross superstition or offensive rationalism which disgusts many parts of continental Europe. With the Arab and Turk, the faith which he professes, and such as it is he has added thereto nor diminished therefrom, is the lifespring of thought, and language, and action—it regulates and absorbs his being. But enough of this for the present at least—we return to it hereafter—but we cannot help quoting, with some shame, the conclusion arrived at by the pious Moslems themselves—“You Christians know every thing but God.”

I have spoken freely of the defects of the work before us, but I am due to the author to give a few samples of the better parts of his work, assured that they will interest our readers. The following description of the author's interview with the Pasha of Tripoli.

Afternoon His Highness Mehemet Ali Pasha had arranged to have an interview. I was introduced, of course, by our Consul-Colonel Warrington. Mr. Casolaina, the Chancellor of the Pasha, and his son were in attendance as interpreters. His Highness receives all strangers and transacts all business in an apartment of

the celebrated old castle of the Karnamanly Bashaws, whose legends of blood and intrigue have been so vividly and terrifically transcribed in *Tully's Tripoline Letters*. On entering this place I was astonished at its ruinous and repulsive appearance. Nothing could better resemble a prison, and yet a prison in the most dilapidated condition. Walking through the dark, winding, damp, mildewy passages, shedding down upon us a pestiferous, dungeon influence, Colonel Warrington suddenly stopped, as if to breathe and repel the deadly miasma; and turning to me said, "Well, Richardson, what do you think of this?—capital place this for young ladies to dance in, so light and airy. Many a poor wretch has entered here with promises of fortune and royal favour, and has met his doom at the hands of the assassin! In my long course of service, how many Kâeds and Sheikhs I have known who have come in here and have never gone out! I am a great reader of Shakspeare. It's the next book after the Bible. But a thousand Shakspeares, with all their tragic genius, would never describe the passions which have worked, and the horrors which have been perpetrated in this place." The colonel's tragic harangue was not without its effect in these dungeon passages, and the old gentleman seemed to enjoy the shiver which he saw involuntarily agitated me. Indeed the darksome, noisome atmosphere, without this tragic appeal, could not fail to make itself felt, as Egyptian darkness was felt, after leaving the fiery heat and bright, dazzling sun-light without. Winding about, from one ruinous room to another, and ascending various flights of tumble-down steps and stairs, we got up at length to the eastern end, where there are two or three new apartments, constructed in the modern style. In one of them, not unlike a city merchant's receiving parlour, we found the Pasha and his court. We were immediately introduced; and, somewhat to my surprise, I found his Highness an extremely plain, *unmilitary*-looking Turkish gentleman, of about fifty years of age, and dressed without the least pretensions of any kind. How unlike the ancient gemmed and jewelled Bashaws! flaming in "Barbaric pearl and gold!" The present Ottoman costume is most simple. His Highness had only the *Nisham*, or Turkish decoration of brilliants, upon his breast to distinguish him from his own domestics, coffee-bearers, or others. As soon as he saw us he hurriedly came up to us and seized hold of our hands and shook them cordially. The troops were, at the moment, being reviewed, and we had a good sight of them from our elevated position. They were manœuvring on the sea-beach, between the city and the *Masbeeah*. 'Tell the Bashaw,' cried the Colonel to Casolaina; 'I never saw such splendid manœuvring in all the course of my life. They do His Highness and Ahmed Bashaw, the Commander-in-Chief, infinite credit.' This compliment was interpreted and graciously received, though its value was, no doubt, properly appreciated by the politic Turk. The Colonel continued:—'Tell the Bashaw that, as long as the Sultan has such troops as these he will be invincible.' This was answered by, '*En-shallah, enshallah* (if God pleases, if God pleases).' The Colonel still laid it on:—'Casolaina, tell the Bashaw, I myself should not like to

even English troops against these fine fellows.' To which aw and his court replied, '*Ajeele* (Wonderful)!' Ahmed the Commander-in-Chief, a most ferocious-looking Turk, laid his hand on my shoulders and pushed me to the window to admire the brave men. I could just see that their manœuvres were in the distance. The 'awkward squad;' but their arms and white pantaloons gleamed beautifully in the sun upon the margin of the deep blue sea.

As we had satisfied our curiosity or admiration in looking at the windows were shut down, and all sat down to business. His

began by asking my name, when I came, and what I was about? The Consul replied to these first and usual questions. Turkish functionaries, and more particularly explained my visit to Ghadames. The Pasha immediately consented, as a matter of course, with Turkish politeness; but, before the interview was over, various objections were started and insisted upon, showing suddenly excited jealousy of these functionaries, who, previous to the interview, knew all about my anti-slavery and literary projects. The Consul observed:—'The heat is killing now, the distance is great, the road is infested with robbers; I shall have to send an escort of a hundred troops with your friend (addressing the Consul); not less than two hundred banditti attacked a caravan. All Tunisian Arabs are robbers; the Bey of that country cannot maintain order in his country; besides, an Arab will kill ten men to get one pair of pistols; make further enquiries.' . . . . We were served with pipes, and sherbet. I pretended to sip the pipe two or three times, as a mark of politeness, for though I have been in Barbary some time I have not adopted the dirty vice."—Vol. i. pp. 18—21.

Greatly honour Mr. Richardson for this last trait, which contrasts with the conduct of the authoress of "Eastern Question Past and Present." Miss Martineau tells us that we cannot imagine what a comfort the chibouque was to her on her travels: that she is right; *we cannot conceive it.*

Amongst the many interesting accounts of the life, feelings, and opinions of the children of the Desert; one of the most striking is their universal belief in the future coming of Anti-Christ whom they denominate "The DAJAL;" succeeded by the return of our Lord. We insert one account written for the use of an inhabitant of the holy city of Ghadames:—

*Dajal* (الدجال), whose name is the Messiah, and who is the false Messiah, and who is a monstrous fellow, with one eye, shall come upon the earth, or rather go abroad upon the earth, and all the Jews will flock around him, and enrol themselves under his standard for he is the expected Messiah; and then, armed with their prowess and gold, shall slay all Christians and Mohammedans, and reign upon the earth for their destruction, forty years. His time outrun, there shall appear Jesus the Son of Mary (the Messiah of the New Testament) who shall descend upon the earth with flaming

vengeance and destroy the *Dajal*. This done, then shall come the end of the world."—Vol. i. p. 180.

Mr. Richardson suggests that the national tribe of the Tuaricks, the oldest race of North Africa, equally distinct from the Negro and the Arab, would be much gratified were the Bible translated into their language, and printed in their character. He more than once presses this point, and we think that he does so with reason.

**XI.—1. *Annals of the Artists of Spain.* By WILLIAM STIRLING, M.A. In 3 vols. London: Ollivier.**

**2. *Sacred and Legendary Art.* By MRS. JAMESON. In 2 vols. London: Longmans.**

THE appearance of these elaborate works almost simultaneously is an event in the history of Art in England; evidencing as it does, the general desire which is felt for a more ample critical apparatus than we have hitherto possessed. Each of these works would amply deserve a more extended notice of its contents than we can possibly supply at present, in consequence of the pressure of matter. Mr. Stirling's work comprises a history of Painting in Spain from the first origin of the Art to the present day. It enumerates all the works of the Spanish painters which are now extant, and supplies materials for judgment on their merits, which either to the Artist, the Collector, or the Traveller, will be invaluable. The sister Arts of Sculpture and Architecture are also incidentally illustrated, and the work is furnished with extensive Indices, and adorned by some very excellent engravings of the principal Spanish painters, and of a few of their most striking works. Even the general reader will find in Mr. Stirling's pages much to interest and gratify him, from the biographical character of the work, and the numerous anecdotes which it contains.

Mrs. Jameson's book, which is also richly and abundantly illustrated with wood-cuts and engravings, will be found eminently useful as a book of reference to travellers, and also to those who are engaged in the study of paintings. It brings together all the Legends of the Saints which are ordinarily to be found represented in Sculpture and Painting, with a view to the explanation of the subjects which continually meet the eye in all old works of Art. It will be found useful in directing modern Artists to the appropriate symbols and representations of sacred and legendary subjects.

We regard these two works as indispensable to every one who is engaged in the study of the Fine Arts.



*ayers for a Christian Household, chiefly taken from  
ptures, from the ancient Liturgies, and the Book of Com-  
ayer. By the Rev. T. BOWDLER. London: Pickering.*

acter of the respected author of this volume is a sufficient  
r the excellence of its contents. They are Liturgical  
id though perhaps too long in some instances for use in  
amilies, they can be easily brought within a moderate

We have been very much gratified and edified by all  
ve read of these prayers.

*acts for the Christian Seasons. Oxford and London:  
Parker.*

usly a *most difficult* task to write a good Tract adapted  
oor; for we rarely, indeed, meet with any that are  
be of use to them. The tracts before us are simple  
le, and perhaps they approach nearer to what Tracts  
be, than almost any we have seen; and yet, we feel  
at, notwithstanding all the pains which have been  
many parts of the country the language would in parts  
the comprehension of the people. The tracts how-  
cellent, and we cordially wish them an extensive cir-

*ayers for the Use of all Persons who come to the Baths  
for Cure. By THOMAS KEN, D.D., Lord Bishop of  
nd Wells. With a Life of the Author. London:*

publication, independently of the devotions which it  
and which have a local value and importance, is en-  
a most interesting and beautifully written life of the  
author. The many admirers of Bishop Ken will re-  
nemoir with gratitude.

*ns for Schools, selected by the Rev. R. HARVEY,  
ector of St. Mary's, Hornsey. New Edition. London:  
ridge.*

leasing and well chosen collection of 170 Hymns for  
t a moderate price. There is considerable variety in  
work.

xvi.—*A Plan of Church Extension and Reform, submitted to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell by a Deputation, in March, 1848. With Remarks by J. C. COLQUHON, Esq.* London: Seeleys.

THE period of the season at which we have received this important pamphlet on the subject of Church extension, which embodies a plan, prepared in the early part of this year, by a committee of influential noblemen and gentlemen in London, must plead our apology for noticing so briefly a publication, which amply merits a careful and extended survey. We shall probably have an opportunity hereafter for reverting to this subject. In the mean time, we recommend the pamphlet to the particular notice of all who are interested in promoting the efficiency and the extension of the Church, including an augmentation of the Episcopate. It is becoming evident now, that *funds* may be found for these objects, and that the only real difficulty is, the reluctance of men to move in the matter; or, rather, the mass of *secular* business which prevents the affairs of the Church from gaining any attention from persons in high stations.

xvii.—*A Letter to Joshua Watson, D.C.L., &c. By EDWARD CHURTON, M.A., Archdeacon of Cleveland.* London: Rivingtons.

WE could scarcely have imagined that the fraud which was so frequently practised in the middle ages, in ascribing to authors works which they never wrote, could have been so recently and so successfully practised as in the case before us, in which Archdeacon Churton has shown, with great acuteness and learning, that a treatise, bearing the title of “*Contemplations on the State of Man*,” and published under the name of Jeremy Taylor, some years after his death, was in reality a compilation from a work written by a Spanish Jesuit, named Nieremberg.

xviii.—*National Warnings on National Education. A Sermon. By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster.* London: Rivingtons.

THIS sermon is of a very different character from the common run of charity sermons: it is of general interest and importance, as bearing on the subject of Christian education. Dr. Wordsworth points out, by reference to the recent events in France, the evil and danger of an unchristian education—an education not based on the Word of God. Nothing can exceed the force of his argu-

t, or its seasonableness at this time. We have never read publication of his with more gratification.

—*Christian Communism. A Sermon, &c. By WILLIAM EWELL, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford.* Oxford: Parker.

3 sermon, which was preached on occasion of laying the first e of the Alms-House Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, Chis-, contains a very beautiful exposition of the principles and es of Christian charity, as applied to the case of the indigent the lowly members of the community. It points out the rableness of providing a refuge for such persons, impressed a Christian character, and combined with occupations of an cent and useful kind. God grant that such a spirit may cise increasing influence in our land.

#### XX.—MISCELLANEOUS.

he press of matter compels us merely to acknowledge the ipt of the following books and other publications, which we to notice in our next number:—

avidson's Introduction to the New Testament—Gilly's Ro-  
nt Version of St. John—Anderson's History of the Co-  
l Church, Vol. ii.—Dr. Chalmers's Scripture Readings—  
lope's Liturgy of St. James—The Sea King, by J. S. Bigg  
lonopoly the Cause of Evil, by Arthur O'Connor—Gray's  
ures on Money—Principles of Protestantism—Clarke's  
ughts in Verse—Tate's Holy Things and Times—Epitome  
lison—Letters from the Archives of Zurich (Parker Society)  
iginal Letters, 1537-1558—The Psalter, by Scott—Corner's  
ory of England—The History of a Family—Hopwood's Order  
onfirmation—Analysis of Herodotus—Birkett's Trial of  
tion—Blackley's Scriptural Teaching—Parry's Sermons—  
erly's Logic—Loci Communes, by Swainson and Wratislaw—  
Path of Life—The Scottish New Generation—L'Anima  
nte, by Pagani—Moore's Human Nature in Innocency—  
it's Kapiolani—Cambridge Theological Examination Papers  
larsh's Bampton Lectures—Kidd on the Thirty-nine Articles  
oynder's Nelson's Fasts and Festivals—Nind's Lecture Ser-  
s—Woman, by Monod—Thom's Chronology and Prophecy  
oole's Ecclesiastical Architecture—Songs of Christian Chi-  
—Gauntlett's Bible Psalms—Gauntlett's Chants for the  
ms—Jarrett's Hebrew Lexicon—Beecher on Baptism—The  
ochial and Collegiate Churches of Scotland.

Among smaller publications, pamphlets, &c. we may mention Instructions for Afflicted Christians—Prayers for the Nursery—Hints on Female Parochial Schools—Spencer's Commentary on the Collects—Harry and Archie—Christian's Child's Book—A Drop in the Ocean—Plain Sermons for the Poor—Prayers for Parochial Schools—Emmaus, by Nugee—The Penitent's Path—Sound Words—A Collection of Mr. Cleaver's Tracts—Family Prayers, by a Clergyman—Reasons for a New Edition of the Peschito, by Rogers—Slight's Letter to the Bishop of Oxford—The Theologian—Scottish Magazine—Ramsay's Catechism—Charges by the Bishops of Fredericton, Exeter, and Archdeacon Manning, &c. &c. &c.

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## Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

**DA.—Diocese of Toronto.—Prayer on account of the Cholera.**—The Bishop of Toronto has issued a Pastoral Letter on the apprehended spread of the cholera, and directed the two following prayers to be read by the congregations of his diocese, immediately before the General Service at Morning and Evening Prayer :—

O gracious Father and God ! who hast promised forgiveness of all those that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto Thee. Look down, we beseech Thee, from heaven Thy dwelling-place, on Thy unworthy servants, who, under an awful apprehension of Thy judgments, and a deep conviction of our sinfulness, prostrate ourselves before Thee.

Acknowledge it to be of Thy goodness alone, that, whilst Thou hast smitten other nations with pestilence, Thou hast so long spared us. O Lord ! have pity on Thy people, both here and abroad :

Turn Thy heavy hand from those that are suffering under Thy chastisement ; and turn away from us that grievous calamity, against which our only security is in Thy compassion. We confess in shame and confusion that in the pride and hardness of our hearts we have shown ourselves unthankful for Thy mercies, and have followed our own inclinations instead of Thy holy laws. Yet, O Merciful Father, suffer not Thy protecting Angel to lift up his hand against us, but keep us, as Thou hast heretofore done, in health and safety ; and grant, that being made sensible by the sufferings of others to repent our sins, we may be preserved from all evil by Thy mighty protection, and enjoy the continuance of Thy mercy and grace, through the merits of our only Mediator and Redeemer, Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

O mighty God ! who by the many instances of mortality, which surround us on every side, dost call upon us seriously to consider the brevity of our time here upon earth, and remindest us that, in the life we are in death, so teach us to number our days, that we may direct our hearts unto wisdom.

Grant us grace to turn unto Thee with timely repentance, and thus to avail ourselves of the merits of our Saviour, that pardon to-day, which to-morrow may be too late to seek for ; that so being strengthened by Thy Holy Spirit against the terrors of death, and daily advancing in godliness, we may at all times be ready to give up our souls into Thy hands, O Father, in the hope of a blessed immortality, through the merits of Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

**of Protestant Truth among the Romanists.**—The Bishop of Toronto, in a letter dated June 12, writes thus to the *Society for Pro-*

sort of authority ; it had no powers delegated to it, either by the respective civil and ecclesiastical governments, or by the popular voice ; it was not, therefore, properly speaking, a Synod (*Kirchentag*), but a free, *i. e.* a self-constituted assembly. It was, indeed, stated at one of the convivial meetings which formed part of the proceedings, and in connexion with a toast in honour of the King of Prussia, that His Majesty had been apprised by a deputation of their intention to convene such an assembly, and solicited to patronize it ; but the King replied, that it was out of his power to take any official steps in furtherance of it ; at the same time he intimated, that he implored upon it every blessing from on High, as it was the Lord's battle they were going to fight. The whole movement, therefore, is to be considered in the light of a spontaneous effort made by the leading men of the Protestant communions, to meet the emergency arising out of the political condition of Germany. It was set on foot by a public manifesto, to which were attached the signatures of forty-nine of the most distinguished Protestant divines from all parts of Germany, inviting "all the friends of the Evangelic Church, clerical and lay, who acknowledge the basis of the Evangelic confessions," to a "preliminary free conference," to be held on the 21st September and following days, at Wittenberg, with a view to "take fraternal counsel on the position of the Evangelic Church at the present juncture." Among the names affixed to this manifesto, are several with which our readers are already familiar, such as, Superintendent Dr. Grossmann, of Leipzig ; Dr. Grünsen, of Stuttgart, Court Chaplain ; Dr. Hengutenberg, of Berlin ; Dr. Lücke, of Göttingen ; Superintendent Nielsen, of Schleswig ; Dr. Nitsch, of Berlin ; Consistorial Councillor Dr. Snethlage, of Berlin. The above will be sufficient to show the character of the movement. A sub-committee appointed by the original projectors of the scheme had drawn up an outline of the objects, which are as follows :—

" 1. The Evangelic Communions of Germany combine together in a Church Confederation.

" 2. The Evangelic Confederation is not a Union of the Evangelic Communions, but a revival, adapted to these times, of the *Corpus Evangelicorum* of a former period.

" 3. Each Evangelic Communion comprehended in the Confederation remains perfectly independent of the Confederation, as regards its relation to the State, its government, and its internal arrangements, touching matters of faith, worship, and discipline.

" 4. The object of the Evangelic Confederation is :—

" a. To exhibit the substantial Unity of the Evangelic Church ; to cultivate inter-communion and brotherly love.

" b. To bear a common testimony against all that is unevangelical.

" c. To assist each other by mutual help and counsel.

" d. To arbitrate in case of disputes arising between Churches comprehended in the Confederation.

“ e. To guard and to defend the rights and immunities which the fundamental law of the Empire, and the constitutions of the individual States, award to the Evangelic Churches.

“ f. To aid by advice and succour isolated Evangelic congregations in and out of Germany.

“ g. To form and preserve alliances with all the Evangelic Churches throughout Europe, and all over the world.

‘ 5. The Church Confederation is called into life by an Evangelical Arch Assembly of Germany, to be held annually, composed of deputies from all the Churches comprehended in the Confederation.”

The result of this invitation was that about five hundred persons were collected together at Wittenberg, on the day named; by far the larger proportion of whom were clergymen and academic divines. The meetings took place in a classic locality, in the nave of the Castle Church (*Alte Kirche*), beneath which the bones of Luther repose. The other parts of the Church were filled with a crowd of spectators, attracted by the novelty of the scene, and the deeply interesting nature of the proceedings at so critical a moment. In order fully to appreciate the tone of the discussion, it is necessary to bear in mind, that the parties assembled were—in accordance with the terms of the invitation—of what may, by comparison at least, be termed the orthodox party, and that they had every inducement to merge their minor differences in the sense of their common danger. The majority were members of the United Church of Prussia; besides these there were Lutherans and members of the Reformed Church from those parts of Germany where no union had been effected; the rigid dissentient Lutherans of Prussia had abetted themselves—indeed they were at the very same time holding a synod of their own at Breslau,—but the Moravians were represented by one of their bishops. The following are the more interesting portions of the discussion:—

J. R. Müller, from Halle, animadverted in strong terms on the resolution of the Frankfort Constituent Assembly on the subject of religion<sup>1</sup>,

See the Articles of the Imperial Constitution voted by the Frankfort Assembly, which bear upon religion, in our last Number, pp. 245, 246. They have been quite recently modified, and now stand thus:—

Sect. 14. Every German has complete liberty of belief and of conscience. Nobody is obliged to make known his religious convictions.

Sect. 15. All Germans are unfettered in their common exercise of religion, in domestic and public. Crimes and misdemeanours committed in the use of this liberty will be punished according to law.

Sect. 16. The enjoyment of civil and political rights shall in no wise be hindered or cut short by any body's religious confession. His confession may not obstruct a person in the fulfilment of his political duties.

Sect. 17. Every religious community regulates and administers its own affairs independently, but remains subject to the general laws of the State. No religious community enjoys any privileges before another. There is to be no State-church. New religious communities may be formed; no acknowledgment of their existence by the State is required.

Sect. 18. Nobody shall be forced to any church act or ceremony.

Sect. 19. The formula of oaths shall in future be this—‘As God shall help’ (*So wahr mir Gott helfe*).

Sect. 20. The civil validity of marriage depends only on the transaction of the

which, he observed, went farther in the non-recognition of any difference between truth and error, than even the constitution of the United States and the principles of Robespierre, who insisted, at least, on belief in a Supreme Being.

C. R. Sack, from Magdeburg, dwelt on the necessity of applying some further test than membership of the United Church of Prussia, expressing his fear that the United Church was, in fact, a common sewer, into which the unbelieving elements from both the other Churches, the Lutheran and the Reformed, were drained off. He proposed that the doctrine of the atonement once for all and absolutely made, the doctrine of justification as connected with regeneration, and the introduction of a temperate system of Church discipline, should constitute that test; and if this were adopted, then he proposed that the members of the three bodies named should enjoy perfect inter-communion, so as to render the members of any of them equally admissible to the Holy Eucharist in all the three.

Mr. Kunze, of Berlin, (one of the Prussian Clergy who paid a visit to this country a few years ago) spoke with great freedom, and pointed out the illusory nature of their proceedings. It was all very well for them to meet, to discuss, and to pass resolutions; but they should remember that they had not the public at their back to bear them out in the position which they took. Only about one per cent. of the population were on their side; the remaining ninety-nine per cent. had openly joined their enemies. Considering the insignificance of the support which they could reckon upon from the people, and the absence of all power by delegation from any constituted authority, he suggested that it was useless to talk of a Church Confederation. All they could do was to set on foot an association of individuals like-minded with themselves, who would stand in the breach in the hour of danger.

Superintendent Seegemund called attention to the fatal effects of a superficial union while the difference between the Lutherans and the Reformed continued to exist; observing that unless the sense of the term "Evangelic" was accurately defined, the "United" Church was not unlikely to become the Church of anti-Christ.

President v. Gerlach, from Magdeburg, thought they were yielding too soon to a sense of alarm. He attached no value to the fundamental principles voted by the Frankfort Assembly; they were mere theoretical propositions which had no form or validity as yet. They should not be hasty to accept the position which the democracy designed that the Church should occupy, as a *fait accompli*. The King was bound to defend the rights and the government of the Church; he was not at liberty to fling the reins into the dirt; and it was for them not to desert him, but to stand by him in the conflict. Whatever reforms might be necessary in the Church, must be undertaken on the existing basis, and the revolutionary spirit which would sweep away the whole existing

civil act; the wedding at church can take place only after the civil act has been performed. Difference of religion shall be no legal impediment to marriage.

"Sect. 21. The registers of births, marriages, and deaths (*Standesbücher*), shall be kept by the civil authorities."



infer her rights to the wild opinions afloat among the  
be resisted.

resident, Stahl, in summing up, defended the proposed  
against the objections which had been raised. He insisted,  
necessity of a federal plan, on the fact of a conflict  
those who wished to promote the union, and those who  
distinctive principles of their respective confessions of  
not to get rid of this conflict by preserving their con-  
ne union, he declared to be a failure. The result was,  
l" Church, and its Ecclesiastical authorities, had in fact  
faith at all, which they were bound to uphold to the  
contrary doctrines. Hence it would have been im-  
Russian State Church to have maintained itself, even if  
no revolution. In addition to this cause of embarrass-  
now to expect the withdrawal of all support from the  
therefore for them to consider what under the circum-  
be done. The speaker then advocated the plan of a  
contradistinction to a union. The three churches, the  
reformed, and the United, were to retain their distinctive  
their separate existence, and enter into a federal compact  
union. A mere Evangelical alliance embracing indivi-  
quate to the want for union which was felt by all; but  
f Churches would answer every needful purpose. To  
ion comprehending all the Churches, would be going  
d their several divine missions and must maintain their  
the want of legitimate authority in the Assembly, he  
ere was a spiritual representation which was more real  
ress delegation in writing. There was no intention of  
w to their resolutions. All that was contemplated was  
ertain propositions to be laid before the authorities in  
estions.

was then put, and it was unanimously resolved that the  
hurch Confederation was both to be desired and to be  
The details of the plan was next discussed at great  
ately it was agreed to petition the different Sovereigns  
authorities of Germany to take the necessary steps for  
duly authorized representatives of the different Churches,  
the definitive formation of the proposed Church Confe-  
ure assembly, under the following provisions:—  
leputies should consist, in equal numbers, of clergy and

representation should not be regulated according to  
ording to the distinct existence of the various bodies to  
l as separate Churches, within the German territory.

theological faculties of the Universities, and the depart-  
tical law, should be properly represented.

representatives should be chosen by the actually existing

organs of Church-government, with the concurrence, as far as possible, of the congregations."

The business of the Assembly having been concluded, and a general committee and a sub-committee appointed for carrying out the views and resolutions of this first meeting; a kind of profession of faith was made, and a covenant for co-operation and mutual assistance entered into, in the form of questions and unanimous responses; the profession of faith being in the form of St. Peter's confession, "Lord, we believe and are sure that Thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God."

Several other subjects were incidentally discussed. Among these was the necessity of organizing a Home Mission, which was powerfully advocated by Wichern, the director of the *Rauhe Haus*, a sort of refuge for the destitute and penitentiary, at Hamburg. As the statements made by him, which produced a deep impression upon the assembly, throw great light upon the social and religious condition of Germany, and as many of his observations may find an application elsewhere, we shall give the substance of his discourse somewhat more in detail:—

"He expressed his regret that his exertions in the cause of the Home Mission should be considered in some quarters as hostile to the Church; on which account some felt surprised that he should urge the Church Confederation to take up the subject. For his part, he was firmly persuaded that the Church must take the Home Mission into its own hands. At present it was a labour of affliction, because there was in the Church a prejudice against it; and without the Church the Home Mission could not come into efficient operation. He wished that the assembly would, by declaring itself favourable to it, remove this drawback upon a work which, if countenanced by the Church, could not fail to have the blessing of God."

Having been invited by the assembly at once to develop his views more fully, he continued: "It was a great mistake to suppose that the object of a Home Mission was confined to the salvation of the poor; it concerned the salvation of the rich quite as much. He viewed the field of the Home Mission as co-extensive with baptism, taking baptism in the sense attached to it by Luther. But among those that had been baptized, there were some in a perfectly heathenish state, a fact attested by the recent revolution, and that in Germany even more than in France. It was true that the operations of the Home Mission must run parallel to a great extent with the parochial care of the poor: but they must extend much further. The Germans were to this day, to the number of hundreds of thousands, a nomad people. He would only instance the numberless travelling operatives, the railway labourers, &c. &c. The operatives had no other home than the beer-shop, their guild was the only society to which they belonged. For what took place in their gatherings he should refer them to his published descriptions; the mention of those things was not fit for a mixed assembly. The most fearful orgies of Paganism were surpassed by the scenes in question. Ever since the time of Charles V. it had been the object of

to check this mischief; but it had never been possible to do it. This was the seed-bed of political agitation; the secret clubs were formed within these larger associations. What, to be done? What Church did claim these multitudes as its flock? At Hamburg, where the system of guilds was as yet in a primitive state, no one had ever had compassion on the thousands of paupers. And it was the same almost every where. To this must be added the crowds of Germans, chiefly operatives, in other countries. At Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, London, and elsewhere, there were thousands of German workmen. What was done for these? Two things. The mention of a dangerous communism arising from this population, had only excited a smile. But the storm had broken, and it could no longer be denied that it originated in their condition. People were not aware of the intelligence and energy of these travelling operatives. They were familiar with the words of all the most radical philosophers, and were now reducing them to actual practice. The training school of the German operatives was in Switzerland, where the most unmitigated atheism was preached as an incentive to the realization of communistic principles.

The greatest champion of this cause was his countryman, Marr, of Hamburg, whose book on this subject had not received the recognition which its importance demanded. In it the system adopted by the Socialists was fully detailed. Their fundamental principle was, that *we made the personal enemies of God*. The preliminary condition for admission into the association was a decided 'No' in reply to the question: 'Do you believe in the existence of a God?' Druey, who was it necessary after a time to get rid of Marr, and had done so by suggesting to him that he should follow up his propaganda in Germany, therefore Marr had joined Hecker, Robert Blum, and others, who came to Hamburg where he still was. It was by the labours of these men that atheism and blasphemy were inculcated and propagated. Recently a *Meisterlied* (operative song) had been sung at Hamburg which ran thus: 'A curse upon God, the blind, the deaf,' &c. &c. Marr was a baptized man, for he was a Lutheran!" Wichern, who wrote on at considerable length portraying the condition of the paupers, who lived in nomad huts, and were, with few exceptions, cared for by any one, either in body or in soul, and who in a Christian country were sinking down into a state of abjectness and despair. But all this was as nothing compared with the frightful condition of the lower classes in large towns, where these wholly barbarous masses were congregated in dense crowds. What had been the result? Well, to say the least, on the enemy's side, though not applicable to the whole population, was only true of his own parish in Berlin. It was in these districts, where the Church was so weak, that it became physically and morally impossible for the clergy to perform their duty. For these people the Church did nothing but baptize their children, and possibly marry their parents. Meanwhile the ultra-Hegelian doctrines found a soil ready prepared;

for these doctrines squared exactly with their notions. Considering all this, and the immense activity of the operative propaganda, the revolution could not cause surprise; the wonder was that it had not occurred sooner. They had to thank God's mercy and forbearance for the delay. While this system was being spread over all Europe like a large drag-net, they had thought of nothing but sending missionaries to the Pagans in increasing numbers. Yet the idea of sending out missionaries at home, was not a remote one, only it was not known how great the need was. Among the criminals, who likewise fell under the operation of the Home Mission, the full extent to which heathenism had gained ground in Germany, and the nature of its fruits, had become manifest. He had received many complaints from clergymen connected with prisons on this point; but nothing could equal the report from Glückstadt, where there were upwards of 800 prisoners on an average, and where the spiritual destitution, and the sense of it, had risen to such a height, that two of the prisoners agreed to devise some remedy for themselves, as they felt themselves utterly lost. Not knowing God, nor ever having heard of Him, they manufactured an 'angel' which they might worship. Thus pure idolatry was actually starting up in the midst of them. From such a prison hundreds were annually turned loose upon society in a worse state than when they entered it; they were compelled to seek for subsistence in the wide world, and nothing was open to them but a return to crime. The murderer *Hinz* who had died on the scaffold as a penitent, had confessed that in prison he had been taught to pray to the devil; and when he got his liberty, he went and committed a double murder."

After detailing the inadequate attempts which had been made by private associations to meet the evil, and referring to the exertions made in England for a similar purpose, Wichern proceeded to consider the measures which he thought the Church should adopt to meet the emergency. "Above all," he said, "it was necessary to make some provision for carrying the Gospel forth into the dwellings and the streets, that it might reach those who never came to Church. It was the business of the Church to go in search of those who deserted from its pale. This required voluntary associations in the parishes, and more particularly the novel institution of street preaching. When the street corners should be turned into pulpits, then would the power of the Gospel repenetrate the masses. But all this action must proceed from the Church itself, whose proper office it was."

*National Council of the Roman Catholic Bishops.*—While the leading Protestant divines have thus been endeavouring to provide for the security of their communion and their faith, amidst the pelting storm of revolution and infidelity, the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Germany have not been idle. A National Council, at which all the Romish bishops of Germany were present, either in person or by their representatives, was held at Würzburg during the months of October and November. The synod was opened on Monday the 23rd of October, and closed on Wednesday the 15th of November. The Archbishop of

ided over its deliberations; the Bishops of Augsburg and acted as vice-presidents. The principal object of their deli- s to take measures for sustaining their own spiritual and authority against the possible encroachments of the demo-

But, in reality, it is evident that in Germany, as else- Romish hierarchy hope to profit by the recent changes, ler the name of equal rights and liberty of conscience, that ercise of the usurped powers of the papacy, delegated to no properly constituted and powerful government, however ied to the Romish faith, has ever permitted. Among the objects contemplated by the Council was the formation of Catholic " University for all Germany. The result of their

consists of three important documents; 1. a note on the ween Church and State, and the claims of the Romish Epis- rmany, addressed to the Constitutional Assembly at Frank- istoral and synodal letter to be addressed by the bishops eses; and 3. a circular letter to the Roman Catholic clergy. e precludes us from giving the first of these documents (the at has yet reached us) *in extenso*. Its great object is to ogation of all the checks which both the Roman Catholic and at governments of Germany have hitherto imposed upon ngs of the Romish hierarchy within their dominions, and itercourse with the Pope. They express their reprobation erintendence over the relations between the pastor and his ompatible with the enjoyment of true liberty.

*Statistics of Romanism in India.*—The following is an au- nt of the Romish Establishment in the Madras presidency; estabishment, 1 bishop and 31 priests; Irish establishment, 1 27 priests; French, at Pondicherry, 25 priests; Portuguese olic of Verapoly, 41 priests; Jesuits in the district of Ma- tal, 147.

*of a Romish Bishop with his Clergy.*—An inquiry of con- ortance has taken place recently, by order of the Governor- ) the circumstances connected with the lawless demolition chapel by the soldiers of the 84th regiment, who, it appears, tigated to the act by certain Irish priests in consequence of hich had arisen respecting the possession of the chapel. phy, who, in his letter to the President of the Court of In- s that the soldiers were " actuated by an erroneous religious en removed with three of his Priests from the cantonment isturbance occurred, by order of the Governor. The fol- acts from the official report of the Court of Inquiry, dated th, 1848, further explain the circumstances of the case, e of conduct pursued by the Romish Priests :—

ght Hon. the Governor in Council considers it only neces- ve briefly, that even should the evidence recorded not afford ct proof of the fact, that there can be no moral doubt but

that the Irish Priests did incite the men of the 84th regiment to this act, while it is acknowledged that they afterwards countenanced it, by allowing the property carried away to be deposited in the Temperance Room of the mission ; and the Rev. Mr. M'Sweeny has confessed that he endeavoured to conceal the stolen articles by throwing them into a well on the mission premises. It is apparent also, that they have, throughout, exercised a pernicious influence, of which there are, unhappily, lamentable and painful proofs in various parts of the Court's proceedings.

“ The Right Hon. the Governor in Council has remarked, with deep concern, throughout these transactions, that not only has the European soldiery been incited to acts subversive of all discipline and respect for constituted authority, but that the express orders of the officer commanding the cantonment have been openly and deliberately set at nought by the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy.

“ The Rev. Mr. M'Sweeny has distinctly stated in his letter to the brigadier commanding the Hyderabad subsidiary force, dated 10th July last, that ‘ whatever may be my own wishes on the subject of our interview this day, I have the honour to inform you that I am prohibited by the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy from surrendering the Catholic chapel near the lines of the 8th regiment, N.I., for the purpose required in the letter of the Quartermaster-general, dated the 8th instant ;’ and there is no doubt in the mind of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council, that it was under the orders, and with the concurrence, of the same authority (see Rev. Mr. M'Sweeny's evidence before the Court of Inquiry) that the Rev. Mr. M'Sweeny and his brother proceeded forcibly to place a padlock on the door of the chapel, avowedly in opposition to, and in defiance of, the orders of the Brigadier, thus setting to the soldiers of their own persuasion an example of the worst possible tendency.

“ The Governor in Council has borne in mind that the Rev. Mr. M'Sweeny was at the time receiving a salary from Government, as the Roman Catholic minister of the troops, and it is scarcely necessary to remark that, if an individual so circumstanced can be constrained to resist the local authorities, the Government can have no guarantee that their orders will be at any time respected, nor any assurance that the same influence which led to the outrage at Secunderabad, will not be called into action at any moment to subvert alike the authority of the local officer and of the law.

“ With these considerations before him, and looking to the facts elicited by the Court of Inquiry, and to the communications from the officer commanding H. M.'s 84th regiment, after much and anxious deliberation, the Right Hon. the Governor in Council sees no alternative but to direct the removal of the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy from the cantonment of Secunderabad ; and, that the orders of Government may not be rendered nugatory, to request the Resident to move H. H. the Nizam, to require Dr. Murphy to quit H. H.'s territories immediately, and that he shall not be permitted to return, except at the instance of the British Government. The Governor in Council deems it necessary also that the same

**XII.**—*Prayers for a Christian Household, chiefly taken from the Scriptures, from the ancient Liturgies, and the Book of Common Prayer. By the Rev. T. BOWDLER.* London : Pickering.

THE character of the respected author of this volume is a sufficient security for the excellence of its contents. They are Liturgical in form, and though perhaps too long in some instances for use in ordinary families, they can be easily brought within a moderate compass. We have been very much gratified and edified by all that we have read of these prayers.

**XIII.**—*Tracts for the Christian Seasons.* Oxford and London : Parker.

IT is obviously a *most difficult* task to write a good Tract adapted for the poor ; for we rarely, indeed, meet with any that are adapted to be of use to them. The tracts before us are simple and forcible, and perhaps they approach nearer to what Tracts ought to be, than almost any we have seen ; and yet, we feel assured that, notwithstanding all the pains which have been taken, in many parts of the country the language would in parts be above the comprehension of the people. The tracts however are excellent, and we cordially wish them an extensive circulation.

**XIV.**—*Prayers for the Use of all Persons who come to the Baths of Bath for Cure. By THOMAS KEN, D.D., Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. With a Life of the Author.* London : Masters.

THIS little publication, independently of the devotions which it comprises, and which have a local value and importance, is enriched with a most interesting and beautifully written life of the venerable author. The many admirers of Bishop Ken will receive this memoir with gratitude.

**XV.**—*Hymns for Schools, selected by the Rev. R. HARVEY, M.A., Rector of St. Mary's, Hornsey. New Edition.* London : Groombridge.

A VERY pleasing and well chosen collection of 170 Hymns for Schools, at a moderate price. There is considerable variety in this little work.



For we hope that with the assistance of God, all ecclesiastics as well as lay Catholics, having before their eyes what by the Apostolic See has been decreed, on account of the same vicariate, will be constant both in its observance and in spiritual subjection to you, and thus will avert all fear which we have entertained of schism.

"In the meanwhile, venerable brother, the Apostolic Benediction we affectionately impart to you.

"Given at Rome, in the Palace of St. Mary Major, 18th May, 1848, in the second year of our Pontificate. "PIUS P. P. IX.

"To the Venerable Brother, Caetano Antonio, of the Congregation of St. Philip Neri at Goa, Bishop of Usula and Vicar-Apostolic of Ceylon."

This brief has been formally published by the Vicar-Apostolic of Ceylon, together with a Pastoral Letter, exhorting all the Roman Catholics of the island to "submit to it in the spirit of obedient children of the Catholic Church."

**ITALY.—Anarchy at Rome. Flight of the Pope—Gross Mariolatry.**—The experiment which the papacy has tried upon the democracy, in assaying to "baptize and Christianize that wild matron<sup>2</sup>," has terminated at last in the utter discomfiture of the former. The circumstances connected with the late revolution at Rome, and the flight of the Pope to Gaeta, are too generally known to require detailed mention here. We shall therefore content ourselves with recording the rescript addressed by Pius IX. to his rebellious subjects.

"Pius IX., Pope, to his beloved subjects.—The violence committed against Us during these last days, and the intention of rushing into farther crimes, which has been evinced (may God avert these misfortunes by instilling into men's hearts sentiments of humanity and moderation!) have compelled Us to separate Ourselves for a moment from Our subjects, and Our children whom We have always loved, and whom We still love.

"Among the motives which have determined Us to have recourse to this separation (and God knows how painful it is to Our heart), the most important is that We wished to have full liberty in the exercise of the supreme power of the Holy See, which, under existing circumstances, the Catholic world might not unnaturally suppose We no longer possessed. While this violence is to Us in itself a cause of great bitterness of heart, it is still more so when We remember the stain of ingratitude with which a number of men of perverse minds have covered themselves in the face of Europe and of the whole world, and still more the stain stamped upon their souls by the wrath of God, who sooner or later executes the chastisements pronounced by His Church.

"In the ingratitude of Our children We recognize the hand of the Lord which smites Us, and wills that *We should expiate Our sins and those of the people.* Yet We cannot, without betraying Our duty,

<sup>2</sup> See Father Ventura's Funeral Oration for O'Connell, *English Review*, vol. viii. pp. 249, 250.



ment, or its seasonableness at this time. We have never read any publication of his with more gratification.

XIX.—*Christian Communism. A Sermon, &c. By WILLIAM SEWELL, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford.* Oxford: Parker.

THIS sermon, which was preached on occasion of laying the first stone of the Alms-House Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, Chiswick, contains a very beautiful exposition of the principles and modes of Christian charity, as applied to the case of the indigent and the lowly members of the community. It points out the desirableness of providing a refuge for such persons, impressed with a Christian character, and combined with occupations of an innocent and useful kind. God grant that such a spirit may exercise increasing influence in our land.

XX.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The press of matter compels us merely to acknowledge the receipt of the following books and other publications, which we hope to notice in our next number:—

Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament—Gilly's Roman Version of St. John—Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, Vol. ii.—Dr. Chalmers's Scripture Readings—Trollope's Liturgy of St. James—The Sea King, by J. S. Bigg—Monopoly the Cause of Evil, by Arthur O'Connor—Gray's Lectures on Money—Principles of Protestantism—Clarke's Thoughts in Verse—Tate's Holy Things and Times—Epitome of Alison—Letters from the Archives of Zurich (Parker Society)—Original Letters, 1537-1558—The Psalter, by Scott—Corner's History of England—The History of a Family—Hopwood's Order of Confirmation—Analysis of Herodotus—Birkett's Trial of Creation—Blackley's Scriptural Teaching—Parry's Sermons—Moberly's Logic—Loci Communes, by Swainson and Wratislaw—The Path of Life—The Scottish New Generation—L'Anima Amante, by Pagani—Moore's Human Nature in Innocency—Grant's Kapiolani—Cambridge Theological Examination Papers—Marsh's Bampton Lectures—Kidd on the Thirty-nine Articles—Poynder's Nelson's Fasts and Festivals—Nind's Lecture Sermons—Woman, by Monod—Thom's Chronology and Prophecy—Poole's Ecclesiastical Architecture—Songs of Christian Chivalry—Gauntlett's Bible Psalms—Gauntlett's Chants for the Psalms—Jarrett's Hebrew Lexicon—Beecher on Baptism—The Parochial and Collegiate Churches of Scotland.

bishop of Paris, for instance, speaks of "the Vicar of Jesus Christ having commenced his passion," forcibly calling to mind the passage of the Psalmist, "Let his prayer be turned into sin."

Since the above was written, intelligence has been received of the deposition of the Pope from his temporal sovereignty. The mode by which this result was arrived at, is for the present involved in obscurity; but the fact itself there appears to be no reason to doubt.

**NEWFOUNDLAND.**—*Spiritual Destitution of the Coast of Labrador.*—The following extract from a letter of the Bishop of Newfoundland to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, exhibits, in a striking light, the miserable spiritual destitution of this part of his lordship's diocese, which he has recently visited:—

"A store was quickly offered and prepared for Sunday service, and in the morning we had a congregation of nearly 150 persons, almost all men, and nearly as many in the afternoon. None of the heads of families had ever had an opportunity of being married otherwise than by public attestation before witnesses. Three of them were anxious to be married by a Clergyman, and all their children were to be admitted into the Church. You would have been equally surprised and delighted to have seen the decent and devout way in which the people entered into these services. Had there been longer notice, many would have attended the service from neighbouring coves and harbours, but the intelligence and opportunity were confined to this bay only.

"I know not whether to be most pleased or grieved by the earnest anxious desire of the people to have a Clergyman amongst them. One very respectable man, who has brought up, or is bringing up, a family of nine children, is just on the point of removing to Nova Scotia, in despair of finding any spiritual guide or counsel for himself and family here. He has been resident in this neighbourhood nearly thirty years, and in all that time has never seen a Clergyman of his own Church. All his children were admitted into the Church, and one of his daughters married, or remarried.

"My chief object in writing to you is to ask and pray that some Clergyman may be found to take the oversight of these poor people. They say they are well able to support a clergyman. One poor man, as we should call him, said there is not a man on the shore who would not give 5*l.* a year towards his support; and if I would only give them the promise of a Clergyman, they would soon build a church.

"This is the first place I have visited on the coast of Labrador, and I may expect to have similar applications in other places. A Clergyman placed here would be able occasionally to visit the opposite coast of Newfoundland; and in a settlement almost immediately opposite, called Anchor Point, are nearly one hundred souls, who have never been visited by a Clergyman. At Bay of Islands are as many; and at Bonne Bay more than half that number. But on the Labrador coast, in the summer, within the limits of the Government of Newfoundland, and therefore, I presume, of my spiritual charge, are ten thousand souls who

itual guide or overseer. Most of these remain four months, and now many resident families.

AND.—*Captivity of Bishop Marilley.*—Bishop Marilley, whose character and career our readers have been made acquainted with in numbers of our Review<sup>3</sup>, has become involved in a serious conflict with the authorities of the five cantons<sup>4</sup> over which his diocese extends, especially with those of Freiburg, where the Bishop of Geneva usually resides. Being known to be unfavourable to the recent revolutionary changes, by which the old aristocratic Catholic party were dispossessed of power, and the reins of government were put into the hands of the democratic, and in a great measure by the aid of the Swiss Government, Bishop Marilley, who had, moreover, official differences with the existing government, was suspected of secretly fomenting a movement against the new federal constitution. Accordingly, on the 14th of October, called upon by the Council of the cantons to enter into a distinct engagement to submit himself, and to agree to submit, to the federal Constitution; 2. To renounce all official pretensions inconsistent with the Constitution; to submit to the previous approbation of the State, all his pastorals, *mandements*, and other circulars, and to reform the Synodal Constitution of the diocese in conformity with the recent political changes. The Council decided that they would not suffer him by underhanded machinations to perpetuate mistrust, disquietude, and disorder in the diocese. They gave him time to consider, adding, that if no answer came from him by the 23rd, his silence would be construed into submission. To this ultimatum the Prelate replied by a letter of remonstrance, in which, after a long homily to the government, on its delinquencies towards the Church, he concluded in reference to the three points specified:—1. That he was ready, for himself and his Clergy, to submit to the Constitution in all matters, but not in any matter affecting the rights and the independence of the Church; 2. that he could not abate any of his ecclesiastical pretensions; and 3. that he would not submit his Pastorals and other publications to the approbation of the State, but claimed for himself the freedom of the press; and that he could not alter the synodal constitution, to make them square with the civil laws, where the two were in conflict.

The result of this reply was, that in the night from the 23rd to the 25th of October, the Bishop was suddenly arrested and taken to Lausanne, whence, on the 26th, he was removed to the castle of Chillon. Against this measure the Papal Nuncio at Geneva protested in the most energetic terms, demanding the instant liberation of the captive Bishop, which was followed, shortly after, by a similar protest from Cardinal Soglia, in the name of the Pope. The result of this intervention was, that the government of the cantons came to the following resolutions:—

<sup>3</sup> See vol. v. pp. 454—456; and vol. vi. pp. 222, 223.

<sup>4</sup> Berne, Freiburg, Vaud, Neuchâtel, and Genève.

"1. Stephen Marilley shall no longer exercise the Episcopal functions in the diocese of Lausanne and Genève.

"2. He is prohibited from residing in the territory of the Cantons over which the said diocese extends.

"3. The Council of State of the Canton of Freiburg will, if occasion should arise, take suitable measures for the provisional administration of the diocese. It will, moreover, take the preliminary steps for bringing about a re-organization of the bishopric."

These resolutions were communicated to Bishop Marilley on the 10th of December, and in the night from the 12th to the 13th, he was transported by the authorities of the Canton of Lausanne to the French frontier, and set down in the small parish of Divonne.

This proceeding must necessarily lead to further dissensions between the Papal See and the Swiss Republic, and will probably put a stop to the negotiations which had been in progress, relative to the changes caused by the recent revolution in the Cantons of the *Sonderbund*.

**UNITED STATES. Diocesan Convention of New York.**—*Number and Qualification of Lay Delegates.*—The Diocesan Convention of the diocese of New York was opened on Wednesday, October 11. The most important subject that came before it, was an alteration in the number and qualification of the lay delegates. On this subject a committee had been appointed in 1847, whose report was now presented to the Convention. From the length of the document, we are compelled to confine ourselves to a brief abstract of its contents. The alterations proposed were as follows:—"After the words 'lay members,' in Article III., to insert the words, 'who shall be Communicants;' and to strike out the words 'or more,' and to insert the words, 'and not more than three,' whereby the Article, as amended, should read thus:—

"ARTICLE III.—The Convention shall be composed of the officiating ministers, being regularly admitted and settled in some church within this diocese, which is in union with this convention; and of lay members who shall be Communicants, consisting of one, and not more than three, delegates from each church, to be chosen by the vestry or congregation; and clergymen employed as Missionaries under the direction of this Convention; and clergymen engaged as professors or instructors of youth in any college, academy, or general seminary of learning, duly incorporated, may be members of the Convention."

The committee unanimously agreed, that the number of lay delegates from each parish ought to be limited to three.

On the question as to the qualification of lay members, the report says:—"The foremost fact presented to the view of your committee, is the cherished truth, that the Church is the mystical Body of Jesus Christ; organized into a Kingdom, of which He is the Lord and Head; and composed of members which He hath incorporated together, by virtue of scriptural qualifications, and sealed into union by his appointed Sacraments. The constitution, proposed to be amended, while

recognizes the fact that the Church is a spiritual and organic society, prescribes no spiritual qualifications to the lay members of its Convention. Every state or kingdom determines the qualifications of its electors; and among them, the first is that they shall be natives or naturalized; the second is that they shall have attained a certain age, have given sufficient evidence of attachment to the soil and institutions of their country. No State was ever heard of, where foreigners were admitted to the legislature; and none, where children were regarded as competent to make the laws. Yet the anomaly exists in our Church of the Church Catholic. Persons who do not belong to the Church, who were never baptized, are eligible to office, and actually participate in making the laws, electing the officers, and prescribing the doctrines of faith of the Church. Nothing in our present constitution, prevents the entire lay delegation from being persons who were never admitted into Christ's Kingdom, and accordingly are aliens and foreigners from sitting in the legislative council of the Church of God, and having effectual influence in matters touching the doctrine, worship, discipline of Christ's religion. It appears to your committee, that the enormity of this defect should speedily be extinguished, and hence, some further qualification be required. It should be a qualification congruous with the character of the society. If the Church be a secular society, then secular qualifications will suffice. But a spiritual body, then spiritual qualifications become requisite."

The Report proceeds to consider the character of the Church, of which the Convention is the representative, and maintains that it is not a secular society, and appeals in proof of this to her Common Prayer Book, as containing the Faith, Worship, and Discipline of her members. "For faith," the Report continues, "is the Creed once delivered to the saints. Her worship is the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, with the purest aspirations of holy men of old. Her discipline is received from Christ and His Apostles, in a tradition, marred by no interruption nor corruption. Her Baptismal Vows declare her anti-secular nature, and compel her members to witness, by a good profession, in behalf of what is true, and spiritual, and divine, against the world, the devil, and the flesh. And when she speaks of her Conventions, she describes them as the 'Council of the Church of Almighty God,' 'assembled in His name in His presence.' She claims the presence of the Holy Spirit, who did abide in the Councils of the blessed Apostles; and did 'promise through Jesus Christ to be with His Church to the end of the world; to direct, sanctify, and govern us by His mighty power, that the comfortable Gospel of Christ may be truly preached, received, and followed, in all places, by the breaking down the kingdom of sin, Satan, and the flesh.'"

The Report then proceeds to examine the three possible qualifications, viz., Baptism, Confirmation, and Communion; and decides for the last, as containing the highest and most ample security, both for the vindication of the principle contended for, and for the purity of the constitution of the Church. Among the reasons for exacting this qualifi-

cation, the Report urges the law requiring the Holy Communion to be celebrated and administered at the opening of every Convention—a law which presupposes that the members are Communicants—as well as the solemn expression of the judgment of a former Convention of the Diocese of New York, held in the year 1802, which passed, unanimously, the following resolution:—

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that the welfare and prosperity of the Church require, and it is in itself proper and right, that no Lay Delegates should be sent to this Convention, but such as are Communicants of this Church, and have been so, at least, for one year previously to their appointment.”

After showing how much the necessity of such a qualification is increased by the increase of the Church herself, and the consequent increase of the Lay Delegates to eightfold their original number, the Committee make the following startling appeal to the Convention:—

“Your Committee are apprehensive that our Church is now suffering and deserving God’s displeasure, on account of her alliance with the world. As in the State it would be high treason, so, in the Church, it is glaring impiety, to give over the Legislature to a foreign influence. Do we read that Israel ever applied to the nations in the midst of them, to guard the Sacred Ark, or to prescribe the Temple Worship? When the Philistines took the Ark in battle, God plagued the Philistines. When Uzzah touched it, though with good intent, God slew Uzzah. And when Israel voluntarily allied themselves to the nations, the Lord God executed his threatened curse, ‘I will no more drive out any of these nations from before you; but they shall be snares and traps unto you, and scourges in your sides, and thorns in your eyes.’

“These things are written for our admonition. We see men who are not in communion with the Church, (and even unbaptized men,) elected to seats in her Council in Convention, and having a voice of influence in regulating the Worship, Discipline, and Faith of the Church. Our General Convention has authority over the Book of Common Prayer.

“It is high time that the alarm be sounded, and the remedy applied, lest God, in anger, curse His people, by permitting the children of this ‘naughty world,’ in the midst of them, to become ‘snares and traps unto them, and scourges in their sides, and thorns in their eyes.’ Your Committee earnestly invoke this Convention to ordain the proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the Church in the Diocese of New York.”

Lastly, they advert to the objection that the proposed Amendment may induce persons to become Communicants, to which they reply:—

“If it shall have the effect of urging them to this duty in good faith, the Committee think that this desired result would be an added argument in favour of the Amendment. If it be alleged that persons will be instigated thereby to become Communicants hypocritically, the Committee dismiss the objection as an imputation of unfaithfulness in the clergyman, and awful crime in the layman, not to be suspected or alleged without explicit proof.”

After considerable debate, the proposed Amendment of the Constitution was approved, and it now lies over to the next Convention, for final action.

*Case of Bishop Onderdonk.*—On the distressing case of Bishop Onderdonk, who, it will be remembered, labours under a sentence of indefinite suspension, the following proceedings took place:—Judge Burnet moved the adoption of a Resolution, of which he had previously given notice, viz. “That the Trustees of the Episcopal Fund be directed to pay unto the Rt. Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D.D., out of the income of the said Fund (excepting the portion set apart for accumulation), the sum of Twenty-five Hundred Dollars annually, commencing September 27, 1848, until the further order of this Convention.” To this Resolution an Amendment was proposed, to the following effect:—

“Whereas the Episcopal Fund was established by the members and parishes of this Diocese, for the express purpose of securing active Episcopal services therein, and of maintaining the dignity and usefulness of the Episcopal office; therefore—

“Resolved, As the solemn and deliberate judgment of this Convention, that no portion of said fund can rightfully be applied to aid or support, in any way, a Bishop on whom a sentence of Indefinite Suspension has been pronounced by the highest Judicial Tribunal of the Church, and which sentence still continues in full force:—

“But, whereas it is desirable that some provision should be made for the Right Reverend Benjamin T. Onderdonk, and his family; therefore, be it further—

“Resolved, That a Committee of three members of each order be appointed, to devise and report to the present Convention some practicable mode of making such provision, to be adopted or recommended by this Convention.”

The amendment was lost, and the original motion carried by a majority of seventy-six clerical and fifty-two lay votes, against nineteen clerical and twenty-eight lay votes.

The Rev. Dr. Sherwood then submitted the following Preamble and Resolution, which were read, and laid over to the next Convention:—

“Whereas the Right Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Bishop of the Diocese of New York, was, on the third day of January, 1845, by a sentence of his peers, the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America, as a judicial tribunal assembled, indefinitely suspended from all exercise of his Episcopal and ministerial functions, which sentence still continues in full force—

“Whereas this sentence, of indefinite suspension of the Right Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, does, in its very nature, and of necessity, reach, and most seriously affect—and for aught that appears to the contrary on the part of the tribunal that inflicted it, and which alone has the power now to remit or terminate it, may, for many years yet to come, continue thus to affect—the best interests, the just rights, and the acknowledged independence of the Church in the Diocese of New York, depriving it not

which, he observed, went farther in the non-recognition of any difference between truth and error, than even the constitution of the United States and the principles of Robespierre, who insisted, at least, on belief in a Supreme Being.

C. R. Sack, from Magdeburg, dwelt on the necessity of applying some further test than membership of the United Church of Prussia, expressing his fear that the United Church was, in fact, a common sewer, into which the unbelieving elements from both the other Churches, the Lutheran and the Reformed, were drained off. He proposed that the doctrine of the atonement once for all and absolutely made, the doctrine of justification as connected with regeneration, and the introduction of a temperate system of Church discipline, should constitute that test; and if this were adopted, then he proposed that the members of the three bodies named should enjoy perfect inter-communion, so as to render the members of any of them equally admissible to the Holy Eucharist in all the three.

Mr. Kunze, of Berlin, (one of the Prussian Clergy who paid a visit to this country a few years ago) spoke with great freedom, and pointed out the illusory nature of their proceedings. It was all very well for them to meet, to discuss, and to pass resolutions; but they should remember that they had not the public at their back to bear them out in the position which they took. Only about one per cent. of the population were on their side; the remaining ninety-nine per cent. had openly joined their enemies. Considering the insignificance of the support which they could reckon upon from the people, and the absence of all power by delegation from any constituted authority, he suggested that it was useless to talk of a Church Confederation. All they could do was to set on foot an association of individuals like-minded with themselves, who would stand in the breach in the hour of danger.

Superintendent Seegemund called attention to the fatal effects of a superficial union while the difference between the Lutherans and the Reformed continued to exist; observing that unless the sense of the term "Evangelic" was accurately defined, the "United" Church was not unlikely to become the Church of anti-Christ.

President v. Gerlach, from Magdeburg, thought they were yielding too soon to a sense of alarm. He attached no value to the fundamental principles voted by the Frankfort Assembly; they were mere theoretical propositions which had no form or validity as yet. They should not be hasty to accept the position which the democracy designed that the Church should occupy, as a *fait accompli*. The King was bound to defend the rights and the government of the Church; he was not at liberty to fling the reins into the dirt; and it was for them not to desert him, but to stand by him in the conflict. Whatever reforms might be necessary in the Church, must be undertaken on the existing basis, and the revolutionary spirit which would sweep away the whole existing

civil act; the wedding at church can take place only after the civil act has been performed. Difference of religion shall be no legal impediment to marriage.

"Sect. 21. The registers of births, marriages, and deaths (*Standesbücher*), shall be kept by the civil authorities."



that we must be content to realize, and for an unknown period to suffer, all 'the perplexing and interminable evils which' another of the majority of that tribunal so clearly foresaw, and so forcibly said 'might be expected to result from leaving the diocese of New York in connection with a bishop suspended from the exercise of his Episcopal functions'—

Whereas this Convention owes it to itself, to the Diocese of New York, and to the Church at large, to assert the rights and maintain the independence and equality of its diocesan character; and feels, moreover, bound to use and exhaust all lawful and peaceful measures to bring to a righteous termination the difficulties under which we now are, and so long have been, labouring; to restore quietness and peace to the Church in this diocese; and, if possible, to regain the independence of her diocesan character—

And, whereas the House of Bishops can grant relief in no other manner than by terminating or modifying the sentence they have inflicted upon the Rt. Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, the Bishop of the Diocese—

**RESOLVED**—That the Standing Committee of the Diocese of New York be requested to present forthwith an address to the House of Bishops, asking them to terminate at once the sentence of suspension inflicted by them upon the Right Rev. B. T. Onderdonk; or, if unpersuaded to do this, and thinking the honour and purity of the Church not sufficiently vindicated, to request them to specify on what terms, or at what time, such sentence of suspension shall cease."

*Admission of Coloured Congregations into the Convention.*—Another question which was expected to have been an absorbing topic at this meeting of the Convention, was the admission of coloured congregations to the bond of Church union, it being generally understood that the application to that effect made by the Church of St. Philip's at New York, which is exclusively occupied by a coloured congregation, as far as the year 1846, would be renewed. At that time the application was referred to a select committee to report to the Convention. The committee, however, were so divided in their opinion that two separate reports were drawn up—one by the majority, the other by the minority.

The report of the majority proceeds on the assumption that the question is exclusively relating to the temporal government of the diocese, wholly unconnected with the religious rights or duties of the applicants. It considers the Convention as but a part of the civil machinery, instituted by human wisdom for the purpose of regulating the Society, by which, and for whose benefit, it was established, and not as a part of the Church, in a religious view. Accordingly the authors of the report treat the question as one simply of human expediency. As a specimen of their reasoning on the subject the following passage may be given:—

When society is unfortunately divided into classes—when some are intelligent, refined, and elevated, in tone and character, and others are ignorant, coarse, and debased, however unjustly, and when such prejudices exist between them, as to prevent social intercourse on equal terms.

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terms, it would seem inexpedient to encounter such prejudices, unnecessarily, and endeavour to compel the one class to associate on equal terms, in the consultations on the affairs of the Diocese, with those whom they would not admit to their tables, or into their family circles—nay, whom they would not admit into their pews, during public worship. If Christian duty require that we should, in all respects, treat equally all persons, without reference to their social condition, should we not commence the discharge of that duty in our individual and social relations? And is not the fact that we have never so regarded our duty, or have wilfully violated it, sufficient evidence of the existence of a state of society among us that renders an amalgamation of such discordant materials, impracticable, if not hazardous to our unity and harmony? We deeply sympathize with the coloured race in our country, we feel acutely their wrongs, and, not the least among them, their social degradation. But this cannot prevent our seeing the fact, that they are socially degraded, and are not regarded as proper associates for the class of persons who attend our Convention. We object not to the colour of the skin, but we question their possession of those qualities which would render their intercourse with the members of a Church Convention useful or agreeable, even to themselves. We should make the same objection to persons of the same social class, however pure may be their blood or however transparent their skin. It is impossible, in the nature of things, that such opposites should commingle with any pleasure or satisfaction to either. The coloured people have themselves shown their conviction of this truth, by separating themselves from the whites, and forming distinct congregations where they are not continually humbled by being treated as inferiors. Why should not the principle on which they have separated themselves be carried out in the other branches of our Church organization?"

The Committee next appeal to the fact, that in March, 1819, on the application of Bishop Hobart to the Committee of the Diocese for advice in relation to the admission of a coloured person as a candidate for Holy Orders, they unanimously advised his admission, upon the distinct understanding that in the event of his being admitted to Orders, he should "not be entitled to a seat in the Convention, nor the congregation of which he may have charge, to a representation therein." "These conditions having been approved by the Bishop, were assented to by the applicant and the congregation. The Church was organized, and has been in existence for more than a quarter of a century, abiding all along by the terms thus settled." The present application, therefore, is represented as a violation of good faith in the report which concludes by recommending "that neither St. Philip's, nor any other coloured congregation be admitted into union with this Convention, so as to entitle them to a representation therein."

The minority of the Committee in their report declare that they can see no reason why the application should not be granted, and think there are special reasons why it should.

Of the alleged "violation of good faith," they dispose in the follow-

manner:—"It is said that it was stipulated on the part of individuals of that congregation at the time of its organization, or before ordination of the late pious and reverend Mr. Williams, that they would not apply for admission into this Convention. This we believe they did not do; but we cannot conceive how the present generation, belonging to that Church, can be bound by any stipulation of that kind, made by those who, we trust, have long since departed hence in the Lord, and been received into communion with the saints in Paradise. The present members of that Church do not think as their fathers did that subject."

They next contemplate another objection, the supposition, namely, that if this Church were admitted, others would be organized and apply for admission. "However much," the report of the minority continues, "this is to be regretted, yet we suppose such will be the fact, and on every account, this subject merits the very serious consideration of the Convention. Suppose Churches, now to be composed of coloured people exclusively, are organized in our principal cities—suppose they refused equal Christian privileges with other Episcopal Churches—that the Conventions of our Dioceses refuse to take them under their charge, and into their fellowship—will not these Churches unite and form a convention of their own? Will they not choose a Bishop or Bishops of their own? And under such circumstances, would they find any difficulty in obtaining Apostolical succession? We fear the refusal of our Convention to admit into their fellowship this portion of their Christian brethren, will inevitably lead to a schism in the Church, by the establishment of another Episcopal Church in these United States, and must admit this would be a sore evil."

After appealing in strong terms to the word of God, which recognizes no such distinction of races and nations, as that on which the proposed refusal is founded, they urge that 'the persons who apply for this fellowship have been made,' in Holy Baptism, 'members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven'—they 'eat of His flesh and drink His blood,' and thus are incorporated into Him; with Him they are one with Him, and He is one with them. However just and proper distinctions in society may be in other respects, yet as members of one Holy Catholic Church, there ought to be no other distinction than that made by superior self-denial, holiness, and virtue."

This was the state of the question in 1846; and it was thought that at this year's Convention the subject would be taken up. It appears, however, to have been passed over *sub silentio*. The considerations which probably caused the question to be cushioned, may be gathered from the following observations of the *New York Churchman*:—

'We do not see that any principle is involved in the question. We are already united with the coloured Churches in all the essentials of Catholic communion,—the faith, the sacraments, the apostolic ministry of the Church;—and the question simply is, whether it be more conducive to peace and charity, that this Catholic union and communion should be continued with or without their participation in the peculiar and local

machinery of our Conventions. If all felt as we feel on the subject we should have no hesitation in saying to our coloured brethren, since you desire an admission to this doubtful privilege, we bid you cordially welcome. But when we consider the actual state of opinion and feeling in the public mind, the inevitable admixture of the subject with political and party agitation, its utter inefficacy as a means to add to the social elevation or comfort of the coloured people, and its certain and manifest tendency to expose them to new trials and indignities, and to introduce among all of us new topics of exacerbation and strife; and when we consider, moreover, that no principle is involved which requires us to encounter these dangers, we confess ourselves adverse to their application. To say the least, we consider it as premature: and we think it would be better for the coloured Churches, and more conducive to the self-respect and comfort of their individual members, to wait until the Convention, in the course of God's Providence, shall be prepared promptly and cheerfully to comply with the request, than to press their application in face of the opposition which it will probably encounter. We should be sincerely sorry to refuse this application, or to treat it with inconsideration and disrespect; but it appears to us, under all the circumstances, that a resolution of Convention, expressive of undiminished and fervent sympathy with the applicants in all the essentials of Catholic communion and fellowship, but dissuasive on grounds of expediency of their present admission to our Conventions, which, as now constituted, rest themselves on no higher ground than that of expediency, would be the wisest measure, the most promotive of peace and charity, which the Convention could adopt."

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# Foreign Correspondence.

## *Romanism in Belgium.*

Antwerp.

WHILE there is no want of treatises containing learned arguments on questions of controversy between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, it is possible that a few plain details respecting present actual customs of the Roman Church, may be interesting to the English reader who has not possessed opportunities of witnessing such observances. The following notes refer chiefly to the special dedication of the month of May, in each year, to the Virgin Mary. The devotion of the "Mois de Marie" took its rise in Italy; thence, towards the close of last century, passed into France; and has, within a few years, been introduced into Belgium.

A little book, bearing the title of "Mois de Marie populaire," furnishes a manual of instructions for the due observance of May, including devotions for every day. The copy which I possess is printed at Tournay, by authority, bearing the "Imprimatur

J. J. Dupiereux, Vic. Gen."

Among the contents of this work is a collection of precepts, which most readers would allow to be of a sound practical tendency. Far the greater part of the volume, however, is occupied by a series of legends, which must be considered extremely marvellous, both by those who believe them and by those who do not. A single example may serve as a specimen of all.

### "Legend for the 8th<sup>1</sup> day of May.

"The image of our Lady which is venerated in the church of the religious of St. Jean de Dieu, at Rome, has been long celebrated and dear to the devotion of the people. It stood at first on a wall washed by the Tiber. An extraordinary rise of water covered, one day, this image and the lamp which burnt before it; and, to the surprise of all, when the waters sunk, the lamp, which had been immersed, was still lighted. The image took from that time the name of 'Our Lady of the Lamp' . . . . On the 9th of July, 1796, a day on which there was remarked, at Rome, a movement in the eyes of twenty-three other images of the Holy Virgin, the same thing appeared on a sudden in the 'Image of the lamp.' The countenance of the Virgin seemed to animate itself, and her eyes, full of grace and beauty; ravished all

<sup>1</sup> This date reminds me of a singular heathen festival which is celebrated yearly at Helston, in Cornwall, apparently in honour of Flora. On the 8th of May, all the inhabitants of the town, high and low, rich and poor, dance through the street, from morn till eve, with chaplets of flowers on their heads.

hearts. . . . A few days afterwards a new circumstance happened, well worthy of remark ; the head, which, originally, looked towards the left side, where the infant Jesus is, turned itself to the right, towards the high altar, where the holy sacrament is preserved : the head has since remained constantly turned in this direction. There exists still, at this day, in the convent at Rome, one of the religious of St. Jean de Dieu, advanced in age, who remembers to have seen the head in its primitive position, turned towards the left :”—

**“ Huitième Jour.**

“ L’image de Notre Dame qui est vénérée dans l’église de St. Jean de Dieu, à Rome, est depuis long-temps célèbre et chère à la devotion des peuples. Primitivement elle se trouvait sur une muraille baignée par le Tibre. Une crue d’eau extraordinaire couvrit un jour cette image et la lampe qui brûlait devant ; et, à la grande surprise de tous, lorsque les eaux s’écoulèrent, la lampe, qui avait été submergée, se trouva encore allumée. L’image prit dès lors le nom de Notre Dame de la Lampe. . . . Le 9 Juillet 1796, jour où à Rome on remarqua un mouvement dans les yeux de vingt-trois autres images de la sainte Vierge, la même chose parut tout d’un coup dans l’Image de la Lampe. Le visage de la Vierge parut s’animer, et ses yeux pleins de grâce et de majesté ravissaient tous les cœurs. . . . Quelques jours après, arriva une nouvelle circonstance bien digne de remarque ; la tête, qui, dans l’origine, regardait le côté gauche, où se trouve l’enfant Jésus, se tourna du côté droit vers le maître-autel, où l’on conserve le Saint Sacrement ; elle est constamment restée depuis dans cette position. Il existe encore aujourd’hui au couvent de Rome un religieux de Saint Jean de Dieu, avancé en âge, qui se rappelle avoir vu la tête dans sa position primitive, tournée vers la gauche.”

MAY 1.—The following notice has been placed during the past week on the doors of the churches in Antwerp :—

“ Mois de Marie.  
Sermon Français  
A l’Eglise de S. Augustin,  
Par le R. P. Dom. Pietra,  
Bénédictin de l’Abbaye de Solesme en France.

1 Mai, on chantera à xi heures du matin, en l’honneur de la très-sainte Vierge Marie, une Messe solennelle, que sera immédiatement suivie du sermon.”

On May-morning, in pursuance of the above, I repaired to the church of St. Augustin. Its interior was hung with rose-wreaths, extending from one column to another ; and on every column hung a tablet, with some inscription intended to apply to the occasion, as :—

“ Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te.”—CANT. iv. 7.

“ Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias.”—CANT. ii. 2.

In the middle of the church, a richly-clad image, representing the Blessed Virgin Mary, stood on a square platform, canopied by garlands of flowers mixed with oak and laurel leaves, over which two cherubs,

from the ceiling by chains of roses, held a scroll with the letters of gold :—

*“ Regina, sine labe originali concepta, ora pro nobis.”*

nedictine Father, having mounted the pulpit, turned his face to the image of the Virgin, as he commenced his sermon. It was to give satisfaction, in one respect, to those who might dissent from his doctrines, as well as to those who would agree with them. He would desire greater plainness of language in the speaker. He tried to convey a notion of his discourse by giving a few sentences of select words used, than by attempting a summary of the whole. As he had chosen Mary to be his mother, it is not sufficient, she must be God for her son. . . . She must hear all the clauses of the proposition. . . . An angel comes to a small village of Galilee, called Nazareth, to a poor virgin, not with an order, but with a salutation, as from one potentate to another, as from an inferior to a superior. . . . He offers to restore to her the throne of David, her crown. . . . She ponders, she hesitates—Oh solemn moment! Oh, O Mary! The salvation of the world is in your hands. (Here the priest stretched his arms towards the image of the Virgin on the altar.) Save us! . . . .

He says, ‘ I accept.’ . . . Glory to God! Peace on earth to men of good will! She has accepted the conditions<sup>2</sup>.

The Virgin may be termed the complement of the Trinity. She has increased the glory of the Father. She has increased the glory of the Son. She has increased the fruitfulness of the Holy Spirit. . . . She is as great now as when she deliberated with the Father on the salvation of the world<sup>3</sup>.

Calvary presents the most beautiful spectacle which can be offered to the eyes of God Himself. Not only the tears and the blood of the Son, but the sufferings of Mary. Since grief could not mount so high to God, she has been made an offering in His stead<sup>4</sup>.”

*a choisi à Marie pour sa mère,—ce n'est pas assez, il faut qu'elle choisît elle-même pour son Fils. . . . Il faut qu'elle entende toutes les clauses de la proposition. . . . L'ange vient à un petit village, presque inconnu, de Galilée, Nazareth, à une pauvre Vierge; non pas avec un ordre, mais avec un salut, comme d'une puissance à une autre, comme d'une inférieure à une supérieure. . . . Il lui offre de lui rendre le trône de David son père. . . . Elle délibère.—O moment solennel! O grandeur de Marie! La salvation du monde est dans vos mains. Sauvez nous!*

*Il dit, ‘ J'accepte.’ . . . Gloire à Dieu! Paix sur la terre aux hommes de bonne volonté. Elle a accepté les conditions.”*

*La Vierge se peut appeler le complément de la Trinité. Elle a accru la gloire du Père. Elle a accru la puissance du Fils. Elle a accru la fécondité du Saint-Esprit. . . . Elle est aussi grande maintenant que quand elle a délibéré avec le Père sur la salvation du monde.”*

*Calvaire présente le plus beau spectacle qui puisse s'offrir aux yeux de Dieu. Non seulement les larmes et le sang de l'Homme Dieu, mais les souffrances de Marie. Comme la douleur ne pouvait pas monter aussi haut que le Christ, elle a été un offrande à sa place.”*



MAY 3.—I set off this morning to examine the images of the Virgin, set up on occasion of the "Mois de Marie" in the principal churches of this city. The first which I entered, was the large and handsome parochial church of St. André, famous for its beautifully-carved wooden pulpit, with the exquisite figures beneath it of our Saviour and His Apostles, in the representation of the miraculous draught of fishes. In a central part of the Church is placed a square stage, four feet high, from the corners of which arise four columns supporting arches of silvered metal, disposed in the form of a gigantic crown. On this stage stands a wooden image of the Virgin, of about half human size. From the head of the image a cloak of rich crimson velvet descends behind, floating in a long and wide train. The cloak, which partially envelopes the head, like a shawl, is surmounted by a crown of eight stars, bright with jewellery. The body of the image, where it is visible in front, between the folds of the cloak, is covered with a robe of white satin, flowered, and embroidered with gold. The face is shaded by a deeply-laced cap, and the neck, arms, and hands are adorned by a profusion of rings, chains, and other trinkets.

There is a peculiarity in images of the Virgin in this country, especially remarkable in those which are set up at seasons of extraordinary pomp, as during the "Mois de Marie." This consists in a development of figure, increasing gradually from the throat down to the base, producing a very awkward heavy effect.

I passed from St. André to the church of S. Carlo Borromeo, called also that of "Les Jesuites." The image placed here, in honour of the month, resembles in many points that at St. André. The long cloak, however, is of yellow satin, richly flowered, and fringed with gold lace. The robe beneath appeared of a dull tarry colour, and it was only on close approach that I perceived its dark ground to be sprinkled with small golden stars.

From "Les Jesuites" I proceeded to the cathedral, where the image far surpasses in elegance those which I had seen in the other churches. Here the figure is that of "a woman," beautiful in feature, graceful in garb and posture. Beneath the central dome, where the nave meets the choir and the two transepts, within a large square space enclosed by rails, the Virgin is "exalted" amid rows of evergreens and "rose-plants," so numerous as to resemble a little grove. She is represented having "the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars." In her hand is the sceptre intended to denote her dominion "over all;" and from a cloud behind is "a glory issuing" on her head. This figure, indeed, one might imagine to be copied from the pattern set up by Mr. Newman; so close is the conformity between the image, in its form and decorations, and the model given to us in the following passage.

"Thus there was a wonder in heaven: a throne was seen, far above all created powers, mediatorial, intercessory; a title archetypal; a crown bright as the morning star; a glory issuing from the eternal



; robes pure as the heavens; and a *sceptre over all*; and who the predestined heir of that Majesty? Who was that wisdom, and what was her name, 'the mother of fair love, and fear, and holy hope,' adorned like a *palm-tree* in Engaddi, and a *rose-plant* in Jericho,' adorned from the beginning, before the world' in God's counsels, and Jerusalem was her power? The vision is found in the Apocalypse, *and she was clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.*"

NEWMAN, *On Development*. S. 406.

May 8.—This morning, soon after six o'clock, I directed my steps towards the cathedral, and, approaching its south door, passed through "Place Verte," whose green avenues were thronged with persons going to or returning from their morning devotions. I cannot but be struck by the general sedulous attendance of the Belgians on the services of their Church. In this respect, I believe their example to have exercised a beneficial influence on members of the English Church present among them, by provoking them to show an observance, not less zealous of a worship more pure and spiritual. It must be added, also, that the assiduity of the Roman Catholic Clergy, in their ministrations, tends more forcibly than the best written treatise to impress on the people a regard for their Liturgical services. It is at earlier hours of the day that I have been most struck by the contrast presented, in one respect, between the churches of this city and of my native land. Here the great doors of every church opened with inscriptions inviting entrance: "*Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur*." "*Hic non est aliud nisi domus Dei et porta cœli*." In England, at the time when a sleeping city begins to waken into life, the temples of God sternly and gloomily closed, with threatening fence of iron bars and spikes, to prevent a near approach even to their exterior. Here, such restrictions would appear as strange, as it would be marvellous to the inhabitants of London and Westminster, to find that the large gates of their cathedrals had moved on their hinges, and permitted the people to worship in those edifices as their own. At Antwerp Cathedral, when I entered it this morning, wherever my eyes turned, knees bowed to the ground, hands clasped, and looks of devout devotion, indicated, as far as outward demeanour can do so, a sense of the Divine presence. As the clock struck seven, issued from a side door, near to an altar, a priest attired in a robe of green silk, a golden cross covering nearly the whole back of the garment. In his hand, and under a silken napkin of the same colour as his robe, and likewise marked with a golden cross, the priest carried the patina and chalice, and, proceeding to the altar, commenced the most solemn service of the Roman Catholic Church. It is not surprising that a large proportion of those who witness the performance of mass have

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxi. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxviii. 17.

little notion in what the service consists; the officiating minister usually reciting it in a tone of voice so low as scarcely to reach even those of the congregation nearest to him. In regard to the majority, indeed, this is of the less consequence that the whole is to them in an unknown tongue. I looked over the shoulder of a person who knelt before me, on the book which he held, which was open at "Prayers to the Virgin for the souls in Purgatory." In the page on which my eye rested was a hymn headed "*Languentibus in Purgatorio*," a verse from which I transmitted to my memory,

"*Benedicta per tua merita,  
Te rogamus, mortuos suscita,  
Et dimittens eorum debita,  
Ad requiem sis eis semita,  
O Maria !*"

*By thy merits blest,  
Cause the dead to live,  
Their trespasses forgive,  
And be their path to rest,  
Oh Mary !*

It is not unusual for members of the congregation to be thus engaged in devotions which have no relation whatever to those which the priest is offering at the same time. The eye must be continually on the watch that would follow the changes of posture and gesture in the officiating priest, so numerous and succeeding one another so rapidly; while the only sound heard (except in chanted masses) is the ringing of bells, intermitted only for short spaces, to be renewed with fresh vigour through at least twenty repetitions. This almost entire absorption of the service in unessential ceremony is general in Belgium. The mass on the present occasion lasted about forty minutes. High mass, being accompanied with music, occupies generally rather more than an hour.

As I quitted the cathedral, I perceived a notice that a sermon would be preached in it at nine o'clock; at which hour I returned thither, and saw the largest assemblage of persons which I ever witnessed within the walls of a building; I think their number must have been at least five thousand. A preacher addressed them in Flemish, and, though imperfectly understood by me, excited my interest by the lively energy of his manner. His tone was as familiar as that of common conversation, and his auditory hung on his lips as if listening to the "oracles of God;" not a movement, not a sound was perceptible among that mixed multitude. Still more striking was the change, at a period of the discourse, from this state of stillness, when, as if moved by one mind, the whole congregation rose and turned the chairs on which they had been seated, to kneel in silent prayer; the simultaneous impulse passing through the vast crowd, was like the agitation of a mighty wave. After a few seconds they resumed their seats, and again turned towards the

pulpit a grave reverend attention, expressive of submission to the authority which spoke to them from that sacred place.

At ten o'clock the sermon came to a conclusion rather abruptly, and soon a movement towards the high altar showed that a service was about to take place there. And now it was the "high, high mass." Three priests appeared, attended by candle-bearers and by boys in surplices, swinging to and fro censers, from which rose clouds of fragrant incense. With the increase in the number of officiating ministers, the variations in their attitudes, the shiftings of candlesticks, and other ceremonies were multiplied in proportion. The three priests frequently changed their order of standing, from a line parallel with the front of the altar to one perpendicular to it. Other alterations of position presented such intricate combinations, that I renounced all attempt to give an intelligible account of them.

MAY 15.—The customary service of the afternoon, which is here called the "Salut," and by Romanists in England the "Benediction of the Sacrament," takes place in the principal churches of Antwerp daily at five o'clock. In some of the churches it is also performed at three or four o'clock, and on Sundays and holy days a third time. Attendance on this service is not, like the hearing mass on sacred days, "of obligation," but an act of voluntary devotion. The music during the Salut is of the most soothing and attractive kind. I was present in the cathedral this afternoon a little before five; as the clock was striking the hour, a priest, robed in crimson silk, carrying the host, amid a troop of assistants in white surplices, bearing lights and censers, and ringing bells, traversed the nave, and proceeded to a side altar, consecrated to St. Anthony of Padua. On this altar were fourteen lighted wax candles, besides those which were borne thither by the assistants in the procession, and which they continued to hold in their hands during the service that followed. The priest, on arriving at the foot of the altar, faced round to the people, and slowly lifted to their view the glittering case containing the host, encircled by gilded rays of unequal length, presenting a multitude of surfaces, so as to sparkle in numberless reflections, as he turned it from side to side amid the blaze of lights. A boy in a surplice, meanwhile, kneeling before the priest, swung a censer upwards, so as to envelope the host in the smoke of the incense; and another boy, kneeling at the south side of the altar, rang a bell. After this had lasted about a minute, the priest turned round and deposited the host above the altar. The boy with the censer swung it towards the priest when his back was to the congregation, and also when he turned again to them, so as to make the smoke ascend into his face. This process is by Romanists in England called "fuming." The priest then took the censer from the boy, and kneeling before the altar, fumed the host. On this the choir commenced to chant the hymn,—

"O salutaris hostia!"

After this was sung a psalm and the sacramental hymn, "Pange, lingua, gloriosi." Several prayers were then recited by the priest, the only

portions of which distinguishable by the congregation were the concluding words of each, "in secula seculorum," given in a considerably raised tone, to afford the necessary cue to the choir to chant the "Amen."

When the service of the Salut—which occupied about half an hour—was concluded, the priest put a fresh supply of incense into the censer held by the boy; then taking the host from the altar, held it towards the people, turning it slowly round, and elevating and lowering it. Then arose more densely the clouds of smoke from the fresh incense around it; the golden rays that encircled it glittered like a sun, and thus, after a time, the procession moved off as it came, traversing the whole length of the church, attended with tinkling of bells and lights, both which became faint and fainter in the distance, till all the vision vanished through a dark narrow door leading to the interior recesses of the cathedral.

The churches at Antwerp remain open during the "Mois de Marie" to a late hour, as on the vigils of holy days. I entered the great western door of the cathedral this evening, when the obscurity increased the apparent vastness of the long lofty nave and choir. The high altar at the opposite end of the church was now in total darkness. Here and there, along the columns of the aisles, a solitary candle shed a faint gleam. Not a sound was audible as I entered, except the echo of my footsteps, so that the place at first seemed deserted. As I advanced, however, and made the circuit of the chancel, an impressive sight presented itself,—all the side chapels being filled with kneeling worshippers; hundreds of fellow-sinners fixed in the attitude of prayer, silent, motionless as statues.

The evening orison most frequent in use here, and particularly applicable to the present season of the "Mois de Marie," is the Litany addressed to the blessed Virgin Mary:—

"Arca foederis,  
Jacua Coeli,  
Refugium peccatorum,  
Regina Angelorum," &c.

"Ark of the covenant,  
Gate of Heaven,  
Refuge of sinners,  
Queen of Angels," &c.

A bull of Pope Sixtus V., confirmed January 20th, 1728, by Pope Benedict XIII., grants an indulgence of two hundred days for each pious recitation of this Litany to the Virgin; in other words, each time of reciting a service which may occupy twenty minutes, is rendered equivalent to two hundred days' expiatory penance. Full remission of all penance due, or "plenary indulgence," is accorded on the days of distinguished saints, which occur very often in Belgium, and are announced on the church doors by such advertisements as the following:—

"Vollen Aflaet  
voor de levenden en dooden  
op den Feest-dag van den  
H. Aloysius Gonzaga."

"Plenary Indulgence  
for quick and dead  
on the Feast-day of  
S. Aloysius Gonzaga."

I questioned lately a Belgian workman as to the notions current among persons of his class respecting the "Vollen Aflaet," which he explained to me by an example. "A man," said he, "having killed another, feared the penance which the priest would impose on him before granting absolution for the crime; the criminal therefore put off his confession till the next season of 'Vollen Aflaet,' when he might claim full and free remission."

MAY 22.—I visited this morning the hospital of St. Elizabeth, a well-ordered institution, open equally to the indigent of all communions. I felt desirous to see whether the decorations of the "Mois de Marie" had introduced any novelty of character into the usually simple and appropriate interior of the church belonging to the establishment. It is a grateful change from the glare and noise of the streets to its sheltered and quiet precincts. On one side of the church a row of fine chesnut trees raise their heads higher than its roof; and on the other side, within a shady garden enclosed by trim hedges of box and yew, are the neat residences of the curé and the vicaire. My acquaintance with these worthy ecclesiastics commenced on the first day of my arrival at Antwerp, when, on my knocking at the lodge of the hospital, the Flemish porter directed me to pass through the priests' garden, and tap at a door, which was opened to me by Monsieur le Curé. We plunged at once into controversy, which we carried on for several hours, "forgetful of the closing day," if without any gain to either party, at least without any loss of temper or charity on one side or the other. I presented to him a Latin version of the Prayer Book, which he appeared glad to receive, saying that it contained "*beaucoup de bonnes choses*."

As I passed to-day within the porch of the church into the coolness and silence of the sacred place, with the softened light through the old stained windows, it seemed like a transition from noon to twilight. Here, as in other churches during the present month, the obtrusive platform, erected for the gorgeous image of the Virgin, occupies the middle of the floor. But the stillness of death, literally, prevailed around. Near to the platform was placed a bier, raised about six feet; the pall which covered it descending in black folds on the ground, and brightened on its top by a broad golden cross. Soon after I had entered, one and presently another "white sister," belonging to the order of the "*Sœurs Hospitalières de S. Elisabeth*," glided in through a side door, with the same noiseless gentle step with which they move round the bed of sickness, and knelt down between the dead and the statue of the Virgin. The religieuses of the above order, thirty in number, called "*sœurs blanches*" from their white vestments, perform the same pious function among the patients within the walls of the hospital which the "*sœurs de charité*," or "*sœurs noires*,"—black-robed sisters,—fulfil among the sick from house to house. They are very attentive nurses of the sick, to whom the cheerful look and kind word may, doubtless, often be of as much service as the ready skilful hand. It has

cation, the Report urges the law requiring the Holy Communion to be celebrated and administered at the opening of every Convention—a law which presupposes that the members are Communicants—as well as the solemn expression of the judgment of a former Convention of the Diocese of New York, held in the year 1802, which passed, unanimously, the following resolution:—

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that the welfare and prosperity of the Church require, and it is in itself proper and right, that no Lay Delegates should be sent to this Convention, but such as are Communicants of this Church, and have been so, at least, for one year previously to their appointment.”

After showing how much the necessity of such a qualification is increased by the increase of the Church herself, and the consequent increase of the Lay Delegates to eightfold their original number, the Committee make the following startling appeal to the Convention:—

“Your Committee are apprehensive that our Church is now suffering and deserving God's displeasure, on account of her alliance with the world. As in the State it would be high treason, so, in the Church, it is glaring impiety, to give over the Legislature to a foreign influence. Do we read that Israel ever applied to the nations in the midst of them, to guard the Sacred Ark, or to prescribe the Temple Worship? When the Philistines took the Ark in battle, God plagued the Philistines. When Uzzah touched it, though with good intent, God slew Uzzah. And when Israel voluntarily allied themselves to the nations, the Lord God executed his threatened curse, ‘I will no more drive out any of these nations from before you; but they shall be snares and traps unto you, and scourges in your sides, and thorns in your eyes.’

“These things are written for our admonition. We see men who are not in communion with the Church, (and even unbaptized men,) elected to seats in her Council in Convention, and having a voice of influence in regulating the Worship, Discipline, and Faith of the Church. Our General Convention has authority over the Book of Common Prayer.

“It is high time that the alarm be sounded, and the remedy applied, lest God, in anger, curse His people, by permitting the children of this ‘naughty world,’ in the midst of them, to become ‘snares and traps unto them, and scourges in their sides, and thorns in their eyes.’ Your Committee earnestly invoke this Convention to ordain the proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the Church in the Diocese of New York.”

Lastly, they advert to the objection that the proposed Amendment may induce persons to become Communicants, to which they reply:—

“If it shall have the effect of urging them to this duty in good faith, the Committee think that this desired result would be an added argument in favour of the Amendment. If it be alleged that persons will be instigated thereby to become Communicants hypocritically, the Committee dismiss the objection as an imputation of unfaithfulness in the clergyman, and awful crime in the layman, not to be suspected or alleged without explicit proof.”

the dishonour done to the image of our Saviour, which I witnessed during a previous month, in the most public street and principal thoroughfare of Antwerp. In the middle of the Place de Meir, above a large wooden altar, on a lofty cross, hung an image of wood, the size of life, representing our blessed Lord. A procession, which issued from the cathedral at 10 a. m., after carrying about the host through the chief streets of the city, swept by the spot where I stood, on its way to this altar. The sound of music, like that of a military band, announced the approach of the train. First came in sight a double row of lay officials and others, wearing white surplices, and carrying huge lighted candles. These rows of candle-bearers, extending as far as the eye could reach, flanked on each side those who next appeared, bearing aloft, on rods of silver, banners of silk,—crimson, blue, and green. Then came a company of priests, in laced surplices, bearing the more sacred ornaments,—silver crosses and silver lamps, on poles of ebony. After them were other priests, robed in their most glittering vestments, of white silk and gold, with rich fancy work of flowers in all colours. Then came the host, under a splendid canopy of cloth of gold, behind which marched, in official costumes, four in a row, the burgomaster and other chief civil authorities of the city.

Thus the procession advanced to the foot of the cross, where one of the attendant priests gave, from the altar, his benediction to the kneeling multitudes who thronged the Place de Meir and the avenues leading to it.

As soon as the crowd's moving off released my steps, I approached to examine more nearly the altar which they had just quitted. Two or three workmen remained to remove the fabric, with the cross and the image on it,—a work which they performed with as little ceremony as would attend knocking to pieces the stage of a mountebank at the conclusion of a fair. The business afforded a great fund of amusement to between twenty and thirty boys who had gathered themselves around. The large image of our Saviour on the crucifix, partly kept in its place by an iron hook, is further supported by a pulley, which, passing through a block at the top of the cross, is fastened and coiled on the other side of it. In order to detach the image from the hook, the rope was drawn tight, hoisting the figure up with a jerk above the cross, which produced the most strange appearance, the arms being still extended in the attitude of one crucified, but thrust out into the empty air. A sensation of sickness came over me; I seemed to see the rabble of Jerusalem maltreating the Saviour. Presently the cord behind the cross being again slackened, the figure came running swiftly down, and was received by two men, one of whom had previously grasped the angle to aid in unhooking it. I approached the prostrate figure as it lay on a hand-barrow. The boys were turning it about and rolling it over with great mirth and laughter; one of them proceeded to satisfy himself as to its weight, by lifting up and letting fall the head. There was no one to interfere. The train of priests and magistrates, who had

come to bow down before the image on the cross, were now marching about to show all their pomp in other streets, followed by the crowds of the city. The cross was next lowered, and afforded a new source of diversion to the rabble of boys. They pushed one another down on it; one balanced himself on it; another laid himself on it at length, to take its measure. In what way the cross and the image were finally disposed of I can give no account. Disgust having overpowered all further feeling of curiosity, I gladly turned my back on the shameful scene.

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terms, it would seem inexpedient to encounter such prejudices, unnecessarily, and endeavour to compel the one class to associate on equal terms, in the consultations on the affairs of the Diocese, with those whom they would not admit to their tables, or into their family circles—nay, whom they would not admit into their pews, during public worship. If Christian duty require that we should, in all respects, treat equally all persons, without reference to their social condition, should we not commence the discharge of that duty in our individual and social relations? And is not the fact that we have never so regarded our duty, or have wilfully violated it, sufficient evidence of the existence of a state of society among us that renders an amalgamation of such discordant materials, impracticable, if not hazardous to our unity and harmony? We deeply sympathize with the coloured race in our country, we feel acutely their wrongs, and, not the least among them, their social degradation. But this cannot prevent our seeing the fact, that they are socially degraded, and are not regarded as proper associates for the class of persons who attend our Convention. We object not to the colour of the skin, but we question their possession of those qualities which would render their intercourse with the members of a Church Convention useful or agreeable, even to themselves. We should make the same objection to persons of the same social class, however pure may be their blood or however transparent their skin. It is impossible, in the nature of things, that such opposites should commingle with any pleasure or satisfaction to either. The coloured people have themselves shown their conviction of this truth, by separating themselves from the whites, and forming distinct congregations where they are not continually humbled by being treated as inferiors. Why should not the principle on which they have separated themselves be carried out in the other branches of our Church organisation?

The Committee next appeal to the fact, that in March, 1819, on the application of Bishop Hobart to the Committee of the Diocese for advice in relation to the admission of a coloured person as a candidate for Holy Orders, they unanimously advised his admission, upon the distinct understanding that in the event of his being admitted to Orders, he should "not be entitled to a seat in the Convention, nor the congregation of which he may have charge, to a representation therein." "These conditions having been approved by the Bishop, were assented to by the applicant and the congregation. The Church was organized, and has been in existence for more than a quarter of a century, abiding all along by the terms thus settled." The present application, therefore, is represented as a violation of good faith in the report which concludes by recommending "that neither St. Philip's, nor any other coloured congregation be admitted into union with this Convention, so as to entitle them to a representation therein."

The minority of the Committee in their report declare that they can see no reason why the application should not be granted, and think there are special reasons why it should.

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little notion in what the service consists; the officiating minister usually reciting it in a tone of voice so low as scarcely to reach even those of the congregation nearest to him. In regard to the majority, indeed, this is of the less consequence that the whole is to them in an unknown tongue. I looked over the shoulder of a person who knelt before me, on the book which he held, which was open at "Prayers to the Virgin for the souls in Purgatory." In the page on which my eye rested was a hymn headed "*Languentibus in Purgatorio*," a verse from which I transmitted to my memory,

"Benedicta per tua merita,  
Te rogamus, mortuos suscita,  
Et dimittens eorum debita,  
Ad requiem sis eis cuncta,  
O Maria!"

By thy merits blest,  
Cause the dead to live,  
Their trespasses forgive,  
And be their path to rest,  
Oh Mary!

It is not unusual for members of the congregation to be thus engaged in devotions which have no relation whatever to those which the priest is offering at the same time. The eye must be continually on the watch that would follow the changes of posture and gesture in the officiating priest, so numerous and succeeding one another so rapidly; while the only sound heard (except in chanted masses) is the ringing of bells, intermitted only for short spaces, to be renewed with fresh vigour through at least twenty repetitions. This almost entire absorption of the service in unessential ceremony is general in Belgium. The mass on the present occasion lasted about forty minutes. High mass, being accompanied with music, occupies generally rather more than an hour.

As I quitted the cathedral, I perceived a notice that a sermon would be preached in it at nine o'clock; at which hour I returned thither, and saw the largest assemblage of persons which I ever witnessed within the walls of a building; I think their number must have been at least five thousand. A preacher addressed them in Flemish, and, though imperfectly understood by me, excited my interest by the lively energy of his manner. His tone was as familiar as that of common conversation, and his auditory hung on his lips as if listening to the "oracles of God;" not a movement, not a sound was perceptible among that mixed multitude. Still more striking was the change, at a period of the discourse, from this state of stillness, when, as if moved by one mind, the whole congregation rose and turned the chairs on which they had been seated, to kneel in silent prayer; the simultaneous impulse passing through the vast crowd, was like the agitation of a mighty wave. After a few seconds they resumed their seats, and again turned towards the





portions of which distinguishable by the congregation were the concluding words of each, "in secula seculorum," given in a considerably raised tone, to afford the necessary cue to the choir to chant the "Amen."

When the service of the Salut—which occupied about half an hour—was concluded, the priest put a fresh supply of incense into the censer held by the boy; then taking the host from the altar, held it towards the people, turning it slowly round, and elevating and lowering it. Then arose more densely the clouds of smoke from the fresh incense around it; the golden rays that encircled it glittered like a sun, and thus, after a time, the procession moved off as it came, traversing the whole length of the church, attended with tinkling of bells and lights, both which became faint and fainter in the distance, till all the vision vanished through a dark narrow door leading to the interior recesses of the cathedral.

The churches at Antwerp remain open during the "Mois de Marie" to a late hour, as on the vigils of holy days. I entered the great western door of the cathedral this evening, when the obscurity increased the apparent vastness of the long lofty nave and choir. The high altar at the opposite end of the church was now in total darkness. Here and there, along the columns of the aisles, a solitary candle shed a faint gleam. Not a sound was audible as I entered, except the echo of my footsteps, so that the place at first seemed deserted. As I advanced, however, and made the circuit of the chancel, an impressive sight presented itself,—all the side chapels being filled with kneeling worshippers; hundreds of fellow-sinners fixed in the attitude of prayer, silent, motionless as statues.

The evening orison most frequent in use here, and particularly applicable to the present season of the "Mois de Marie," is the Litany addressed to the blessed Virgin Mary:—

"Arca fœderis,  
Janua Cœli,  
Refugium peccatorum,  
Regina Angelorum," &c.

"Ark of the covenant,  
Gate of Heaven,  
Refuge of sinners,  
Queen of Angels," &c.

A bull of Pope Sixtus V., confirmed January 20th, 1728, by Pope Benedict XIII., grants an indulgence of two hundred days for each pious recitation of this Litany to the Virgin; in other words, each time of reciting a service which may occupy twenty minutes, is rendered equivalent to two hundred days' expiatory penance. Full remission of all penance due, or "plenary indulgence," is accorded on the days of distinguished saints, which occur very often in Belgium, and are announced on the church doors by such advertisements as the following:—

"Vollen Afsaet  
voor de levenden en dooden  
op den Feest-dag van den  
H. Aloysius Gonzaga."

"Plenary Indulgence  
for quick and dead  
on the Feast-day of  
S. Aloysius Gonzaga."

I questioned lately a Belgian workman as to the notions current among persons of his class respecting the "Vollen Aflaet," which he explained to me by an example. "A man," said he, "having killed another, feared the penance which the priest would impose on him before granting absolution for the crime; the criminal therefore put off his confession till the next season of 'Vollen Aflaet,' when he might claim full and free remission."

MAY 22.—I visited this morning the hospital of St. Elizabeth, a well-ordered institution, open equally to the indigent of all communions. I felt desirous to see whether the decorations of the "Mois de Marie" had introduced any novelty of character into the usually simple and appropriate interior of the church belonging to the establishment. It is a grateful change from the glare and noise of the streets to its sheltered and quiet precincts. On one side of the church a row of fine chestnut trees raise their heads higher than its roof; and on the other side, within a shady garden enclosed by trim hedges of box and yew, are the neat residences of the curé and the vicaire. My acquaintance with these worthy ecclesiastics commenced on the first day of my arrival at Antwerp, when, on my knocking at the lodge of the hospital, the Flemish porter directed me to pass through the priests' garden, and tap at a door, which was opened to me by Monsieur le Curé. We plunged at once into controversy, which we carried on for several hours, "forgetful of the closing day," if without any gain to either party, at least without any loss of temper or charity on one side or the other. I presented to him a Latin version of the Prayer Book, which he appeared glad to receive, saying that it contained "*beaucoup de bonnes choses*."

As I passed to-day within the porch of the church into the coolness and silence of the sacred place, with the softened light through the old stained windows, it seemed like a transition from noon to twilight. Here, as in other churches during the present month, the obtrusive platform, erected for the gorgeous image of the Virgin, occupies the middle of the floor. But the stillness of death, literally, prevailed around. Near to the platform was placed a bier, raised about six feet; the pall which covered it descending in black folds on the ground, and brightened on its top by a broad golden cross. Soon after I had entered, one and presently another "white sister," belonging to the order of the "*Sœurs Hospitalières de S. Elisabeth*," glided in through a side door, with the same noiseless gentle step with which they move round the bed of sickness, and knelt down between the dead and the statue of the Virgin. The religiouses of the above order, thirty in number, called "*sœurs blanches*" from their white vestments, perform the same pious function among the patients within the walls of the hospital which the "*sœurs de charité*," or "*sœurs noires*,"—black-robed sisters,—fulfil among the sick from house to house. They are very attentive nurses of the sick, to whom the cheerful look and kind word may, doubtless, often be of as much service as the ready skilful hand. It has

been asserted, however, that on some occasions their zeal for the spiritual as well as the bodily welfare of those under their charge, has led them to practise on the weakness of patients in their last hours, with the view of obtaining proselytes to the Roman Church. Such accusations, although not altogether groundless, have, I am convinced, far less foundation than is sometimes assigned to them. I believe, indeed, from the observations which I have made in many Roman Catholic countries, that in no place does there exist a more general spirit of religious toleration than in Antwerp. This may, in some measure, be accounted for by the numerous family alliances contracted between parties differing in religious communion. In several instances, previously to my coming hither, Roman Catholics have stood as sponsors for their relatives baptised in the English Church; and whatever views such sponsors may entertain respecting the duties to which they have thus pledged themselves, I am confident that, at least, they will never think of discharging their obligations towards their god-children by tempting them to renounce their Church.

I could not suspect that my friend the Curé was a person who, in order to make one pretended proselyte, would besiege a poor creature in the last stage of mortal weakness, thus raising the spirit of polemical jealousy by the side of a death-bed. A circumstance, however, occurred not long since, which tended, I must confess, to shake my trust in this respect. We had procured the admission of an English woman, the wife of a knife-grinder, into the hospital of St. Elizabeth, that she might obtain there better attendance and treatment than could be supplied to her in the wretched lodging where she had lain dying. On the third day after her removal, previously to the hour at which the Clergyman was to administer the Holy Communion to her, we received a letter from the Curé, with the unexpected announcement that she had "embraced the Catholic religion, and been already provided with such spiritual succours as her state allowed." The only semblance of foundation for this statement which I could discover, and which I gathered with difficulty from the poor expiring woman, was, that a priest had come into her little apartment in the night with a train of candles; that she was unable to speak to him, and knew not what he said nor what he sought. It is impossible, in the above instance, to asquit the Curé of too hasty compliance with the call of the *sœurs hospitalières*, who reported to him that the patient wished to see a priest. I have no doubt, however, that he was carried away with the hope (a vain one in this case) of adding one to the number of conversions from the English Church, reports of which reach Belgium from across the Channel; and calculated that the name of the poor knife-grinder's wife, however unworthy to be ranked among those of distinguished converts, might serve at least to swell the list.

I cannot but contrast the accumulated honours which I have seen paid during the month just past to the image of the Virgin, with

the dishonour done to the image of our Saviour, which I witnessed during a previous month, in the most public street and principal thoroughfare of Antwerp. In the middle of the Place de Meir, above a large wooden altar, on a lofty cross, hung an image of wood, the size of life, representing our blessed Lord. A procession, which issued from the cathedral at 10 a. m., after carrying about the host through the chief streets of the city, swept by the spot where I stood, on its way to this altar. The sound of music, like that of a military band, announced the approach of the train. First came in sight a double row of lay officials and others, wearing white surplices, and carrying huge lighted candles. These rows of candle-bearers, extending as far as the eye could reach, flanked on each side those who next appeared, bearing aloft, on rods of silver, banners of silk,—crimson, blue, and green. Then came a company of priests, in laced surplices, bearing the more sacred ornaments,—silver crosses and silver lamps, on poles of ebony. After them were other priests, robed in their most glittering vestments, of white silk and gold, with rich fancy work of flowers in all colours. Then came the host, under a splendid canopy of cloth of gold, behind which marched, in official costumes, four in a row, the burgomaster and other chief civil authorities of the city.

Thus the procession advanced to the foot of the cross, where one of the attendant priests gave, from the altar, his benediction to the kneeling multitudes who thronged the Place de Meir and the avenues leading to it.

As soon as the crowd's moving off released my steps, I approached to examine more nearly the altar which they had just quitted. Two or three workmen remained to remove the fabric, with the cross and the image on it,—a work which they performed with as little ceremony as would attend knocking to pieces the stage of a mountebank at the conclusion of a fair. The business afforded a great fund of amusement to between twenty and thirty boys who had gathered themselves around. The large image of our Saviour on the crucifix, partly kept in its place by an iron hook, is further supported by a pulley, which, passing through a block at the top of the cross, is fastened and coiled on the other side of it. In order to detach the image from the hook, the rope was drawn tight, hoisting the figure up with a jerk above the cross, which produced the most strange appearance, the arms being still extended in the attitude of one crucified, but thrust out into the empty air. A sensation of sickness came over me; I seemed to see the rabble of Jerusalem maltreating the Saviour. Presently the cord behind the cross being again slackened, the figure came running swiftly down, and was received by two men, one of whom had previously grasped the ankle to aid in unhooking it. I approached the prostrate figure as it lay on a hand-barrow. The boys were turning it about and rolling it over with great mirth and laughter; one of them proceeded to satisfy himself as to its weight, by lifting up and letting fall the head. There was no one to interfere. The train of priests and magistrates, who had

